THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, INCREASE and PROGRESS,

OF

THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS;

WITH SEVERAL

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

INTERMIXED.

Written originally in LOW-DUTCH, and alſo tranſlated into ENGLISH,

BY WILLIAM SEWEL.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

BURLINGTON, NEW-JERSEY:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY *ISAAC COLLINS*,

M.DCC.LXXIV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

To GEORGE, *King of* Great-Britain, Ireland, *&c.*
Prince Elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, *&c.*

Great and mighty PRINCE,

AS there is great variety in the inclinations of men in general, ſo 'tis particularly remarkable in thoſe who addict themſelves to the ſtudies of nature and human literature: for ſome with great eagerneſs enquire into the operations of nature, and the natural cauſes of things; ſome endeavour to dig up antiquities from the dark, by ſearching out the ſignification of ſtatues, the inſcriptions of antique ſtones, and old and almoſt worn out medals; and others peruſe, with unwearied diligence, the hiſtories both of modern and ancient times: and not without good cauſe; for hiſtory is not unjuſtly called the looking-glaſs of human life; not only becauſe it ſheweth unto us matters of fact, which are either commendable, or reprovable, and we behold therein that which is paſt, as if it were preſent; but alſo becauſe from things which have already happened, we may learn what is beſt for us to do, and what we ought to avoid. And therefore great benefit may be reaped from reading of hiſtories, beſides the pleaſure which the variety of tranſactions affords to our ſenſes, when matters are accompanied with ſingular circumſtances and unexpected events.

Now ſince the reading of hiſtorical treatiſes was one of the moſt pleaſant diverſions of my youth, this drew me, when I attained to ſome maturity of age, to inquire after many things that had happened in thy kingdoms and dominions, which by many were almoſt forgotten: and having gathered great ſtore of very remarkable caſes, which I thought worthy to be kept upon record, and not buried in oblivion, I was induced to compoſe an hiſtory, which contains ſuch rare occurrences, and unuſual matters as, I believe, are not eaſily paralleled.

And after a long and difficult labour, having at length finiſhed the work, ſo far as to expoſe it to publick view; and then thinking to whom I ſhould dedicate it, it preſently came into my mind, that this could not be done more ſuitably to any than to the king of thoſe countries, which are the chief theatre of this hiſtory; and the rather, becauſe therein is deſcribed the Riſe of a people, who are no ſmall part of his faithful ſubjects, (for ſo I may ſafely call them) ſince they never, how much ſoever wronged and

oppreſſed,

oppreſſed, offered any reſiſtance to the government: and when, for conſcience-ſake, they could not comply with what was required of them, by patient ſuffering they ſhewed their ſubjection and obedience to the higher power. Nay, when opportunity was offered to revenge themſelves of their enemies, even then they would not, but left it to the Lord; and thus at all times they behaved themſelves like a peaceable people.

And ſince I have alſo had occaſion in this Hiſtory to mention ſome illuſtrious branches of thy royal family, to whom could I with more juſtice offer this work, than to thee, O king of Great-Britain; who, having already made thyſelf glorioufly renowned, by thy eminent clemency beſtowed even upon ſuch, who by their unnatural rebellion had forfeited it, didſt rather chooſe to eſtabliſh thy throne thereby, than by ſeverity; and thus effectually to obſerve this leſſon of the wiſeſt of kings, *Mercy and truth*
Prov. xx. 28. *preſerve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy.*

All this hath emboldened me, great king, to dedicate this work to thee with due regard, and in a way of humble addreſs to approach thy royal preſence. Be pleaſed therefore, according to thy wonted goodneſs, to excuſe this modeſt freedom, and to know, that though it be offered by a foreigner, yet it proceeds from him, who heartily wiſheth, that God may vouchſafe thee, long to reign in peace and tranquility over thy ſubjects; and, when removed hence from an earthly and periſhing diadem, to grant thee an heavenly and incorruptible crown of glory: which is the unfeigned deſire of,

Great and mighty PRINCE,

Thy affectionate and ſincere well-wiſher,

WILLIAM SEWEL.

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THE
PREFACE.

AFTER *a labour of more than five and twenty years, this* HISTORY *at length appears in publick view; to the compiling of which I was induced from the conſideration that the Riſe and Increaſe of that religious ſociety, which in this work I have given a circumſtantial account of, is indeed ſo rare and wonderful a thing, that I think few will be met with in modern hiſtories, which, in the like reſpect, may be compared therewith; becauſe the Quakers, ſo called, are become a great people, under ſuch heavy oppreſſion as is herein after mentioned; and that not by any human power, or making reſiſtance, but merely by an harmleſs deportment, and the exerciſing of patience; for the bearing of arms, and the reſiſting of the wicked by fighting, they always have counted unlawful, and contrary to the doctrine of our Saviour. Thus they, who had no king, prince, nor potentate to protect them, and who in the beginning had not among themſelves any men of renown or literature, but relying on their integrity, and truſting to God alone, have at length triumphed over the malice of their oppoſers, by ſuffering, (which roſe to that degree, that it was at the expence of the lives of many of them) under violent oppreſſion from high and low, and the oppoſition of learned and unlearned.*

*All this, after much ſearch, being found out by aſſiduous diligence, it appeared ſo wonderful to me, that I reſolved to give a relation thereof notwithſtanding the great labour I ſoon perceived this work required. To this may be added, that when I conſidered that ſeveral authors, both Germans and others, had publiſhed books and accounts of this people, ſtuffed with groſs untruths, I was the more ſpurred on thereby to ſet down in due order (for my countrymens ſake) what I knew of the matter; for it ſeems indeed to be of ſmall advantage, that when any thing is well known to us, we keep that knowledge only to ourſelves * without imparting it to others.*

Now how difficult ſoever I found it, yet having made a beginning, I reſolved to go on; and ſo I did, though often ſtopped by ſeveral accidents, and alſo other work: for during this labour, I have not only tranſlated ſeveral bulky books into Dutch, beſides 'Kennet's antiquities of Rome,' but alſo compoſed ſeveral treatiſes of moment, and among theſe my Great Dictionary, Engliſh and low Dutch. And notwithſtanding all theſe impediments, I continually reſumed this work by intervals ſo often, that I have written it almoſt thrice to make it complete: for doubting of ſome things, and finding others defective, it made me write to England for better information; which having gotten at length after much pains and long waiting, I was ſeveral times obliged to lay aſide part of my former deſcription, and make a new one; which happened ſo often, that had I not been ſupported by an unwearied application, the difficulty of the labour, which hath been much greater in Holland than if I had compoſed the work in England, would have made me give it over. But I went on, and ſo finiſhed this Hiſtory in that form as it now appears.

* Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter. *Perſ. Sat.* 1.

And I am not without thoughts, that I was prepared to be instrumental for such a work as this: for several remarkable things I have made use of, I had noted down before ever I thought of composing such a history; and even in my young years, when I was in England, I copied out from manuscripts several pieces and letters, which are inserted in this History, it may be, hardly to be found elsewhere.

At the first sight perhaps some will be ready to think that I might have superseded this labour; since the learned world hath long ago seen a book written in Latin by Gerard Croese, with the title of 'Historia Quakeriana.' But be it known to the reader, that tho' the author got the chief contents thereof from me, yet that relation which he gives of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers, is very imperfect and defective; and that he presumed to relate things of which he had no true knowledge. I gave him indeed many things in writing; but not all I had collected; besides having since that time written to my acquaintance in England, I got narratives of many remarkable occurrences given forth in print there, and many authentick pieces in manuscript. Now tho' this collection was, as Ovid called the Chaos, 'rudis indigestaque moles,' (a rude and undigested heap;) yet from thence, and from my own collection of matters known to me, I have compiled the greatest part of this History: but as to the life and transactions of G. Fox, who is largely treated of in this work, I took them chiefly from his Journal: and the greatest part of other occurrences, or the lives and transactions of others, I have taken from the works of deceased authors, and out of abundance of small books published in print not long after the things happened, and not contradicted by whatever I could learn.

Thus I have endeavoured to assert nothing but what I had good authority for; which in regard of some circumstances, would have been yet far more difficult after the expiration of some years: for now time gave opportunity to be informed of many things, which some ancient people had yet remembrance of, and which after their decease perhaps would have been buried in oblivion.

I can't well omit here publickly to acknowledge the signal kindness and diligence of my well-beloved and much esteemed friend Theodore Eccleston of London, who hath furnished me with abundance of materials, not only very useful, but also absolutely necessary for the compiling of this work: from him I had intelligence on that account, and have exchanged a multitude of letters. And thus by a long continued correspondence I came to be acquainted with many things and circumstances, which after some years might have been more difficult to obtain.

Add to this, that I have described several things well known to me, which few besides myself within these thirty or forty years had better knowledge of. I have also mentioned several remarkable cases, which I noted down from the mouths of credible persons, who have been dead many years; and thought not that at any time I should have published them in print. In the mean-while I took account of what seemed to me worthy to be left upon record, and collected a great quantity of books, wherein many occurrences, mentioned in this History were related. Of such kind of relations and accounts I have made use, without taking from thence all that was remarkable: for it hath not been for want of matter that this History hath not run out further, since I could have made it thrice as big, if I had been minded so to do.

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But as I was unwilling to extend my work any further than my ſtrength and health in all probability would permit, ſo I would not glut my reader with many things of one and the ſame nature; but have endeavoured by variety of matter, to quicken his appetite: and therefore have intermixed the ſerious part ſometimes with a facetious accident.

Yet I have not thought myſelf bound to take notice of every odd caſe that may have happened among the Quakers ſo called: for there have converſed among them ſuch, who acted ſome particular things that were not approved of by thoſe of that ſociety. And if any one ſwayed by human paſſion commits any exceſs, which is diſapproved of by his fellow members of the church, ſuch an act may not be duly imputed to the people he makes profeſſion with. Among ſuch particulars may be reckoned the caſe of one Heſter Biddle, which Croeſe makes mention of, about the end of his hiſtory: for though it was told him from the relation ſhe gave of it at Amſterdam, not with any intention that he ſhould publiſh it, yet this was a particular caſe which ſhe herſelf muſt be reſponſible for; ſince experience hath taught that imagination ſometimes works ſo powerfully on the mind, that one thinks himſelf obliged to do a thing which were better left undone.

Yet for all that it is true, that men fearing God, may miſtake, and through ignorance do ſomething, which others not without reaſon might judge not commendable. Alſo it may happen that ſome again from a godly fear have acted or omitted what others, no leſs pious, would not have ſcrupled. And though ſome among the Quakers, in the beginning of their riſe, for fear of tranſgreſſing Chriſt's command, Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your maſter, even Chriſt, *ſpeaking to perſons in authority, called them by the name of Friend; yet others of the ſame perſuaſion have not therefore thought themſelves bound to refuſe to magiſtrates their diſtinguiſhing titles of magiſtracy. Nay, if any for ſome ſpecial reaſon may not have given a full or direct anſwer to a query, yet others of the ſame ſociety have not looked upon this as a pattern to imitate. For the moſt eminent valiants among this people in the beginning were not men of note or learning, tho' of great courage; inſomuch that their immovable ſteadfaſtneſs ſometimes ſo exaſperated their enemies, that their fear of doing or omitting any thing which they judged would diſpleaſe God, often hath been ſtamped with the odious denomination of ſtubbornneſs and ſtiffneckedneſs; but they have borne this patiently, believing that it was their duty to perſevere immovably in minding their chriſtian profeſſion, and in frequenting their religious aſſemblies. And that ſuch a ſteadfaſtneſs was the duty of a chriſtian, ſeems alſo to have been the judgment of the authors of the 'Confeſſion of faith of the reformed churches in the Netherlands,' 'Art.* xxviii.' *where it is ſaid, 'That it is the office or duty of all 'believers, to ſeparate themſelves according to the word of God from 'thoſe that are not of the church; and to join to this congregation, in 'what place ſoever God hath placed them, tho' the magiſtrates and 'edicts of princes were againſt it, and that death, or any corporal 'puniſhment was annexed to it.'*

Mat. xxiii. 8.

It is true, there have been ſuch among the Quakers, who were exceeding bold in repreſenting to their enemies their evil behaviour and deportment: but this hath been a peculiar talent of pious men, of whom

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examples are extant in the books of martyrs, viz. that ſome of them in very plain terms told their perſecutors of their wickedneſs. Very remarkable in that reſpect is the ſpeech of John Molleus, who about the year 1653, *being priſoner at Rome, without any diſſimulation, expoſed to publick view the wicked lives of the cardinals and biſhops, who were ordered by the pope to examine him. The like boldneſs appears alſo in the letter of Hans van Ovendam, to the magiſtrates of Ghent in Flanders, as may be ſeen in the Mirror of martyrs of the Baptiſts. From whence it appears, that the Quakers have not been the only people, who have told their perſecutors very boldly of their wicked deportment and cruelty.*

It can't be denied that there have been at times, among this ſociety, ſome people of an odd behaviour, who in proceſs of time embraced ſtrange opinions and perverſe notions: but that's no new thing; ſince this hath happened alſo among thoſe of other perſuaſions, tho' none of theſe would allow that this was the conſequence or effect of their doctrine. We find in ſacred writ, that even in the primitive chriſtian church there were apoſtates, either ſuch as maintained ſtrange doctrine, as the Nicolaitans, or ſuch who finding the ſtraight way too narrow for them, left it, and like Demas, falling in love again with the world, entered into the broad way. And therefore it can now no more than then, be argued from thence, that the exorbitances to which ſome launched out, were the effects of the doctrine they forſook.

Since in this Hiſtory ſome predictions are alſo mentioned, and that ſome biaſſed by prejudice, will perhaps look upon them as frivolous, imagining that the Quakers pretend to have the ſpirit of propheſy: I'll anſwer to this, that tho' among thouſands of them there may have been one that prophetically foretold a thing, which afterwards truly happened; yet others of that ſociety preſumed to have that gift, no more than to have that of being a preacher: and all are not called to that work. There muſt be anteceſſors and leaders in the religious oeconomy, as well as in the politick ſtate: for if every one not qualified ſhould aſſume the office of governing, things would ſoon run into confuſion. Now tho' ſome have had this falſe conceit, that to be able to predict future things was a quality the Quakers attributed to themſelves, as proceeding from their doctrine, that chriſtians ought to be led by the ſpirit of God; yet this is a very ſiniſter and prepoſterous conceit: for what they ſay concerning the leading and guiding of the ſpirit of God, is agreeable with the doctrine of the apoſtle,

Rom. viii. 14. *who ſaith,* As many as are led by the ſpirit of God, they are the ſons of God. *And this was alſo the doctrine of the firſt reformers. What muſt we think then of thoſe who will not be led by this ſpirit, but call this doctrine by the odious denomination of enthuſiaſm? The*

——viii. 9. *ſame apoſtle tells us alſo,* If any have not the ſpirit of Chriſt, he is

1 Cor. xii. 7. none of his. *And he alſo ſaith,* The manifeſtation of the ſpirit is given to every man to profit withal. *But from thence it doth in nowiſe follow, that the ſpirit of propheſy is given to every one; neither that altho' it might pleaſe God to reveal to one a thing which yet was to come, ſuch an one therefore was endued with ſuch a prophetical ſpirit, that, he was able at any time to predict future things.*

If this poſition be true, then thoſe of other perſuaſions might alſo lay claim to that prerogative; becauſe among them ſometimes there

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have been pious men, who predicted remarkable things, which afterwards really happened; as among the reſt, James Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who foretold the rebellion in Ireland forty years before it came to paſs; beſides the inteſtine war and miſeries that befel England, and other things that were fulfilled; which leads us not to reject as frivolous his prediction of the dreadful perſecution that would fall upon all the proteſtant churches by the Papiſts; for tho' one of his friends once objected to him, that ſince Great-Britain and Ireland had already ſuffered ſo deeply, there was reaſon to hope that the judgments of God in reſpect of theſe kingdoms might have been paſt; yet he replied to it, 'Fool not yourſelves with ſuch hopes; 'for I tell you, all you have yet ſeen hath been but the beginning of 'ſorrows to what is yet to come upon the proteſtant churches of Chriſt, 'who will ere long fall under a ſharper perſecution than ever yet hath 'been upon them. And therefore look you be not found in the outward 'court, but a worſhipper in the temple before the altar: for Chriſt 'will meaſure all thoſe that profeſs his name, and call themſelves his 'people; and the outward worſhippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court is the formal chriſtian, whoſe religion lies in performing the outſide duties of chriſtianity, 'without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting 'them to Chriſt: and theſe God will leave to be trodden down, and 'ſwept away by the Gentiles. But the worſhippers within the temple, 'and before the altar, are thoſe who do indeed worſhip God in ſpirit 'and in truth, whoſe ſouls are made his temples, and he is honoured 'and adored in the moſt inward thoughts of their hearts, and they ſacrifice their luſts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to Him: 'and theſe God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the 'ſhadow of his wings. And this ſhall be the great difference between 'this laſt, and all the other preceding perſecutions: for in the former, 'the moſt eminent and ſpiritual miniſters and chriſtians did generally 'ſuffer moſt, and were moſt violently fallen upon; but in this laſt perſecution theſe ſhall be preſerved by God as a ſeed to partake of that 'glory which ſhall immediately follow, and come upon the church, 'as ſoon as ever this ſtorm ſhall be over: for as it ſhall be the ſharpeſt, ſo it ſhall be the ſhorteſt perſecution of them all, and ſhall only 'take away the groſs hypocrites and formal profeſſors; but the true 'ſpiritual believers ſhall be preſerved till the calamity be overpaſt.'

If any now a-days ſhould ſpeak at this rate, it is credible, that many who think themſelves to be good chriſtians, would decry this as mere enthuſiaſm. But the ſaid biſhop is ſtill in ſuch great repute with the learned, and hath obtained ſuch an high eſteem by his writings, that his words are likely to be of more weight with many, than thoſe of other pious men. And therefore I was willing to renew them, and revive his memory, if perhaps this might make ſome impreſſion upon the minds of any: for this is a certain truth, that no outward performances will avail any, if they do not worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth; for ſuch worſhippers God ſeeks, according to what our Saviour himſelf ſaid; beſides, that not every one that ſaith to Him, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven: *nay, when many in that day will ſay to him,* Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name? *he will ſay to them,* I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity. Matt. vii. 21. ——22. ——23.

As the many ſingular caſes related in this Hiſtory will afford no unpleaſing entertainment to curious readers, ſo they will be found alſo inſtructive; for we ſhall not only meet with inſtances of true piety and love to one's neighbour, and of ſaints triumphing on their death-beds, and alſo with remarkable examples of ſinners truly penitent at the hour of death; but we may alſo find here abundance of proofs of a peaceable behaviour: for the Quakers, ſo called, have not plotted againſt the government, nor meddled with treaſonable practices or rebellions: and how much ſoever they were oppreſſed, yet they always were quiet, and never made any reſiſtance, but with an harmleſs patience they have borne their moſt heavy oppreſſions and injuries, and ſo at length overcame: for to be ſubject to magiſtracy hath always been one of their principles; and that they were really dutiful ſubjects, they have ſhewed at all times, by paying obedience to the Higher Power, in all they could do with a good conſcience. And when any thing was required of them, which from a reverential reſpect to God they durſt not do, or omit, they have ſhewed their obedience by ſuffering, without making any reſiſtance, or joining with others who were inclined thereto.

Now tho' many have made it their buſineſs to repreſent them in odious colours, and to write great untruths concerning them, nay, to faſten doctrines upon them which they never approved, and that not a few of the learned have contended againſt them with their pens, yet among theſe, there have alſo been ſuch, who tho' they never joined with, yet gave a good account and favourable teſtimony concerning them; as may be ſeen in Richard Claridge's anſwer to a book of Edward Cockſon, pag. 266, & ſeq. And at Amſterdam in Holland many years ago a learned man publiſhed a book, called, 'Lucerna ſuper Candelabrum,' wherein he very eminently defended the doctrine of the inward light; and this book was publiſhed in Dutch, and afterwards alſo in Engliſh with the title of, 'The light upon the Candleſtick;' and ſince the name of William Ames, a zealous preacher among the Quakers, was placed upon the title, many have believed him to be the author of that book, becauſe his doctrine of the divine and inward light was ſo effectually aſſerted therein. That he approved the contents of the book I know; but I know alſo that it never proceeded from his pen. And many years afterwards it was publiſhed under the name of one Peter Balling as the author, tho' there were thoſe who fathered it upon Adam Boreel, becauſe it is found printed in Latin among his 'Scripta 'Poſthuma.' And this opinion is not altogether improbable; for among his works are found alſo ſome other writings, that contain ſeveral poſitions aſſerted by the Quakers: beſides, he and ſome other of the collegians, and among theſe alſo Dr. Galenus Abrahamſon, were ſo effectually convinced of the doctrine preached by William Ames, when he firſt came to Amſterdam, that they approved of it; tho' afterwards from a miſapprehenſion they oppoſed it. Now if we preſuppoſe that Adam Boreel was the author of the ſaid Latin book, Peter Balling might be the tranſlator thereof into Dutch; for that it was originally written in Latin, ſeems to me very probable.

But however this be, it appears plainly, that the author would not publickly be known, for the title ſeemed deſignedly compoſed ſo, that the readers ſhould believe W. Ames to be the author of it, viz. 'The light 'on the Candleſtick, ſerving for illuſtration of the principal matters in

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'*the book, called,* "*The Myſteries of the Kingdom of God,*" *&c.* '*againſt Galenus Abrahamſon, and his aſſenters, treated of, and writ-* '*ten by W. Ames.*' *And this name ſtood in capital letters underneath, in ſuch a manner as the name of an author is uſually placed upon a title; tho' the publiſher meant no more, but that W. Ames was the author of the book called,* '*The myſteries of the kingdom of God.*' *And there was no printer's name added to it, but only,* '*Printed for the author,* 1662.'

Now tho' I can't tell certainly who was the author, yet I have thought fit, ſince the ſaid book is not eaſily to be got in Latin, to inſert it in the appendix of this Hiſtory; from whence it may appear, as well as from the writings of ſome others, that there have been ſuch as either commended the Quakers, or defended their doctrine, tho' they themſelves never could reſolve to join with them publickly.

But notwithſtanding all this, there have been others who to render the doctrine, the deportment, and carriage of the Quakers ſuſpected and odious, have been ready to repreſent their honeſt behaviour and religious life as phariſaical righteouſneſs; altho' Chriſt and his apoſtles ſo earneſtly recommended ſuch a life. Pray what mean theſe words of our Saviour, Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect, *but that we ought to endeavour, to the utmoſt of our power, to lead a virtuous and godly life? When thoſe that heard the apoſtle Peter preach,* were thereby pricked in their hearts, and ſaid, men and brethren, what ſhall we do? *he anſwered them,* Repent; *and at another time,* Repent ye, and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out. *The apoſtle Paul ſaith,* Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind: *and the apoſtle Peter, agreeable to this ſaith,* As obedient children, not faſhioning yourſelves according to the former luſts in your ignorance; but as he which hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all manner of converſation. *All which clearly implieth that a chriſtian ought to be very ſtrict and careful in his converſation; and of this judgment were alſo the firſt reformers. And that archbiſhop Tillotſon was alſo of the ſame mind, appears from many paſſages that are to be found in his ſermons.*

Matt. v. 48. Acts ii. 37, 38. Acts iii. 19. Rom. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 14, 15.

But tho' the Quakers have endeavoured to make their life and converſation agree with their chriſtian profeſſion, yet this hath raiſed envy, grudge and malice againſt them: and among the clergy there have been ſuch, who to render them odious, did not ſtick to repreſent them as diſguiſed Papiſts, notwithſtanding theſe were none of their meaneſt enemies. For, after a due reflection and conſideration it hath ſeemed to me, that when king Charles the ſecond was on the throne, the Romaniſts, and ſuch among the church of England as favoured them, were the chief promoters of perſecution. And theſe, to purſue their wicked ends, would not proceed according to law, in the trials of impriſoned Quakers; but they continually ſtrove to introduce an arbitrary power; and ſo, from time to time, they did not omit to perſecute the Quakers ſeverely, thinking that when they were once ſuppreſſed, the other diſſenters muſt fall of neceſſity, tho' they were not for non-reſiſtance. But Providence acted very remarkably; for when a popiſh prince afterwards would introduce liberty of conſcience, the eyes of the moſt moderate maintainers of the church of England came to be ſo opened, that in the reign of king William III. *they promoted a*

general

general liberty of conſcience, by which the people called Quakers, at length obtained liberty to perform their publick worſhip without moleſtation.

Thus far the limits of this Hiſtory are extended; and being arrived there, I did not think myſelf bound to enlarge any further; what follows being no more than an overplus.

I have related nothing in this work, but what I believed to be unqueſtionably true; for what ſeemed doubtful to me I rather choſe to paſs by, having never been of ſo credulous a temper, as eaſily to take things on truſt without due examination: for we often ſee, that high-ſoaring imaginations make people believe things that are far from being true. But for all that, we ought not to reject as untrue every thing that appears ſtrange or unuſual; ſince experience convinceth us of the contrary, viz. that ſometimes we have ſeen a thing, which if we had not beheld with our own eyes, we could hardly have believed. Wherefore I would not reject as untrue what was extraordinary or unuſual, when it was told me by credible perſons, or confirmed by eye-witneſſes. And therefore, tho' my reader may meet with ſome very ſingular occurrences, yet this is true, that I have endeavoured to the utmoſt to relate nothing, but what after a nice inquiry ſeemed to me to be true, or at leaſt very probable. And yet I have ſilently paſſed over ſome caſes which I did not queſtion to be true, leſt any might think me too credulous.

As to the tranſactions of ſtate-affairs, I have taken them moſtly from 'The hiſtory of the rebellion and the civil wars in England,' written by Edward earl of Clarendon, and from the Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow: yet ſome few things relating to ſtate-affairs, that have not been mentioned by them, nor in any other publick hiſtory that I know of, I thought worthy to be delivered to poſterity by my pen.

For my ſtile, I know it is but indifferent: I do not pretend to elegancy in the Engliſh tongue; for being a foreigner, and never having been in England but about the ſpace of ten months, and that near fifty years ago, it ought not to be expected that I ſhould write Engliſh ſo well as Dutch, my native language. If therefore my pen ſometimes hath been guilty of a belgiciſm, I beg excuſe of my reader. And ſince my abſence hath hindered me from correcting the printer's miſtakes, either in omiſſions or other errors, ſuch faults I don't think myſelf reſponſible for, becauſe I have been fain to truſt the overſight and correction of my work to others, who may have been more liable to let errors eſcape, than myſelf ſhould have been. This I hope will ſuffice to excuſe me with diſcreet perſons.

What the envious may judge of this work I little care for, well knowing that the moſt eminent authors have been expoſed to envy, and been obnoxious to the cenſures of pedantick criticks. Whatever any may think, this I am well aſſured of, that my chief ſcope hath been by the relation of many unuſual occurrences, not only to delight my reader, but alſo to lead him to virtue. If I may be ſo happy as to have contributed thereto, I ſhall think my pains well rewarded; and if not, I ſhall have at leaſt this ſatisfaction, that according to my ability I have endeavoured to be beneficial to others, and to edify my fellow-mortals in that which is good; which I can't but think to be well-pleaſing to God. And if I have performed any thing that is good, the honour and glory thereof belongs to him, who is the giver of all good gifts; and it is from him alone I have received all my ability to do any good thing. Thus concluding I wiſh the reader diſcretion, and an impartial judgment.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THAT the wonderful WORK of Reformation was ſmall, and of very little account in its beginning, and yet hath been advanced with remarkable progreſs, will, I believe, be denied by none, that have with attention and due conſideration read the hiſtory of its firſt riſe; ſince God, the beginner and author of this glorious work, proceeding by ſteps and degrees, uſed therein ſuch ſingular wiſdom and prudence, that every circumſtance duly conſidered, inſtead of cenſuring any part thereof, we ſhall be obliged to cry out, Thou, O Lord, alone know'ſt the right times and ſeaſons to open the eyes of people, and to make them capable of thy Truth! 1415.

If we look to the firſt beginnings, to go back no farther than John Hus, we ſhall find, that though in many things he was conſiderably enlightened, yet he remained ſtill in ſeveral groſs errors; for altho' he had a clear ſight of the vain doctrines of purgatory, praying to, and worſhipping of images, &c. nevertheleſs it is reported of him, that he favoured the invocation of ſaints, the ſeven ſacraments, auricular confeſſion, and other tenets of the church of Rome; and yet chriſtian charity conſtrains us to believe (tho' we find proteſtant writers who deny him the name of a martyr) that by his death, which he ſuffered in the flames at Conſtance in Germany, on the ſixth of the month called July, in the year 1415, he was an acceptable ſacrifice unto God: and with what a ſedate and well compoſed mind he ſuffered death, may be concluded from this, that ſeeing a country fellow very zealouſly carrying wood to burn him, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, 'O holy ſimplicity!' And after the fire was kindled, he ſang with joy in the flames, his mind being firmly eſtabliſhed on God; for he had been faithful according to his knowledge, and had not hid his talent in the earth, but improved it, having ſhewn himſelf a zealous promoter of that ſmall illumination which God was pleaſed to grant him;

J. Hus, an early reformer, burnt for Religion.

1415. it being without queſtion great enough in that grievous night of darkneſs, when idolatry had ſo univerſally blinded mankind, that, morally ſpeaking, it would have been impoſſible for them to have underſtood the declaration of an entirely reformed religion; ſince it is evident that the moſt ſober and diſcreet people of that age were capable to underſtand the doctrine and ſermons of that honeſt man.

To give a clearer proſpect into this matter, let it be conſidered, that if a man had been kept ſhut up a long time in a dark priſon, where he could neither behold the light of the ſun or moon, and ſhould have been let out on a ſudden at clear noon day, he would not only not be able to endure the bright daylight, but would alſo, if he ſtrove to open his eyes with force, be in danger of loſing his ſight, and falling into a worſe condition than he was in before; whereas if he had been brought into the open air at the time of twilight, he would by degrees have learned to diſcern the objects, and come to an ability of beholding every thing in a clear day aright.

Corporal preſence the teſt of religion.

Agreeable to this, in the reigns of king Henry the VIIIth, and the bloody queen Mary, the principal teſt in England was, whether a man owned the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and he who denied this, was to be burnt as an heretick; alſo in the Netherlands 'twas enough to bring a man to the ſtake, if he confeſſed that he had been re-baptized. Inſomuch that it ſeems the Lord did raiſe in thoſe days zealous men chiefly to teſtify againſt the idolatry of the hoſt, and the error of infant-baptiſm, that ſo gradually he might break down the great ſtructure of human inventions.

Now how ſmall ſoever the beginnings of this great work of reformation were, yet it increaſed from time to time, and oftentimes ſingular inſtances were ſeen of the workings of the power and ſpirit of God.

1513. The zeal of Le Clerc againſt idolatry.

In the year 1513, I find that one John Le Clerc of Meaux in France, being at Metz in Lorrain, was filled with ſuch zeal againſt idolatry, that he broke to pieces the images in a chapel, which the next day were to have been worſhipped in a very ſolemn manner. And being taken priſoner for this fact, and cruelly tortured to death, he was ſo eminently ſtrengthened, even to the amazement of the beholders, that in the height of the torments, being torn with red hot pincers, he ſaid from Pſalm CXV. *Their idols are ſilver and gold, the work of mens hands.*

Aymond a Vie cruelly tortured to death for preaching the goſpel. 1541.

Not leſs was the zeal of one Aymond a Vie, impriſoned in France about the year 1541, becauſe he had preached the goſpel undauntedly; and tho' he had been adviſed to fly, yet he would not be perſuaded thereto, but ſaid with an heroick mind, 'I would 'rather never have been born, than commit ſuch a baſe act; for 'it is the duty of a good paſtor not to fly from danger, but to ſtay 'in it, leſt the ſheep be ſcattered.' He was tortured cruelly to betray his fellow believers; but no torment, how great ſoever, could extort the name of any from him; and he ſuffered death valiantly for the teſtimony of Jeſus, feeling himſelf very powerfully ſtrengthened by the ſpirit of God, which worked ſo glorioufly in the martyrs of thoſe times, that thoſe of Merindol in Provence ſaid, 'The Holy Ghoſt is an infallible teacher, by whoſe inſpira-

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'tion all chriſtians receive the knowledge of truth: this ſpirit 'dwells in them, he regenerates them to a new life, he ſlayeth the 'old man in them, and he makes them alive to every good 'work, conſolating them in tribulations, and ſtrengthening them 'in adverſities,' &c. 1541. Doctrine preached by the martyrs of Merindol.

And of the pious profeſſors at Meaux, I find mentioned in the Year 1546, that tho' a great number of men and women were led priſoners by but a few, they yet made no reſiſtance, but ſhewed themſelves harmleſs, not ſad with grief, but ſinging with joy. 1546. Great numbers led to priſon by a few.

Nay, ſo powerfully did God work in Gabriel Beraudin, who was executed at Chambery in Savoy, in the year 1550, that after his tongue was cut off by the hangman, he ſpoke intelligibly to the people, and celebrated God's praiſe in a miraculous manner. 1550. G. Beraudin praiſed God when his tongue was cut off.

Claude Morier being burnt very cruelly at Lions in France, wrote whilſt in his priſon, 'Let us pray our heavenly Father con-'tinually, that he create in us a clean heart, that he give us a new 'heart, and that he guide our will by the leadings of his ſpirit.' Claude Morier burnt.

Very remarkable it is alſo, that Godfried de Hammelle, a year after that being impriſoned at Tournay in the Netherlands, and being told that the apoſtle in his epiſtle to the Epheſians had called marriage a Sacrament, ſaid in a letter, 'That tho' at firſt this 'had puzzled him, yet the Lord had not long left him in this dif-'ficulty, but put him in mind by his ſpirit, that the word there 'was not *ſacrament*, but *myſtery*.' For the martyrs of thoſe times did not ſtick to profeſs with the primitive chriſtians, that the children of God muſt be led by his ſpirit. Godfried de Hammelle ſaid, That the apoſtle calls not marriage a ſacrament, but myſtery. 1551.

Peter Schryver, burnt at Lions, about the year 1552, wrote from priſon, 'That he having heard God's pure word preached, believed 'it, becauſe the ſpirit of God gave him a teſtimony [or evidence] 'of it in his heart; and did ſo confirm it to him, that he could 'not queſtion it in the leaſt.' He alſo ſays in his letter, 'That 'once having prayed to God, he had been ſo refreſhed by the vir-'tue of his ſpirit, and ſo ſtrengthened, that tho' he ſat in a dark 'naſty place, yet he felt ſuch conſolation and joy, that overcame 'all ſorrow and anguiſh. Nay, ſaid he, the leaſt comfort and joy 'I feel now in my bonds, ſurpaſſeth all the joys that ever I had in 'my life; for now the Holy Ghoſt puts me in mind of thoſe gra-'cious promiſes that are made to thoſe who ſuffer for his Name's-'ſake.' And being aſked, how he knew that which he aſſerted to be the pure word of God? He anſwered, 'Becauſe it did agree with 'the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles, and that of Jeſus Chriſt; 'and that the Holy Ghoſt gave him a certain evidence thereof.' Concerning the indwelling of God's ſpirit in man, he alſo ſpeaks very notably in his letter to John Chambon, (whoſe wonderful converſion in priſon, was an eminent proof of the truth of his ſayings) telling him, 'That his heavenly Father was near him, and by his 'ſpirit dwelt in his heart.' The religious ſentiments of P. Schryver, and conſolation in his ſufferings, 1552.

That this was alſo the doctrine of John Calvin, appears from his letters to the ſaid man and his fellow-priſoners, where he ſaith, 'Don't doubt but God will, in thoſe things wherein he will uſe 'your ſervice, give you that power, by which the work in you be-'ing begun, will be perfected, for that he hath promiſed to do: J. Calvin allows the doctrine of the indwelling of God's ſpirit in man.

'and

1552. 'and we have many examples and inſtances of that excellent faith, 'by which we clearly know, that God never in any thing hath 'failed thoſe who have been led and guided by his ſpirit. Truſt 'firmly, brethren, that when it is needful, you will become ſo 'ſtrong and ſtedfaſt, that you ſhall not faint under any burden of 'temptations, how great and heavy ſoever. —— The fight is now 'at hand, to which the Holy Ghoſt exhorts us, not only that we 'ſhould go, but even that with all alacrity of mind, we ſhould 'run.' Many other excellent teſtimonies of eminent men of thoſe times might be produced: and it alſo is very remarkable, that Peter Bergier being priſoner at Lions, in the year 1553, and afterwards ſuffering death, cried in the midſt of the flames, 'I ſee the 'heavens opened.'

1553. P. Bergier burnt.

Now that the doctrine of *being taught by the Spirit of God*, was generally received by the martyrs of thoſe times, we learn from many of their writings. Denis Peloquin burnt, in the ſaid year, at Ville Franche, ſaid in his confeſſion, 'That it was the Holy Ghoſt 'that gave him witneſs in his conſcience, that the books of the Old 'and New Teſtament were the Holy Scripture.' Lewis de Marſac, being about the ſame time put to death by fire at Lions, when he was aſked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to be the Goſpel? ſaid, 'God hath taught me ſo by his ſpirit:' and being alſo aſked, whether it was his incumbent duty to read the Holy Scriptures, and who had inſtructed him concerning them? He anſwered, 'that God 'by his ſpirit had effected it, that he got ſome knowledge thereof; 'and that without his grace, and the enlightening of his ſpirit, he 'could not comprehend and underſtand any thing in the Goſpel.' John Calvin did alſo write to the aforeſaid Peloquin and Marſac: 'God will cauſe that the confeſſion which you will make accord-'ing to the meaſure of the ſpirit he has given you, will produce a 'greater fruit of edification, than all others that might be ſent you.' And to Matthew Dymonet, priſoner at Lions, he wrote thus: 'Submit modeſtly to the guidings of God's ſpirit; anſwer with all 'moderation and diſcretion, keeping to the rule of the Scriptures. 'I have believed, and therefore I will ſpeak; but let not this hin-'der thee to ſpeak freely and ſincerely, being perſuaded that he 'who promiſed to give us a mouth, and ſuch wiſdom as the gain-'ſayers can't withſtand, will never forſake thee.' More of the like inſtances of the operations of the ſpirit of God in his witneſſes I could alledge, if I had ſo intended; but I give here only a ſlender draught of the ſincerity and the principle of thoſe that were come but to the dawnings of the reformation; for higher I can't eſteem that time, becauſe the eyes of the moſt zealous men of thoſe days, were yet ſo much covered with the fogs which then were, and the prejudice of the old leaven, that they did not diſcern all things in a full clearneſs; for one ſaw the error of one thing, and others of another; but human affection did work too ſtrong, and thereby they judged one another, as is abundantly mentioned in hiſtory.

The ſpirits teaching owned by Denis Peloquin.

He and Lewis de Marſac martyred.

Calvin writes to the two laſt, and to M. Dymonet, to ſtrengthen them in their ſufferings.

If we rightly look into this, it ſeems very abſurd, to think that the reformation (which in former times had been pretty much advanced by ſome eminent men; as Luther, Melancthon, Oecolompadius, Calvin, Menno, and others) then was brought to perfection;

tion; for we perceive that even thoſe reformers themſelves, at firſt had not ſuch a clear ſight into many things, as afterwards they got; which to demonſtrate at large, I count unneceſſary; ſince England being the chief ſtage on which the things I intend to deſcribe, have been tranſacted, I'll turn my face thitherward, to take a view curſorily of the beginning and proceſs of the reformation there. 1553.

T. Cranmer prompts K. H. 8. to reform the errors of the church of Rome. Anno 1536.

Paſſing by Wicleff and others, I begin with Thomas Cranmer, who, becauſe of his ſincere and good life, being advanced by king Henry the VIIIth to the archbiſhop's ſee of Canterbury, did all that was in his power to reform the errors crept into the church of Rome, and therefore in the year 1536, he exhorted the king, who much loved him, to proceed to a reformation, and that nothing in religion ſhould be determined, without clear proofs from ſcripture, and therefore he propoſed that theſe points, 'whether there was a purgatory; whether deceaſed ſaints 'ought to be invocated; and how images were to be regarded,' well needed to be inquired into; ſince it began to appear that ſeveral things were errors, for which ſome people not long before had ſuffered death.

T. Cromwel alſo labours much in promoting the reformation. 1537.

Some time after, Thomas Cromwel, a chief miniſter of the kingdom, and a great friend of Cranmer, publiſhed ſome injunctions in the king's name, wherein all churchmen were required, no more to recommend to people, images, relicks, or pilgrimages, but to teach them the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in Engliſh. This was a great ſtep towards the tranſlation of the bible into Engliſh, which being alſo furthered by Cranmer, the next year came out in print; and by the king's warrant, the clergy were required to ſet up bibles in their churches; ſo that now all that could might read the holy ſcripture in their native tongue. Cranmer not content with this, obtained in the year 1539, a permiſſion for all people to have the bible in their houſes; yet for all that, he ſtill was an aſſertor of the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the hoſt, until in the year 1549, in the reign of king Edward VI. when the times were more free, he was induced by Nicholas Ridley, a zealous reformer, and afterwards a martyr under queen Mary, to inquire better into the thing, and to diſcover the abſurdity of it; from whence he did not only oppoſe and ſuppreſs that ſuperſtition, but alſo many others; and it is likely, that if opportunity had been given him, he would have reformed more. Nevertheleſs it can't but be wondered at, that he who ſeems to have been a man of a meek temper, could give his vote to the burning of thoſe whom he looked upon to be hereticks; as John Nicholſon, alias Lambert, in the reign of Henry VIII. for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and Joan Bocher, and George Parr, under Edward VI. the firſt for denying that Chriſt had taken fleſh from the virgin Mary, and the latter for not believing the deity of Chriſt: from whence we may ſee, what a wrong zeal for religion is able to effect: but without queſtion, he was come to be of another mind, when in the year 1556, under the bloody reign of queen Mary, this was not only laid in his diſh,

Bibles printed in Engliſh, and ſet up in churches, ſo called, and in the year, 1539, permitted in private houſes.

N. Ridley, a zealous reformer, martyred under queen Mary, as well as Cranmer. 1556.

1556 but he was alſo forced to undergo the ſame lot of being burnt alive.

Now, tho' after his death, the biſhops under queen Elizabeth were content with the reformation made by Cranmer, yet it pleaſed God in the year 1568, to raiſe other perſons, that teſtified publickly againſt many of the remaining ſuperſtitions; and altho' Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benſon were impriſoned by the queen's order, yet they got many followers, and alſo the name of Puritans. And notwithſtanding the archbiſhop, to prevent this, drew up ſome articles of faith, to be ſigned by all clergymen, yet he met with great oppoſition in the undertaking: for one Robert Brown, a young ſtudent of Cambridge, (from whom the name of Browniſts was afterwards borrowed) and Richard Harriſon, a ſchool-maſter, publiſhed in the year 1583 ſome books, wherein they ſhewed how much the church of England was ſtill infected with Romiſh errors; which was of ſuch effect, that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened; who ſo valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that ſome of the moſt zealous among them, viz. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, about the year 1593, were put to death becauſe of their teſtimony, more (as may very well be believed) by the inſtigation of the clergy, than by the deſire of the queen: for ſome time after it happened, that ſhe aſked Dr. Raynolds his opinion of thoſe men, eſpecially Barrow and Greenwood: to which he anſwered, 'That it would 'not avail any thing to ſhew his judgment concerning them, 'ſeeing they were put to death.' But the queen yet preſſing him farther, he ſaid, 'That he was perſuaded if they had lived, they 'would have been two as worthy inſtruments for the church of 'God, as had been raiſed up in that age.' At which the queen ſighed and ſaid no more. But afterwards riding by the place where they were executed, and calling to mind their death, ſhe demanded of the earl of Cumberland, that was preſent when they ſuffered, what end they made? he anſwered, 'A very godly end, and they 'prayed for your majeſty and the ſtate.' Moreover one Philips, a famous preacher, having ſeen Barrow's preparation for death, ſaid, 'Barrow, Barrow, my ſoul be with thine.'

1568.

The riſe of the Puritans.

And the name of Browniſts, from Robert Brown, who, with Richard Harriſon, his aſſiſtant, labours in 1583 for farther reformation.

1593. H. Barrow, J. Greenwood, and J. Penry put to death, rather by inſtigation of the clergy, than at the queen's deſire.

After the death of queen Elizabeth, when James I. had aſcended the throne, the followers of thoſe men, ſuffered much for their ſeparation from the church of England: but very remarkable it is, that even thoſe of that perſuaſion, of which many in the reign of king Charles I. went to New-England, to avoid the perſecution of the biſhops, afterwards themſelves turned cruel perſecutors of pious people, by inhuman whippings, &c. and laſtly by putting ſome to death by the hands of a hangman: a clear proof indeed, that thoſe in whom ſuch a ground of bitterneſs was left ſtill, tho' it had not always brought forth the like abominable fruits, were not come yet to a perfect reformation; for though the ſtem of human traditions and inſtitutions ſometimes had been ſhaken ſtrongly, yet much of the root was left. Therefore it pleaſed God, who is uſed to enlighten men gradually, to make yet a clearer diſcovery of his truth, which in ſome places

Yet afterward many of their perſuaſion went to New-England, to avoid perſecution, and became cruel perſecutors of others.

places already darted forth its beams to mankind, in a time when many godly people were zealouſly ſeeking after a farther manifeſtation of the will of God, from a ſenſe that, notwithſtanding all their outward obſervations of religious performances, there ſtill ſtood a partition-wall, whereby the ſoul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator. 1593.

For in that time there were in England many ſeparate ſocieties, and amongſt the reſt alſo, ſuch as were called Seekers, who at firſt ſeemed to promiſe great matters; but the ſequel ſhewed that their foundation was not the Rock of Ages, and ſo divers of them ſoon loſt their firſt integrity. Now thoſe people who began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conſcience, and accordingly preached to others the doctrine of an inward light, wherewith Chriſt had enlightened men, in the latter end of the time of king Charles I. began to increaſe in number, and they became a ſeparate ſociety among men, and in proceſs of time, the name of QUAKERS, was in ſcorn impoſed on them; and in moſt countries of Europe, they have been accuſed of many exorbitant abſurdities, both in life and doctrine. I have deſigned to deſcribe impartially, and according to truth, the firſt beginnings and riſe, and alſo the progreſs of that people, and to ſtretch out the relation of their increaſe and tranſactions, ſo far as my time of life and leiſure will permit.

Riſe of the Seekers, who ſoon decline.

Firſt appearance of the Quakers, at the latter end of K. Charles the 1ſt's reign.

I enter upon a work, which, conſiſting of many very ſingular inſtances, in its beginning appears hard and difficult, and in the proceſs often ſad and dreadful. For among manifold adverſities, we ſhall not only meet with bitter revilings, ſcornful mockings, rude abuſes, and bloody blows from the fool-hardy rabble, but alſo ſevere perſecutions, hard impriſonments, grievous baniſhments, unmerciful ſpoil of goods, cruel whippings, cutting off of ears, ſmotherings in priſons, and alſo putting to death by the hands of the hangman, by order of the magiſtrates: afterwards ſome quiet and reſt; then again ſevere perſecution, until the furious promoters of it, at laſt wearied, deſiſted from their miſchievous labour for a time, more by being at their wits-end, than out of mercy. And among all theſe viciſſitudes, notable inſtances have been ſeen of unfeigned godlineſs, ſincere love, much true-heartedneſs, extraordinary meekneſs, ſingular patience, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, and unſhaken ſtedfaſtneſs, even among the female ſex, which tho' the weakeſt, yet in the hardeſt attacks, ſhewed a more than manly ſpirit; inſomuch, that ſeldom any age hath afforded matter where more powerful examples to virtue have been ſeen.

Their various ſufferings and behaviour.

The firſt I find that was thus immediately reached in his mind, was a young man called George Fox, born at Drayton in Leiceſterſhire, in the month called July, in the year 1624, from parents that were members of the publick church, or church of England, as appeareth to me from a paper, in his life-time drawn up by his order, at my requeſt, and ſent me. His father was Chriſtopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honeſt man, and of ſuch a virtuous life, that his neighbours were uſed to call him Righteous Chriſter. His mother was Mary Lago, an upright woman, and of the ſtock

1624.

The birth, parentage, and character, of George Fox in his youth.

1624. ſtock of the martyrs. This George Fox was even in his minority endued with a gravity and ſtaidneſs of mind, that is ſeldom ſeen in children; ſo that he ſeeing how old people carried themſelves lightly and wantonly, had ſuch an averſion to it, that he would ſay within himſelf, 'If ever I come to be a man, ſurely I will not 'be ſo wanton.' His parents in the mean while endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worſhip, his mother eſpecially contributing thereto, as being eminent for piety: but even from a child he was ſeen to be of another frame of mind than his brethren; for he was more religious, retired, ſtill, and ſolid, and was alſo obſerving beyond his age, as appeared from the anſwers he gave, and the queſtions he aſked concerning religious matters, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that heard him. His mother ſeeing this extraordinary temper and godlineſs, which ſo early did ſhine through him, ſo that he would not meddle with childiſh plays, did not think fit to trouble him about the way of worſhip, but carried herſelf indulgent towards him. Mean while he learned to read pretty well, and to write ſo much as would ſerve him afterwards to ſignify his meaning to others. When he was come to eleven years of age, he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; ſince the Lord by his good ſpirit had ſhewed him, that he was to keep his word always, and that he ought not to commit exceſs in eating or drinking. Thus growing up in virtue, ſome of his relations were for having him trained up in the ſchools, to make a prieſt of him; but others perſuaded to the contrary, and ſo he was put to a ſhoe-maker that dealt alſo in wool and in cattle. In his maſter's employment, he took moſt delight in ſheep, and was very ſkilful in what belonged thereto, for it was an employment that very well ſuited his mind; and his thus being a ſhepherd, was, as an eminent author ſaith, 'a juſt emblem of his after miniſtry and ſervice.' He acquitted himſelf ſo diligently in his buſineſs, and minded it ſo well, that his maſter was ſucceſsful in his trade whilſt George was with him. He often uſed in his dealings the word verily, and then he kept ſo ſtrict to it, that people that knew him, would ſay, 'if George ſays verily, there is no altering him.'

George Fox's Journal, p. 2.

1641.

The author's reaſon why he ſometimes takes notice of ſtate-occurrences.

Now, tho' my deſign is not to give a deſcription of ſtate-affairs, yet I find it neceſſary to mention ſomething of the chief temporal occurrences in England, inaſmuch as they may have relation to the affairs of the church, leſt my hiſtory might ſeem an incomplete work. Tranſiently therefore I will ſay, that in England about this time, appeared the beginnings of a civil war, in which religion had ſome ſhare; for the biſhops began to introduce ſeveral innovations, and cauſed not only rails to be made about the communion-table, which now was called the high altar; but thoſe that approached it, bowed thrice, and a bow was made at the pronouncing of the name of Jeſus. Thus ceremonies increaſed from time to time; and thoſe preachers that were really religious, and ſpoke moſt to edification, were ſlighted and ſet by; the biſhops in their viſitations, minding chiefly to promote ſuch rites

The beginnings of the publick troubles.

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as favoured popery: and this was not only done in England, but in Scotland alſo endeavours were made to bring in epiſcopacy. This cauſed a ferment among the people, which when it came to an inſurrection, they generally believed that it was for religion's-ſake, which made ſome cry in the open ſtreets, where there was any confluence of people, *To your tents, O Iſrael.* And becauſe the parliament was of opinion that king Charles I. encroached upon their privileges, which they would not ſuffer, this ſo exaſperated that prince, that he brought together an army, and ſet up his ſtandard, firſt on the caſtle of Nottingham, where it was blown down the ſame evening, on the 25th of the month called Auguſt, in the year 1642. But before that time, the king had taken poſſeſſion of ſome fortified places, and the parliament on the other hand, had alſo got ſome in their power. Some time after, a battle was fought between the royaliſts and the parliament, near Edge-Hill in Warwickſhire, where neither party prevailed much. 1641. 1642.

About this time George Fox, who more and more endeavoured to lead a godly life, being come to the nineteenth year of his age, it happened at a fair, that a couſin of his and another coming to him, aſked whether he would drink a jug of beer with them? he being thirſty, ſaid yes, and went with them to an inn: but after each had drank a glaſs, they began to drink healths, and ſaid, that he that would not drink ſhould pay for all. This grieved George much, ſeeing that people who profeſſed to be religious, behaved themſelves thus, and therefore he roſe up to be gone; and putting his hand into his pocket, he took out a groat, and laid it down upon the table, ſaying, 'If it be ſo, I'll leave 'you;' and ſo he went away; and when his buſineſs was done, he returned home; but did not go to bed that night, but prayed, and cried earneſtly to the Lord; and it ſeemed to him that his ſupplications were anſwered after this manner, 'Thou ſeeſt how 'young people go together into vanity and old people into the 'earth; therefore thou muſt forſake all, both young and old, 'and be as a ſtranger to them.' This, which he took to be a divine admonition, made ſuch a powerful impreſſion on his mind, that he reſolved to break off all familiar fellowſhip and converſation with young and old, and even to leave his relations, and live a ſeparate and retired life. On the ninth of September, in the year 1643, he departed to Lutterworth, where he ſtaid ſome time, and from thence went to Northampton, where he alſo made ſome ſtay, and then paſſed to Newport-Pannel in Buckinghamſhire; and after having ſtaid a while there, he went to Barnet, whither he came in the month called June, in the year 1644.

G. Fox reſolves to leave his relations, to retire and travel. 1643. 1644.

Whilſt he thus led a ſolitary life, he faſted often, and read the holy ſcriptures diligently, ſo that ſome profeſſors took notice of him, and ſought to be acquainted with him. But he ſoon perceiving they did not poſſeſs what they profeſſed, grew afraid of them, and ſhunned their company. In this time he fell into a ſtrong temptation, almoſt to deſpair, and was in mighty trouble, ſometimes keeping himſelf retired in his chamber, and often

Falls into temptation almoſt to deſpair.

1644. walking ſolitary to wait upon the Lord. In this ſtate he ſaw how Chriſt had been tempted; but when he looked to his own condition, he wondered, and ſaid, 'Was I ever ſo before.' He began to think alſo that he had done amiſs againſt his relations, becauſe he had forſaken them; and he called to mind all his former time, to conſider whether he had wronged any. Thus temptations grew more and more; and when Satan could not effect his deſign upon him that way, he laid ſnares for him to draw him to commit ſome ſin, thereby to bring him to deſpair. He was then about twenty years of age, and continued a long while in this condition, and would fain have put it from him; which made him go to many a prieſt to look for comfort, but he did not find it from them. In this miſerable ſtate he went to London, in hopes of finding ſome relief among the great profeſſors of that city; but being come there, he ſaw them much darkened in their underſtandings. He had an uncle there, one Pickering a Baptiſt, and thoſe of that perſuaſion were tender then; yet he could not reſolve to impart his mind to them, or join with them, becauſe he ſaw all, young and old, where they were. And tho' ſome of the beſt would have had him ſtaid there, yet he was fearful, and ſo returned homewards; for having underſtood that his parents and relations were troubled at his abſence, he would rather go to them again leſt he ſhould grieve them. Now when he was come into Leiceſterſhire, his relations would have had him married; but he prudently told them, 'he was but a lad, and muſt get wiſdom.' Others would have had him in the auxiliary band among the forces of the parliament, which being entered now into an inteſtine war with the king, had, with their forces this year, beaten not only the king's army under prince Rupert, but alſo conquered the city of York. But to perſuade George to liſt himſelf a ſoldier, was ſo againſt his mind, that he refuſed it, and went to Coventry, where he took a chamber for a while at a profeſſor's houſe, where he ſtaid ſome time, there being many people in that town who endeavoured to live religiouſly. After ſome time
1645. he went into his own country again, and was there about a year, in great ſorrows and trouble, walking many nights by himſelf.

Seeks comfort among the great profeſſors in vain, and then returns homeward.

Nathaniel Stevens, the prieſt of Drayton, (the town of George's birth) would often come to him, and George to the prieſt; and when Stevens viſited him, he would ſometimes bring another prieſt along with him, and then George would aſk them queſtions, and reaſon with them. Once Stevens aſked him, 'Why Chriſt 'cried out upon the croſs, *my God, my God, why haſt thou for-* '*ſaken me?*' and why he ſaid, '*If it be poſſible let this cup paſs* '*from me; yet, not my will but thine be done?*' To this George anſwered thus: 'At that time the ſins of all mankind 'were upon Chriſt, and their iniquities and tranſgreſſions with 'which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an 'offering for them, as he was man, but died not as he was God: 'and ſo, in that he died for all men, and taſted death for every 'man, he was an offering for the ſins of the whole world.' When George Fox ſpoke this, he was in a meaſure ſenſible of Chriſt's ſufferings, and what he went through. And his ſaying

Is viſited by prieſt Stevens.

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did ſo pleaſe the prieſt, that he ſaid, 'It was a very good, full 'anſwer, and ſuch an one as he had not heard.' He would alſo applaud and ſpeak highly of George Fox to others, and what George ſaid in diſcourſe to him, that he would preach of on the firſt days of the week: for which George did not like him. 1645.

Goes to an ancient prieſt at Manſetter for advice, and to another at Tamworth.

After ſome time he went to an ancient prieſt at Manſetter in Warwickſhire, and reaſoned with him about the ground of deſpair and temptations; but he being altogether ignorant of George's condition, bid him take tobacco, and ſing Pſalms. But George ſignified that he was no lover of tobacco, and as for Pſalms, he was not in a ſtate to ſing. Then the prieſt bid him come again, and that then he would tell him many things. But when George came, the prieſt was angry and pettiſh, for George's former words had diſpleaſed him; and he was ſo indiſcreet, that what George had told him of his ſorrows and griefs, he told again to his ſervants, ſo that it got among the milk-laſſes; and grieved him to have opened his mind to ſuch an one; and he ſaw they were all miſerable comforters. Then he heard of a prieſt living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and therefore he went to him, but found him like an empty hollow caſk.

And then to Dr. Cradock of Coventry, and to one Macham; but all to little purpoſe.

Hearing afterwards of one Dr. Cradock of Coventry, he went to him alſo, and aſked him whence temptations and deſpair did ariſe, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The prieſt, inſtead of anſwering, aſked him, 'Who was Chriſt's father and 'mother?' George told him, 'Mary was his mother, and he 'was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Joſeph; but he was the Son of 'God.' Now as they were walking together in Dr. Cradock's garden, it happened that George in turning, ſet his foot on the ſide of a bed, which ſo diſturbed that teacher, as if his houſe had been on fire, and thus all their diſcourſe was loſt; and George went away in ſorrow, worſe than he was when he came, ſeeing he found none that could reach his condition. After this he went to one Macham, a prieſt of high account; and he, no more ſkilful than the others, was for giving George ſome phyſick, and for bleeding him; but they could not get one drop of blood from him, either in the arms or the head, his body being, as it were, dried up with ſorrows, grief, and trouble, which were ſo great upon him, that he could have wiſhed never to have been born, to behold the vanity and wickedneſs of men; or that he had been born blind, and ſo he might never have ſeen it; and deaf, that he might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blaſphemed. And when the time called Chriſtmas came, while others were feaſting and ſporting themſelves, he went from houſe to houſe, looking for poor widows, and giving them ſome money. And when he was invited to marriages (as ſometimes he was) he would go to none at all; but the next day, or ſoon after, he went and viſited thoſe that were newly married; and if they were poor, he gave them ſome money; for he had wherewith both to keep himſelf from being chargeable to others, and to adminiſter ſomething to the needful.

Whilſt the mind of George Fox was thus in trouble, the ſtate of England was alſo in a great ſtir; for the parliament was for

turning

1645. turning out of biſhops, and introducing the Preſbyterian directory; which however as yet could not well be effected, although William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been made to ſtoop to the block; and the power of the king by this time was much weakened; for his army was this ſummer near Naſeby, not far from Leiceſter, overcome by an army of untrained bands, and about ſix thouſand men, among whom many great officers were taken priſoners, and his cabinet, with abundance of letters of great moment, was ſeized; inſomuch, that though they had ſome ſkirmiſhes, yet no deciſive battle was fought afterwards.

Archbiſhop Laud beheaded, and the K's affairs greatly decline.

But ſince a circumſtantial deſcription of theſe ſtate affairs is not within my deſign, I'll return again to George Fox, who in 1646. the beginning of the year 1646, as he was going to Coventry, and entering towards the gate, a conſideration aroſe in him, how it was ſaid that 'All chriſtians are believers,' both Proteſtants and Papiſts: and it was opened to him, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and paſſed from death to life, and that none were true believers but ſuch: and though others ſaid they were believers, yet they were not. At another time as he was walking in a field on a firſt-day morning, it was diſcovered unto his underſtanding, that 'to be bred at Oxford or 'Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a miniſter of 'Chriſt.' At this he wondered, becauſe it was the common belief of people; but for all that, he took this to be a divine revelation, and he admired the goodneſs of the Lord, believing now the ordinary miniſters not to be ſuch as they pretended to be. This made him unwilling to go any more to church, as it was called, to hear the prieſt Stevens, believing that he could not profit thereby: and therefore inſtead of going thither, he would get into the orchard, or the fields, by himſelf with his bible, which he eſteemed above all books, ſeeking thus to be edified in ſolitarineſs. At this his relations were much troubled: but he told them, 'did not John the apoſtle ſay to the believers, *That 'they needed no man to teach them; but as the anointing teacheth 'them?*' And though they knew this to be ſcripture, and that it was true, yet it grieved them, becauſe he would not go to hear the prieſt with them, but ſeparated himſelf from their way of worſhip: for he ſaw now, that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be; and that being bred at the univerſities did not qualify a man to be a miniſter of Chriſt. Thus he lived by himſelf, not joining with any, nay, not of the diſſenting people, but became a ſtranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Univerſities make not a man a miniſter of Chriſt.

G. Fox's relations grieved becauſe he went not to hear the prieſt nor joined with any others.

Some time after it was opened in him, 'That God who made 'the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands.' And though this ſeemed at firſt ſtrange to him, becauſe both prieſts and people uſed to call their churches 'dreadful places, holy 'ground, and temples of God,' yet it was immediately ſhewed him, that the Lord did not dwell in theſe temples which man had erected, but in peoples hearts, and that his people were the temple he dwelt in. This was diſcovered to him when he was walking in the fields to the houſe of one of his relations. And when

God dwells in the hearts of his people, not in temples made with hands.

when he came there, it was told him, that Nathaniel Stevens, the prieſt, had been there, and told them, he was afraid of Fox, for going after new lights. This made him ſmile, becauſe now he ſaw the true ſtate of the prieſts. But he ſaid nothing of it to his relations, who, though they ſaw that ſomething more was required than the vulgar way of worſhip, yet they continued therein, being grieved becauſe he would not alſo go to hear the prieſts. Only he told them there was an anointing in man, to teach him; and that the Lord would teach his people himſelf. He had great openings now concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when he ſpake of them, the prieſts and profeſſors would ſay, that was 'a ſealed up book.' But to this he ſaid, 'Chriſt could 'open the ſeals, and that the things contained in that book, very 'nearly concerned us; ſince the epiſtles of the apoſtles were writ-'ten to the ſaints of thoſe times, but the Revelations pointed at 'things to come. 1646.

In England in thoſe days were people of very odd notions, and among the reſt ſuch as held, that women have no ſouls. He lighting on ſome of theſe, could not forbear reproving them, ſince the ſcripture, as he told them, plainly held forth the contrary; for the bleſſed virgin Mary ſaid, *My ſoul doth magnify the Lord; and my ſpirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.* He alſo came among a people that relied much on dreams; but he told them, 'Except they could diſtinguiſh between dream and 'dream, their obſervations would be nothing but confuſion, ſince 'there were three ſorts of dreams; for multiplicity of buſineſs 'ſometimes cauſed dreams; and there were whiſperings of Satan 'in the night ſeaſons; and there were alſo ſpeakings of God to 'man in dreams.' But becauſe theſe people were more in want of a clear diſcerning, than of good will, they at length came out of thoſe imaginations, and at laſt became fellow-believers with him; who, though he had great openings in his underſtanding, yet great trouble and temptations many times came upon him; ſo that when it was day he wiſhed for night, and when it was night he wiſhed for day. Nevertheleſs among all thoſe troubles, his underſtanding was ſo opened, that he could ſay with David, *Day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night ſheweth knowledge;* for even in theſe troubles he had great openings of many places in ſcripture.

G. Fox confutes the notion that women have no ſouls.

His thoughts of dreams.

As to ſtate-affairs, things continued in a diſtracted condition; for the king, who after his army had been beaten, was gone to the Scots, was by them delivered up to the Engliſh; to whom now he could no more preſcribe Laws, but was fain to receive them. And the Churchmen were alſo at variance; for the Independents (ſeveral of which ſat alſo in parliament) began to ſay, that between Epiſcopacy, (againſt which they had fought conjunctly) and Preſbytery, the difference was only in the name, and ſome few outward circumſtances, ſince people of a tender conſcience might apprehend no leſs oppreſſion from the Preſbyterians, than from the Epiſcopalians: and that this fear was not vain or idle, time afterwards hath ſhewn abundantly.

The king goes to the Scots, who deliver him up to the Engliſh.

Little difference, ſay the Independents betweenPreſbytery and Epiſcopacy.

But let us return to George Fox, who in the beginning of the

1647. G. Fox travels into Darbyſhire, and Nottinghamſhire.

year 1647, feeling ſome drawings to go into Darbyſhire, went thither, and meeting there with ſome friendly people, had many diſcourſes with them. Then paſſing farther into the peak-country, he met with more ſuch people, and alſo with ſome that were ſwayed by empty and high notions. And travelling into Nottinghamſhire, there he met with a tender people, and among theſe one Elizabeth Hooton, of which woman more will be ſaid in the ſequel: with theſe he had ſome meetings and diſcourſes. But his troubles and temptations ſtill continued, and he faſted much, and walked often abroad in ſolitary places, taking his bible with him; and then ſat in hollow trees, and loneſome places till night came on; and frequently in the night he walked mournfully about, being ſurrounded with many ſorrows in the times of theſe firſt workings of the Lord in him.

During all this time, he never joined in profeſſion of religion with any, but gave up himſelf to the diſpoſing of the Lord, having forſaken not only all evil company, but alſo taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations; and ſo he travelled up and down as a ſtranger on the earth, which way he felt his heart inclined: and when he came into a town, he took a chamber to himſelf there, and tarried ſometimes a month, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs in a place; for he was afraid of ſtaying long in any place, leſt, being a tender young man, he ſhould be hurt by too familiar a converſation with men.

Stays not long in a place, and avoids too familiar converſation.

Now though it might ſeem not very agreeable with the gravity of my work to mention, what kind of cloaths he wore in theſe firſt years of his peregrination; yet I don't count it abſurd to ſay here, that it is indeed true what a certain author, viz. Gerrard Croes, relates of him, that he was cloathed with leather; but not, as the ſaid author adds, becauſe he could not, nor would not, forget his former leather-work; but it was partly for the ſimplicity of that dreſs, and alſo becauſe ſuch a cloathing was ſtrong, and needed but little mending or repairing, which was commodious for him who had no ſteady dwelling place, and every where in his travelling about ſought to live in a lonely ſtate: for keeping himſelf thus as a ſtranger, he ſought heavenly wiſdom, and endeavoured to get knowledge of the Lord, and to be weaned from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Altho' his troubles were great, yet they were not ſo continual, but that he had ſome intermiſſions, and was ſometimes brought into ſuch an heavenly joy, that admiring the love of God to his ſoul, he would ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *Thou, Lord, makeſt a fruitful field a barren wilderneſs, and a barren wilderneſs a fruitful field.* Now he regarded the prieſts but little, becauſe he clearly ſaw that to be trained up in the univerſities, and to be inſtructed in languages, liberal arts, and the like ſciences, was not ſufficient to make any one a miniſter of the goſpel: but he looked more after the diſſenting people: yet as he had forſaken the prieſts, ſo he left the ſeparate preachers alſo, becauſe he ſaw there was none among them all that could ſpeak to his condition. And when all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, then he heard according to what he relates himſelf, a voice which ſaid, 'There is

In his early travels went cloathed in leather.

'one

'one, even Chriſt Jeſus that can ſpeak to thy condition,' Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy, and it was ſhewed him why there was none upon the earth that could ſpeak to his condition, namely, that he might give the Lord alone all the glory, and that Jeſus Chriſt might have the pre-eminence. 1647. None could ſpeak to his condition, but Chriſt alone.

He then experimentally knowing that Chriſt enlightens man, and gives him grace, faith, and power, his deſires after the Lord, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God grew ſtronger, ſo that he wiſhed to encreaſe therein without the help of any man, book, or writing. Yet he was a diligent reader of the holy ſcriptures, that ſpeak at large of God and Chriſt, though he knew him not but by revelation, as he, who had the key, did open. Thus he entered into no fellowſhip with any ſociety of people, becauſe he ſaw nothing but corruptions every where, which made him endeavour to keep fellowſhip only with Chriſt; ſince in the greateſt temptations, when he almoſt deſpaired, it was ſhewed him, that Chriſt had been tempted by the ſame devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruiſed his head, and that therefore through the power, light, grace and ſpirit of God, he himſelf might alſo overcome. Thus the Lord aſſiſted him in the deepeſt miſeries and ſorrows, and he found his grace to be ſufficient: inſomuch that, though he had yet ſome deſires after the help of men, his thirſt was chiefly after the Lord, the Creator of all, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt; becauſe nothing could give him any comfort but the Lord by his power; and he clearly ſaw that all the world, though he had poſſeſſed a king's ſtate, would not have profited him.

In this condition his underſtanding came more and more to be opened, ſo that he ſaw how death in Adam had paſſed upon all men; but that by Chriſt, who taſted death for all men, a deliverance from it, and an entrance into God's kingdom, might be obtained. Nevertheleſs his temptations continued, ſo that he began to queſtion whether he might have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt. This brought great perplexity and trouble over him for many days; yet he ſtill gave up himſelf to the Lord: and one day, when he had been walking ſolitarily abroad, and was come home, he became exceeding ſenſible of the love of God to him, ſo that he could not but admire it. Here it was ſhewed him, that all was to be done in and by Chriſt; that he conquers and deſtroys the Tempter, the Devil, and all his works; and that all theſe troubles and temptations were good for him for the trial of his faith. The effect of this was, that though at times his mind was much exerciſed, yet he was ſtaid by a ſecret belief, and his ſoul by a firm hope, which was to him as an anchor, was kept unhurt in the diſſolute world, ſwimming above the raging waves of temptations. After this (as he relates himſelf) there did a pure fire appear in him; and he ſaw that the appearance of Chriſt in the heart was as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's ſoap; and that a ſpiritual diſcerning was given to him, by which he ſaw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it: and that which could not abide in patience, he found to be of the fleſh, that could not give up to the will of God,

1647. God, nor yield up itſelf to die by the croſs, to wit, the power of God. On the other hand, he perceived it was the groans of the ſpirit which did open his underſtanding, and that in that ſpirit there muſt be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption.

A woman ſaid to have faſted twenty two days.

About this time he heard of a woman in Lancaſhire that had faſted twenty-two days; and he went to ſee her; but coming there he ſaw that ſhe was under a temptation: and after he had ſpoken to her what he felt on his mind, he left her, and went to Duckenfield and Mancheſter, where he ſtaid awhile among the profeſſors he found there, and declared to them that doctrine which now he firmly believed to be truth; and ſome were convinced, ſo as to receive the inward divine teaching of the Lord, and take that for their rule. This, by what I can find, was the

G. Fox's firſt beginning to preach, Elizabeth Hooton among his firſt adherers.

firſt beginning of George Fox's preaching, which, as I have been credibly informed, in thoſe early years chiefly conſiſted of ſome few, but powerful and piercing words, to thoſe whoſe hearts were already in ſome meaſure prepared to be capable of receiving this doctrine. And it ſeems to me that theſe people, and alſo Elizabeth Hooton (already mentioned) have been the firſt who by ſuch a mean or weak preaching came to be his fellow-believers: though there were alſo ſome others who by the like immediate way, as George Fox himſelf, were convinced in their minds, and came to ſee that they ought diligently to take heed to the teachings of the grace of God that had appeared to them. And thus it happened that theſe unexpectedly and unawares came to meet with fellow-believers, which they were not acquainted with before, as will be more circumſtantially related hereafter.

But to return again to George Fox, it ſet the profeſſors of thoſe times in a rage, that ſome of their adherents hearkened to his preaching; for they could not endure to hear perfection ſpoken of, and a holy and ſinleſs life, as a ſtate that could be obtained here. Not long after he travelled to Broughton in Leicerſterſhire, and there went into a meeting of the Baptiſts, where ſome people of other notions alſo came. This gave him occaſion to preach the doctrine of truth among them, and that not in vain; for ſince he had great openings in the ſcriptures, and that a ſpecial power of the Lord's workings began to ſpring in thoſe parts, ſeveral were ſo reached in their minds, that they came to be convinced, and were turned from darkneſs to light, partly by his preaching, and partly by reaſoning with ſome. Yet he himſelf was ſtill ſometimes under great temptations, without finding any to open his condition to, but the Lord alone, unto whom he cried night and day for help.

He travels to Broughton, and has ſome ſervice in a meeting of the Baptiſts.

Then goes back into Nottinghamſhire, and has divine manifeſtations.

Some time after he went back into Nottinghamſhire, and there it pleaſed the Lord to ſhew him, that the natures of thoſe things which were hurtful without, were alſo within in the minds of wicked men; and that the natures of dogs, ſwine, vipers, and thoſe of Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, Pharoah, &c. were in the hearts of many people. But ſince this did grieve him, he cried to the Lord, ſaying, 'Why ſhould I be thus, ſeeing I was never addicted 'to commit thoſe evils?' And inwardly it was anſwered him, 'That it was needful he ſhould have a ſenſe of all conditions;

'how

'how elſe ſhould he ſpeak to all conditions?' He alſo ſaw there was an ocean of darkneſs and death; but withal an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkneſs; in all which he perceived the infinite love of God. About that time it happened that walking in the town of Mansfield, by the ſteeple-houſe ſide, it was inwardly told him, 'That which people 'trample upon muſt be thy food;' and at the ſaying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the life of Chriſt people did trample upon; and that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled under foot. And though it ſeemed at firſt ſtrange to him, that he ſhould feed on that which the high profeſſors trample upon, yet it was clearly opened to him how this could be. 1647.

Then many people came far and near to ſee him; and though he ſpoke ſometimes, to open religious matters to them, yet he was fearful of being drawn out by them. Now the reaſon of people thus flocking to him might proceed partly from this; there was one Brown, who upon his death-bed ſpoke by way of prophecy many notable things concerning George Fox, and among the reſt, 'That he ſhould be made inſtrumental by the Lord to 'the converſion of people.' And of others that then were ſomething in ſhew, he ſaid, 'That they ſhould come to nothing.' Which was fulfilled in time, though this man did not live to ſee it, for he was not raiſed from his ſickneſs. But after he was buried, George Fox fell into ſuch a condition, that he not only looked like a dead body, but unto many that came to ſee him he ſeemed as if he had been really dead; and many viſited him for about fourteen days time, who wondered to ſee him ſo much altered in countenance. Somewhat ſpoken of him prophetically by one Brown.

At length his ſorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from him, ſo that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy in brokenneſs of heart. And to give an account of his condition to thoſe that are able to comprehend it, I'll uſe his own words; 'I ſaw, ſaith he, into that which was 'without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the 'greatneſs and infiniteneſs of the love of God, which cannot be 'expreſt by words: for I had been brought through the very 'ocean of darkneſs and death, and through and over the power 'of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Chriſt: even through 'that darkneſs was I brought which covered all the world, and 'which chained down all, and ſhut up all in the death. And the 'ſame eternal power of God, which brought me through thoſe 'things, was that which afterwards ſhook the nation, prieſts, 'profeſſors, and people. Then could I ſay, I had been in ſpiri-'tual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the Grave; but by the 'eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought 'over it, and the power of it, into the power of Chriſt. And I 'ſaw the harveſt white, and the ſeed of God lying thick on the 'ground, as ever did wheat, that was ſown outwardly, and none 'to gather it: and for this I mourned with tears.' Thus far George Fox's own words, of whom now a report went abroad, 'That he was a young man that had a diſcerning ſpirit:' where- G. Fox's ſorrows wear off, and inward joy ſucceeds.

1647. upon many profeſſors, prieſts, and people, came to him, and his miniſtry increaſed, for he having received great openings, ſpoke to them of the things of God, and was heard with attention by many, who going away, ſpread the fame thereof. Then came the Tempter, and ſet upon him again, charging him that he had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; but he could not tell in what; and then Paul's condition came before him, how after he had been taken up into the third Heavens, and ſeen things not lawful to be uttered, a meſſenger of Satan was ſent to buffet him, that he might not exalt himſelf. Thus George Fox, by the aſſiſtance of the Lord, got alſo over that temptation.

The parliament inſiſt on the abrogation of Epiſcopacy, and would be maſters of the military force.

Now the 47th year of that century drew to an end, and ſtate-affairs in England grew more and more clouded and intricate; for the king not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe at Hampton-Court, whither he had been brought from the army, he withdrew to the Iſle of Wight, whilſt the parliament ſtill inſiſted on the abrogation of Epiſcopacy, and would be maſter of the military forces: which the king not being willing to yield to, was now kept in cloſer cuſtody, and no more regarded as a ſovereign, to whom obedience was due from the parliament.

Under theſe inteſtine troubles, the minds of many people came to be fitted to receive a nearer way and doctrine of godlineſs;

1648. and it was in the year 1648, that ſeveral perſons ſeeking the Lord, were become fellow-believers, and entered into ſociety with George Fox; inſomuch that they began to have great meetings in Nottinghamſhire, which were viſited by many. About that time, there was a meeting of prieſts and profeſſors at a juſtice's

Several ſober perſons join in fellowſhip with G. Fox who has a religious diſcourſe with prieſts and profeſſors, at a juſtice's.

houſe, and George Fox went among them, and heard them diſcourſe concerning what the apoſtle Paul ſaid, *He had not known ſin, but by the Law, which ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt.* And ſince they held that to be ſpoken of the outward law, George Fox told them, 'Paul 'ſpoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law 'before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the luſt of perſe-'cution; but it was the law of God in his mind, which he ſerved, 'and which the law in his members warred againſt.' This ſaying found ſo much entrance, that thoſe of the prieſts and profeſſors, that were moſt moderate, yielded and conſented, that it was not the outward law, but the inward, that ſhewed the inward luſt, which the apoſtle ſpoke of. After this he went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of profeſſors and other people; and being among them, and moved to pray, ſuch an extraordinary power appeared, and ſeized on the hearts of ſome in ſo eminent a manner, that even the houſe ſeemed to be ſhaken: and after prayer, ſome of the auditory began to ſay, 'That this reſembled 'that in the days of the apoſtles, when, on the day of Pentecoſt, 'the houſe where they were met was ſhaken.'

At Mansfield ſuch power attends his prayer, that the houſe ſeemed to be ſhaken.

Not long after this, there was another great meeting of profeſſors, where G. Fox came alſo, who hearing them diſcourſe about the blood of Chriſt, he cried out among them, 'Do ye not ſee the 'blood of Chriſt? Ye muſt ſee it in your hearts, to ſprinkle your 'hearts and conſciences from dead works, to ſerve the living God.' This was a doctrine which ſtartled theſe profeſſors, who would

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have the blood of Chriſt only without them, not thinking that it was to be felt inwardly. But a certain captain, whoſe name was Amos Stoddard, was ſo reached, that ſeeing how they endeavoured to bear G. Fox down with many words, he ſaid, 'Let the youth 'ſpeak, hear the youth ſpeak;' and coming afterwards to be more acquainted with G. Fox, he had an opportunity to be farther inſtructed in the way of godlineſs, of which he came to be a faithful follower.

Capt. Amos Stoddard, convinced by him, becomes a faithful follower.

Some time after, G. Fox returned to Leiceſterſhire, his own country, where ſeveral tender people came to be convinced by his preaching. Paſſing thence into Warwickſhire, he met with a great company of profeſſors, who being come together in the field, were praying and expounding the ſcriptures. Here the bible was given him, which he opened on the 5th of Matthew, where Chriſt expounded ſome parts of the law; from whence G. Fox took occaſion to open to them the inward and outward ſtate of man: and that which he held forth getting ſome ground, they fell into a fierce contention among themſelves and ſo parted.

Then he heard of a great meeting to be at Leiceſter, for a diſpute, wherein thoſe of ſeveral perſuaſions, as Preſbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts, and Epiſcopalians, were ſaid to be all concerned. This meeting being appointed to be in the ſteeple-houſe, he went thither, where abundance of people were met, ſome of thoſe that ſpoke being in pews, and the prieſt in the pulpit. At laſt, after ſeveral reaſonings, a woman ſtarted a queſtion, and aſked, 'What that birth was the apoſtle Peter ſpoke of; viz. *A 'being born again of incorruptible ſeed, by the word of God, that liv-'eth and abideth forever?*' The prieſt, inſtead of anſwering this queſtion, ſaid to her, 'I permit not a woman to ſpeak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to ſpeak. This kindled G. Fox's zeal, ſo that he ſtept up, and aſked the prieſt: 'Doſt thou 'call this place, (the ſteeple-houſe) a church? Or doſt thou call 'this mixt multitude a church?' But the prieſt not anſwering to this, aſked, 'What a church was?' And G. Fox told him, 'The 'church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living 'ſtones, living members, a ſpiritual houſhold, which Chriſt was 'the head of: but he was not the head of a mixt multitude, or 'of an old houſe, made up of lime, ſtones, and wood.' This cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that the prieſt came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, whereby the diſpute was marred. But G. Fox went to a great inn, and there diſputed with the prieſts and profeſſors of all ſorts, maintaining what he had ſaid, till they all went away; yet ſeveral were convinced that day, and among theſe, the woman who aſked the queſtion aforeſaid.

G. Fox is preſent at a diſpute at Leiceſter, where ſome are convinced by him;

After this, G. Fox returned again into Nottinghamſhire, and went into the vale of Beavor, where he preached repentance to the people: and he ſtaying ſome weeks there, and paſſing through ſeveral towns, many were convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About that time, as he was ſitting by the fire one morning, a cloud came over him, and a temptation beſet him, and he ſitting ſtill, it was ſuggeſted, 'All things come by nature;' and he was in a manner quite clouded; but he continuing to ſit ſtill, the people

As alſo in Nottinghamſhire.

1648. people of the houſe peceived nothing: at length a living hope aroſe in him, and alſo a voice that ſaid, 'There is a living God who, 'made all things,' and immediately the cloud and temptation vaniſhed away, whereby his heart was made glad, and he praiſed the Lord.

Not long after he met with ſome people that had a miſchievous notion, 'That there was no God, but that all things came by 'nature.' But he reaſoning with them, ſo confounded them, that ſome were fain to confeſs, 'That there was a living GOD.' Then he ſaw that it was good for him to have been tried under ſuch a cloud. Now in thoſe parts he had great meetings, and a divine power working in that country, and thereabouts, many were gathered. Then coming into Darbyſhire, there was a great meeting of friends at Eaton, where many of them began to preach the doctrine of truth, who afterwards were moved to declare the truth in other places alſo.

Has a great meeting at Eaton in Darbyſhire.

G. Fox coming about this time to Mansfield, heard, that in a town about eight miles off, there was to be a ſitting of juſtices, to deliberate about hiring of ſervants; and he, feeling a conſtraint upon his mind, went thither, and exhorted them, 'Not to oppreſs 'the ſervants in their wages, but to do that which was right and 'juſt to them:' and the ſervants, many of which were come thither, he admoniſhed, 'To do their duty, and ſerve honeſtly:' and they all received his exhortation kindly. He felt himſelf alſo moved, to go to ſeveral courts and ſteeple-houſes at Mansfield, and other places, warning them to leave off oppreſſion, deceit, and other evils. And having heard at Mansfield of one in the country, who was a common drunkard, and a noted whore-maſter, and a poet alſo, he went to him, and reproved him in an awful manner for his evil courſes; which ſo ſtruck him, that coming afterwards to G. Fox, he told him, 'That he was ſo 'ſmitten when he ſpoke to him, that he had ſcarce any ſtrength 'left in him.' And this man was ſo thoroughly convinced, that he turned from his wickedneſs, and became an honeſt, ſober man, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that knew him before. Thus the work of G. Fox's miniſtry went forward, and many were thereby turned from darkneſs to light; and divers meetings of his friends, who were much increaſed in number, ſince the year 1646, were now ſet up in ſeveral places.

Comes to Mansfield, and has good ſervice, particularly on a noted debauchee.

Divers meetings ſet up.

G. Fox was now come up to quite another ſtate than formerly he had lived in; for he knew not only a renewing of the heart, and a reſtoration of the mind, but the virtues of the creatures were alſo opened to him; ſo that he began to deliberate whether he ſhould practiſe phyſick for the good of mankind. But God had another ſervice for him; and it was ſhewed him, that he was to enter into a ſpiritual labour; and alſo that thoſe who continued faithful to the Lord, might attain to a ſtate in which the ſinful inclination was ſubdued. Moreover the three great profeſſions in the world, viz. Phyſick, Divinity, (ſo called) and Law, were opened to him, whereby he ſaw that the phyſicians wanting the wiſdom of God, by which the creatures were made, knew not their virtues: that the lawyers generally were void of equity and juſtice,

'Tis opened to G. F. that Phyſicians, Lawyers, and Prieſts,

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juſtice, and ſo out of the law of God, which went over the firſt tranſgreſſion, and over all ſin, and anſwered the ſpirit of God that was oppreſſed in man: and that the prieſts for the moſt part were out of the true faith, which Chriſt is the author of, and which purifies the heart, and brings man to have acceſs to God. So that theſe phyſicians, lawyers and prieſts, who pretended to cure the body, to eſtabliſh the property of the people, and to cure the ſoul, were all without the true knowledge and wiſdom they ought to poſſeſs. Yet he felt there was a divine power, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive, and bow unto it. And he ſaw alſo, that tho' the prieſts did err, yet they were not the greateſt deceivers ſpoken of in the ſcriptures; but that theſe great deceivers were ſuch, who, as Cain, had heard the voice of God, and who, as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, and their company, were come out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and had praiſed God on the banks of the ſea ſhore; and who being come as far as Balaam, could ſpeak the Word of the Lord, as having heard his voice, and known his ſpirit, ſo that they could ſee the ſtar of Jacob, and the goodlineſs of Iſrael's tents, which no enchantment could prevail againſt: theſe that could ſpeak ſo much of their divine experience, and yet turned from the ſpirit of God, and went into the gainſaying, theſe he ſaw would be the great deceivers, far beyond the prieſts. He ſaw alſo that people generally did read the ſcriptures, without having a true ſenſe of them; for ſome cried out much againſt Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, Corah, Balaam, Judas, &c. not regarding that the nature of theſe was yet alive in themſelves; whereby they always applied to others that nature in which they themſelves lived.

are generally void of that true knowledge and wiſdom they ought to be guided by.

The Lord had alſo opened to him now, *That every man was enlightened by the divine light of Chriſt;* and he ſaw that they that believed in it, came out of condemnation, and became the children of the light: but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, tho' they made a profeſſion of Chriſt. All this he ſaw in the pure openings of the light. He alſo ſaw that God had afforded a meaſure of his ſpirit to all men, and that thereby they could truly come to ſerve the Lord, and to worſhip him; and that his grace, which brings ſalvation, and had appeared to all men, was able to bring them into the favour of God.

And that every man is enlightened by the divine light of Chriſt.

And on a certain time, as he was walking in the fields, he underſtood that it was ſaid to him, *Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world.* This he took to be the voice of the Lord, and believed it to be true. Then he felt himſelf powerfully moved to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery thorny wilderneſs; and he found then that the world ſwelled againſt him, and made a noiſe like the great raging waves of the ſea: for when he came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongſt the prieſts, profeſſors, magiſtrates, and people, they were all like a diſturbed ſea. Now he was ſent to turn people from darkneſs to the light, that they might receive Chriſt Jeſus; for he ſaw, that to as many as ſhould receive him in his light, he would give power to become the

1648. Sons of God: and that therefore he was to turn people to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart; and that by this grace they might be taught, and thereby obtain ſalvation; ſince Chriſt had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all, having enlightened all men with his divine ſaving light, and the manifeſtation of the ſpirit of God being given to every man to profit withal. He now being ſent thus to preach the everlaſting goſpel, did it with gladneſs, and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways, to Chriſt, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general aſſembly written in Heaven, which Chriſt is the head of; and from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Chriſt, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; and of whom the Father ſaid, *This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;* and off from the world's worſhip, to the ſpirit of God in the inward parts, that in it they might worſhip the Father, who ſeeks ſuch to worſhip him.

That he muſt uſe plain language; forbear compliments, &c.

Now he found alſo that the Lord forbad him to put off his hat to any men, high or low; and he was required to *thou* and *thee* every man and woman without diſtinction, and not to bid people *good morrow*, or *good evening*; neither might he bow or ſcrape with his leg to any one. This was ſuch an unuſual thing with people, that it made many of all perſuaſions and profeſſions rage againſt him; but by the aſſiſtance of the Lord, he was carried over all, and many came to be his fellow-believers, and turned to God, in a little time; although it is almoſt unſpeakable what rage and fury aroſe, what blows, pinchings, beatings, and impriſonments, they underwent, beſides the danger they were ſometimes in of loſing their lives for theſe matters: ſo indiſcreet is man in his natural ſtate. For here it did not avail to ſay, 'That 'the hat-honour was an honour from below, which the Lord 'would lay in the duſt, and ſtain it; that it was an honour which 'the proud looked for, without ſeeking the honour which came 'from God alone; that it was an honour invented by men in the 'fall, who therefore were offended if it were not given them; tho' 'they would be looked upon as church-members, and good chriſ-'tians; whereas Chriſt himſelf ſaid, *How can ye believe, who 'receive honour of one another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh 'from God only?* That it was an honour, which in relation to the 'outward ceremony, viz. the putting off the hat, was the ſame 'which was given to God; ſo that in the outward ſign of reve-'rence, no diſtinction, or difference was made betwixt the Crea-'tor and the creature: nay, that the ſaying of *you* to a ſingle 'perſon, went yet a degree further; for not only kings and 'princes formerly among the Heathens and Jews, had not been 'offended at it when they were *thee'd* and *thou'd*, but experience 'ſhewed that this ſtill was the language wherewith God was daily 'ſpoken to, both in religious aſſemblies and without.' But all theſe reaſons found little entrance with prieſts, magiſtrates, and others: bitter revilings, ill uſage, and ſhameful abuſes, were now become the lot and ſhare of thoſe who for conſcience-ſake, could no longer follow the ordinary cuſtom: for tho' it was pretended

that

that the putting off the hat was but a ſmall thing, which none ought to ſcruple; yet it was a wonderful thing, to ſee what great diſturbance this pretended ſmall matter cauſed among people of all ſorts; ſo that even ſuch that would be looked upon as thoſe that practiſed humility and meekneſs, ſoon ſhewed what ſpirit they were of, when this worldly honour was denied them. But all this ſerved to ſtrengthen the fellow-believers more and more in their plain carriage, and made them live up faithfully to the convincement of their conſciences, without reſpect of perſons. 1648.

A ſhort hint of publick affairs.

In the mean while the troubles of the land continued. We left the king in the foregoing year in the Iſle of Wight, in effect unkinged. Some time after the duke of York, ſecond ſon to the king, being then paſt fourteen years of age, fled to Holland, diſguiſed in woman's apparel; and his eldeſt brother the prince of Wales, who two years before fled to France, came now to Helvoot-Sluice in Holland, and went from thence with ſome Engliſh men of war, whoſe commanders were for the king, to the Downs in England, with intention to take the ſhips coming from London. He alſo publiſhed, by the ſpreading of a declaration, that he came to releaſe his father. Now there was alſo a negociation on foot between the king and the parliament, and there ſeemed ſome hopes of an accommodation, had not the army, the chief inſtrument of breaking down the royal power, oppoſed it, by calling for juſtice againſt all thoſe who had wronged the country, none excepted. This broke off the treaty, ſeveral ſuſpected members were turned out of the parliament, and the king was carried to Windſor about the time called Chriſtmas; and it was reſolved henceforth to ſend no more deputations to him, nor receive any from him; who now was no more named King, but only Charles Stuart: a very ſtrange turn of mundane affairs, and a mighty evidence of the fluctuating inconſtancy thereof. But things made no ſtand here, for it was concluded to bring him to a trial; and the parliament appointed general Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, lieutenant-general, with more than an hundred other perſons, to be his judges. Theſe being formed into a court of juſtice, the king was conducted from Windſor to St. James's, and from thence brought before them in Weſtminſter-Hall, where he was arraigned as guilty of high treaſon, for having levied war againſt the parliament and people of England. But he not owning that court to be lawful, nor acknowledging their authority, ſaid, 'I am not intruſted by the people, they are mine by inheritance:' and being unwilling to anſwer to the charge, he was on the 27th of the month called January, ſentenced to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a publick enemy to the commonwealth. But before this ſentence was pronounced, the king deſired that he might be permitted to make a propoſition to both houſes of parliament in the painted chamber, deſigning, as was ſince ſaid, to propoſe 'his 'own reſignation, and the admiſſion of his ſon, the prince of 'Wales, to the throne.' But this requeſt was denied by the court. Now though the ſaid prince of Wales, conſidering his father's danger, had applied himſelf to the States-General of the United Provinces at the Hague for aſſiſtance; and that theſe ſent two ambaſſadors

1648. baſſadors to the parliament, who coming to London on the ſame day the fatal ſentence was pronounced, could not obtain admiſſion till next day to the ſpeakers of both houſes, and were afterwards with Fairfax and Cromwell, and other commanders; and one of them had alſo his audience in the parliament to intercede with them for the king's life; yet all proved in vain: for on the 30th of the aforeſaid month, the king was brought on a ſcaffold erected before the banqueting-houſe, and his head ſevered from his body. The ſame day the parliament ordered a declaration to be publiſhed, whereby it was declared treaſon to endeavour to promote the prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, to be king of England, or any other ſingle perſon to be the chief governor thereof. And then, after having aboliſhed the houſe of peers, they aſſumed to themſelves the chief government of the nation, with the title of, 'The par-'liament of the commonwealth of England.'

K. Ch. I. beheaded. And the parliament aſſume the government.

The news of the king's death was no ſooner come into Scotland, but Charles, prince of Wales, was proclaimed at Edinburgh king of Great-Britain, provided he ſhould, before aſſuming the royal authority, give ſatisfaction about ſome matters concerning religion. And though this diſpleaſed the Engliſh, yet the Scots aſſerted that they might as well do ſo, as the Engliſh, who had done the ſame at the death of the late king's father, in the year 1625.

Scots proclaim the prince of Wales king.

1649. Leaving ſtate-affairs, let us return to G. Fox, who in the year 1649, was much exerciſed to declare openly againſt all ſorts of ſins; and therefore he went not only to the courts, crying for juſtice, and exhorting the judges and juſtices to do juſtice, but he warned alſo thoſe that kept publick houſes for entertainment, not to let people have more drink, than what would do them good. He alſo teſtified againſt wakes, maygames, plays, and ſhews, by which people were led into vanity, and drawn off from the fear of God; the days that were ſet forth for holidays, being uſually the times wherein God was moſt diſhonoured. When he came into markets, he alſo declared againſt deceitful merchandizing, and warned all to deal juſtly, and to ſpeak the truth; and he teſtified againſt the mountebanks playing tricks on their ſtages: and when occaſion offered, he warned the ſchool-maſters and ſchool-miſtreſſes to teach their children to mind the fear of the Lord; ſaying, that they themſelves ought to be examples and patterns of virtue to them. But very burdenſome it was to him, when he heard the bell ring to call people together to the ſteeple-houſe; for it ſeemed to him juſt like a market-bell, to gather the people, that the prieſt might ſet forth his ware to ſale.

G. Fox declares openly againſt all ſorts of ſins, vain recreations and entertainments, &c.

Going once on a firſt-day of the week, in the morning, with ſome of his friends to Nottingham, to have a meeting there; and having ſeen from the top of a hill the great ſteeple-houſe of the town, he felt it required of him to cry againſt that idol-temple, and the worſhippers therein; yet he ſaid nothing of this to thoſe that were with him, but went on with them to the meeting, where after ſome ſtay, he left them, and went away to the ſteeple-houſe, where the prieſt took for his text theſe words of the apoſtle, 2 Pet. i. 19. *We have alſo a moſt ſure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well*

1649.

well that ye take heed, as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts. And he told the people that this was the ſcripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religions and opinions. G. Fox hearing this, felt ſuch mighty power and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, 'O no, it is not the ſcripture, but it is the 'Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the 'ſcriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be 'tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the 'knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the ſcriptures, and yet 'reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, and rejected Chriſt, the bright morning-'ſtar, and perſecuted him and his apoſtles; though they took 'upon them to try their doctrine by the ſcriptures; but they erred 'in judgment, and did not try them aright, becauſe they did it 'without the Holy Ghoſt.' Thus ſpeaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him into a naſty ſtinking priſon. At night he was brought before the mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of the town; and they examining him, he told them, that the Lord had moved him to come there into the ſteeple-houſe: and though the mayor at firſt appeared peeviſh and fretful, yet he was allayed: however, after ſome diſcourſe, George Fox was ſent back to priſon. But ſome time after, the head-ſheriff John Reckleſs ſent for him to his houſe, and when G. Fox came in, the ſheriff's wife met him in the hall, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, 'Salvation is come to our houſe:' for his ſpeech in the ſteeple-houſe had ſo amazed many, that they could not get the ſound of it out of their ears; and not only this woman was wrought upon, but alſo her huſband, children, and ſervants were much changed by the power of the Lord.

Is impriſoned at Nottingham for oppoſing the prieſt in the ſteeple-houſe, but very kindly entertained by ſheriff Reckleſs, &c. who are much wrought upon by the power of the Lord.

G. Fox thus coming to lodge at this ſheriff's houſe, had great meetings there, and ſome perſons of quality in the world came to them; and they were reached very eminently in their minds by an inviſible power. Reckleſs being of this number, ſent for the other ſheriff, and for a woman they traded with; and he told her in the preſence of the other ſheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, and that therefore they ought to make her reſtitution; to which Reckleſs exhorted the other ſheriff, being himſelf made ſenſible, that this was an indiſpenſable duty: for a mighty change was now wrought in him, and his underſtanding came to be opened; ſo that on the next market day, as he was walking with G. Fox in the chamber, in his ſlippers, he ſaid, 'I muſt go into the market and preach repentance to the 'people:' and accordingly he went in his ſlippers into the market, and into ſeveral ſtreets, preaching repentance. Some others alſo in the town were moved to ſpeak to the mayor and magiſtrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. But this the magiſtrates could not endure; and to vent their paſſion on G. Fox, they ſent for him from the ſheriff's houſe, and committed him to the common priſon, where he was kept till the aſſizes came on, and then he was to have been brought before the judge, but that the ſheriff's man being ſomewhat long in fetching him, the judge was riſen before G. Fox came to the ſeſſion-houſe; however, the

1649. judge was a little diſpleaſed, having ſaid, 'He would have admo-'niſhed the youth (meaning G. Fox) if he had been brought be-'fore him.' So he was carried back again to priſon. In the mean while ſuch a wonderful power broke forth among his friends, that many were aſtoniſhed at it, ſo that even ſeveral of the prieſts were made tender, and ſome did confeſs to the power of the Lord.

G. Fox is at length releaſed.

Now though the people began to be very rude, yet the governor of the caſtle was ſo moderate, that he ſent down ſoldiers to diſperſe them. G. Fox having been kept priſoner a pretty long time, was at length ſet at liberty, and then travelled, as before, in the work of the Lord.

Quiets a diſcompoſed woman, who afterward received truth, and died in the profeſſion thereof.

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouſe, he found there a diſtracted woman under a doctor's hand, being bound, and with her hair looſe; and the doctor being about to let her blood, could get no blood from her; which made G. Fox deſire to unbind her, and after this was done, he ſpoke to her, and bad her in the name of the Lord, 'to be quiet and ſtill.' This proved of ſuch effect, that ſhe became ſtill; and her mind coming to be ſettled, ſhe mended, and afterwards received the doctrine of truth, and continued in it to her death.

Whilſt G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe, and declare there the truth to the prieſt and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and ſtruck him down, almoſt ſmothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruiſed with their hands, bibles, and ſticks. Then they haled him out, though hardly able to ſtand, and put him into the ſtocks, where he ſat ſome hours: and they brought horſe-whips, threatening to whip him. After ſome time they had him before the magiſtrates, at a knight's houſe; who ſeeing how ill he had been uſed, ſet him at liberty, after much threatening. But the rude multitude ſtoned him out of the town; and though he was ſcarce able to go, yet with much ado he got about a mile from the town, where he met with ſome people that gave him ſomething to comfort him, becauſe he was inwardly bruiſed. But it pleaſed the Lord ſoon to heal him again; and ſome people were that day convinced of the truth, which had been declared by him in the ſteeple-houſe, at which he rejoiced.

Is cruelly uſed at Manſfield-Woodhouſe, and ſome are convinced.

Goes into Leiceſterſhire.

Out of Nottinghamſhire he went into Leiceſterſhire, accompanied by ſeveral of his friends; and coming to Barrow, diſcourſed with ſome Baptiſts; and one of them ſaying, 'What was not of 'faith, was ſin;' he aſked, 'What faith was, and how it was 'wrought in man?' But they turning off from that, ſpoke of their Water-Baptiſm: which gave occaſion to G. Fox and his friends, to aſk, 'Who baptized John the Baptiſt, and who bap-'tized Peter, John, and the reſt of the apoſtles.' But they were ſilent at thoſe queſtions. After ſome other diſcourſe, they parted. On the next firſt-day of the week, G. Fox, and thoſe that were with him, came to Bagworth, and went to a ſteeple-houſe; and after the prieſt had done, they had ſome ſervice there by ſpeaking to the people.

Paſſing from thence, he heard of a people that were in priſon in Coventry for religion; and as he was walking towards the

gaol

gaol, the word of the Lord (as he relates) came to him, ſaying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' By this he was overcome with a ſenſe of the love of God, and much ſtrengthened in his inward man. But coming into the gaol, a great power of darkneſs ſtruck at him; for inſtead of meeting ſuch as were impriſoned for religion, he found them to be blaſphemers, who were come to that degree, that they ſaid, 'They 'were gods;' and this their wicked opinion they endeavoured to maintain by ſcripture, miſapplying what was ſaid to the apoſtle Peter, when the ſheet was let down to him, viz. *What was ſanctified, he ſhould not call common or unclean*: and the words of the apoſtle Paul, concerning *God's reconciling all things to himſelf, things in heaven, and things on earth.* G. Fox, who was greatly grieved at this profaneneſs, told them that theſe ſcriptures were nothing to their purpoſe. And ſeeing they ſaid, 'They were 'God, he aſked them, 'If they knew whether it would rain to-'morrow?' And they ſaying, 'They could not tell,' he told them, 'God could tell.' He aſked them alſo, 'If they thought they 'ſhould be always in that condition, or ſhould change?' And they anſwering, 'That they could not tell;' G. Fox told them, 'That 'God could tell it, and that he did not change.' This confounded them, and brought them down for that time; ſo after having reproved them for their blaſphemous expreſſions, he went away. Not long after this, one of theſe ranters, whoſe name was Joſeph Salmon, gave forth a book of recantation, upon which they were ſet at liberty. From Coventry G. Fox went to Atherſtone, where, going into the chapel, he declared to the prieſts and the people, 'That God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring 'them off from all their man-made teachers, to hear his ſon.' And though ſome few raged, yet they were generally pretty quiet, and ſome were convinced.

1649. Thence to Coventry, where he confounds ſome blaſphemers.

After this ſervice, he went to Market-Boſworth, and coming into the publick place of worſhip, he found Nathaniel Stevens preaching, who, as hath been ſaid already, was prieſt of the town where G. Fox was born; here G. Fox taking occaſion to ſpeak, Stevens told the people, 'he was mad, and that they ſhould 'not hear him;' though he had ſaid before to one colonel Purfoy concerning him, 'That there was never ſuch a plant bred in 'England.' The people now being ſtirred up by this prieſt, fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and ſtoned them out of the town. Nevertheleſs this wrought on the minds of ſome others, ſo that they were made loving.

Afterward to Market-Boſworth, where prieſt Stevens ſtirs up the people againſt him.

G. Fox now travelling on, came to Twy-Croſs, where he ſpoke to the exciſemen, and warned them to take heed of oppreſſing the poor. There being in that town a great man, that had long lain ſick, and was given over by the phyſicians, he went to viſit him in his chamber; and after having ſpoken ſome words to him, he was moved to pray by his bed ſide; and the Lord was entreated, ſo that the ſick man was reſtored to health. But G. Fox being come down, and ſpeaking to ſome that were in a room there, a ſervant came with a naked rapier in his hand, and threatened to ſtab him; but he looking ſtedfaſtly on the man, ſaid, 'Alack for thee, poor crea-'ture!

Then to Twy-Croſs, where a ſick perſon is recovered, and his bloody-minded ſervant reſtrained from miſchief.

1649. 'ture! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more 'to me than a ſtraw.' He being ſtopped thus, went away in a rage, and his maſter hearing of it, turned him out of his ſervice, and was afterwards very loving to friends; and when G. Fox came to that town again, both he and his wife came to ſee him.

At Cheſterfield is threatened with the houſe of correction, and led out of town.

After this he went into Darbyſhire, where his fellow-believers encreaſed in godly ſtrength; and coming to Cheſterfield, he found one Britland to be prieſt there, who having been partly convinced of the doctrine of truth, had ſpoken much in behalf of it, and ſaw beyond the common ſort of prieſts. But when the prieſt of that town died, he got the parſonage. G. Fox now ſpeaking to him and the people, endeavoured to bring them off from man's teaching, unto God's teaching: and though the prieſt was not able to gainſay, yet they had him before the mayor, and threatened to ſend him to the houſe of correction: but when it was late in the night, the officers and the watchmen led him out of the town.

Scots ſend to K. Ch. II. in Holland to ſubſcribe the covenant.

Concerning ſtate-affairs it hath been ſaid already, that Charles II. had been proclaimed king by the Scots; but he being ſtill in Holland, they ſent to him there, that he would ſubſcribe the covenant, and ſo abrogate Epiſcopacy in Scotland: it was alſo deſired that he would put ſome lords from him. But thoſe that were ſent, received only an anſwer from the young king in general terms, which made them return home again, where we will leave them, to ſee in the mean while how it went with G. Fox, who had been ſent away, as hath been ſaid, from Cheſterfield, came to Darby in the

1650. year 1650, and lay at a doctor's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced of the truth he preached. Now it happened, as he was walking there in his chamber, he heard the bell ring, and aſked the woman of the houſe, 'What the bell rung for?' She told him, there was to be a great lecture that day; ſo that many of the officers of the army, and prieſts and preachers were to be there, as alſo a colonel that was a preacher. Then he felt himſelf moved to go to that congregation; and when the ſervice was done, he ſpoke to them what he believed the Lord required of him; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, who took him by the hand, and ſaid that he, and the other two that were with him, muſt go before the magiſtrates. Coming then about the firſt hour in the afternoon before them, they aſked him, 'Why he came thither?' To which having anſwered, 'That God had moved him to it;' he farther ſaid, that 'God did not dwell in temples made with hands; 'and that all their preaching, baptiſm, and ſacrifices would never 'ſanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Chriſt in them, 'and not unto men; becauſe it is Chriſt that ſanctifies.' They then running into many words, he told them, 'They were not 'to diſpute of God and Chriſt, but to obey him.' But this doctrine did ſo diſpleaſe them, that they often put him in and out of the room, and ſometimes told him ſcoffingly, 'That he was taken 'up in raptures.' At laſt they aſked him, 'Whether he was ſanc-'tified?' and he anſwering, Yes, they then aſked, 'If he had no 'ſin?' To which he ſaid, 'Chriſt my Saviour has taken away my 'ſin, and in him there is no ſin.' Then he and his friends were aſked, 'How they knew that Chriſt did abide in them?' G. Fox

G. F. comes to Darby, where he is impriſoned in the houſe of correction as a blaſphemer.

ſaid,

ſaid, ‘ By his ſpirit, that he has given us.’ Then they temptingly aſked, ‘ If any of them was Chriſt?’ But he anſwered, ‘ Nay, we ‘ are nothing, Chriſt is all.’ At length they alſo aſked, ‘ If a man ‘ ſteal, is it no ſin?’ To which he anſwered with the words of ſcripture, *All unrighteouſneſs is ſin.* So when they had wearied themſelves in examining him, they committed him, and * another man, to the houſe of correction in Darby for ſix months, as blaſphemers, as appears by the following Mittimus : 1650.

* One Fretwell.

To the maſter of the houſe of correction in Darby, greeting,

WE have ſent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby in the county of Darby huſbandman, brought before us this preſent day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blaſphemous opinions, contrary to a late act of parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confeſſed. Theſe are therefore to require you, forthwith upon ſight hereof, to receive them, the ſaid George Fox and John Fretwell into your cuſtody, and them therein ſafely to keep during the ſpace of ſix months, without bail or mainprize, or until they ſhall find ſufficient ſecurity to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourſelves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and ſeals this 30th day of October, 1650.

GER. BENNET,
NATH. BARTON.

G. Fox being thus, as hath been ſaid, locked up, the prieſts beſtirred themſelves in their pulpits to preach up ſin for term of life ; and they endeavoured to perſuade people that it was an erroneous doctrine, to aſſert a poſſibility of being freed from ſin in this life, as was held forth by the Quakers ; for this began now to be the name whereby G. Fox's fellow-believers were called, in a reviling way : and ſince that denomination hath continued to them from that time downward, we cannot therefore paſs by the firſt riſe of it with ſilence. Until this time thoſe who profeſſed the light of Chriſt as ſhining in man's heart, and reproving for ſin, were not improperly called ‘ profeſſors of the light,’ or ‘ chil- ‘ dren of the light :’ but Gervas Bennet, one of the juſtices of the peace who ſigned the aforeſaid Mittimus, and an Independant, hearing that G. Fox bad him, and thoſe about him, ‘ Tremble at ‘ the word of the Lord !’ took hold of this weighty ſaying with ſuch an airy mind, that from thence he took occaſion to call him, and his friends, ſcornfully, QUAKERS. This new and unuſual denomination was taken up ſo eagerly, and ſpread ſo among the people, that not only the prieſts there from that time gave no other name to the profeſſors of the light, but founded it ſo gladly abroad, that it ſoon ran over all England ; and making no ſtand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, inſomuch that the ſaid profeſſors of the light, for diſtinction's-ſake from other religious ſocieties, have been called

The original of the name Quakers, as a religious people.

1650. every where by that Engliſh name, which ſounding very odd in the ears of ſome foreign nations, hath alſo given occaſion to many ſilly ſtories.

Now becauſe in thoſe early times, among the many adherents of this perſuaſion, there were ſome that having been people of a rude and diſſolute life, came ſo to be pricked to the heart, that they grew true penitents, with real ſorrow for their former tranſgreſſions; it happened that they at meetings did not only burſt out into tears, but alſo were affected with ſuch a ſingular commotion of the mind, that ſome ſhakings of their bodies were perceived; ſome people naturally being more affected with the paſſions of the mind, than others; for even anger doth tranſport ſome men ſo violently, that it makes them tremble; whereas others will quake with fear: and what wonder then, if ſome being ſtruck with the terrors of God did tremble? But this being ſeen by envious men, they took occaſion from thence to tell, that theſe profeſſors of the light performed their worſhip with ſhaking; yet they themſelves never aſſerted that trembling of the body was an eſſential part of their religion, but have occaſionally ſaid the contrary; though they did not deny themſelves to be ſuch as trembled before God; and they alſo did not ſtick, to ſay, that all people ought to do ſo; however thereby not enjoining a bodily ſhaking.

J. Fretwell committed with G. F. proves unfaithful, and gets his liberty.

We have ſeen juſt now, how one Fretwell was committed with G. Fox to the houſe of correction; but he not ſtanding faithful in his teſtimony, obtained, by interceſſion of the gaoler, leave of the juſtice to go ſee his mother, and ſo got his liberty; and then a report was ſpread, that he had ſaid, 'That G. Fox had 'bewitched and deceived him.'

G. Fox was now become the object of many peoples hatred; magiſtrates, prieſts, and profeſſors were all in a rage againſt him; and the gaoler, to find ſomething wherewith to enſnare him, would ſometimes aſk him ſuch ſilly queſtions, as, 'Whether the 'door was latched, or not?' thinking thereby to draw ſome ſudden unadviſed anſwer from him whereby he might charge ſin upon him: but he was kept ſo watchful and circumſpect, that they could get no advantage of him. Not long after his commitment, he was moved to write both to the prieſts and magiſtrates of Darby.

G. Fox no elegant writer nor good ſpeller.

Now ſince Ger. Croeſe in the beginning of his hiſtory repreſents G. Fox as one altogether unfit, not only to write legibly, but alſo to expreſs his mind clearly in writing, and that therefore he always was obliged to employ others that could ſet down his meaning intelligibly, it won't be beſides the purpoſe to ſay, that this is more than any will be able to prove. For though it can't be denied, that he was no elegant writer, nor good ſpeller, yet it is true, that his characters being tolerable, his writing was legible, and the matter he treated of was intelligible, though his ſtile was not like that of a ſkilful linguiſt. And albeit he employed others, becauſe himſelf was no quick writer, yet generally they were young lads, who as they durſt not have attempted to alter his words and phraſes, ſo they would not have been ſkilful enough

enough to refine his ſtile. This I don't write from hearſay, but have ſeen it at ſundry times. And how true it is what the ſame author ſaith, that moſtly all that G. Fox did write, was ſcarce any thing beſides a rough collection of ſeveral ſcripture places, may be ſeen by the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein will be found many of his writings. The firſt of his letters I meet with, is the following, which he writ to the prieſts of Darby, from the houſe of correction, where certainly he had not the convenience of a writing-clerk. 1650.

His letter to the prieſts of Darby.

O FRIENDS, I was ſent unto you to tell you, That if you had received the Goſpel freely, you would miniſter it freely, without money or price: but you make a trade and ſale, of what the prophets and the apoſtles have ſpoken; and ſo you corrupt the Truth. And you are the men, that *lead ſilly women captive*, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth: you have a form of godlineſs; but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do you reſiſt the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you ſhall proceed no further; for your folly ſhall be made manifeſt to all men, as theirs was. Moreover the Lord ſent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You aſked me, if the ſcripture was my rule? but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by; but to talk of in words. You are the men, that live in pleaſures, pride, and wantonneſs, in fulneſs of bread and abundance of idleneſs: ſee if this be not the ſin of Sodom. Lot received the angels: but Sodom was envious. You ſhew forth the vain nature: you ſtand in the ſteps of them that crucified MY SAVIOUR, and mocked him: you are their children; you ſhew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the aſſemblies; and ſo have you: they loved to be called Rabbi; and ſo do you.

G. F.

That which he writ to the magiſtrates, who committed him to priſon, was to this effect:

To the magiſtrates.

FRIENDS,

I AM forced, in tender love unto your ſouls, to write unto you, and to beſeech you to conſider what you do, and what the cammands of God call for. He doth require juſtice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppreſſed go free. But who calleth for juſtice? or loveth mercy? or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward? and doth not juſtice ſtand afar off? Is not truth ſilenced in the ſtreets? or can equity enter? and do not they that depart from evil, make themſelves a prey? Oh! Conſider what ye do, in time, and take heed whom ye do impriſon: for the magiſtrate is ſet *for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Now I intreat you, in time take heed what ye do: for ſurely the Lord will come, and will make manifeſt both the builders and the work: and if it be of Man, it will fail; but if it be of GOD, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I deſire and pray that you would take heed, and beware what you do, leſt ye be found *fighters againſt God.*

G. F.

1650. G. Fox having thus cleared his conſcience, continued waiting in patience, leaving the event to God. And after ſome time he felt himſelf conſtrained to write to the juſtices that had committed him to priſon, to lay their doings before them, that ſo they might come to a due conſideration thereof: one of them (already mentioned) was juſtice Bennet, the other Nathaniel Barton, both a juſtice and a colonel, as alſo a preacher: to theſe he wrote as follows:

To the juſtices Bennet and Barton.

FRIENDS,

YOU did ſpeak of the *good old way*, which the prophet ſpake of; but the prophet cried againſt the abominations, which you hold up. Had you the *power of God*, ye would not perſecute the *good way*. He that ſpake of the *good way*, was ſet in the ſtocks: the people cried, 'Away with him to the ſtocks,' for ſpeaking the truth. Ah! fooliſh people, which have eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, without underſtanding! *Fear ye not me, ſaith the Lord, and will ye not tremble at my preſence!* O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! You (that are preachers) have the chiefeſt place in the aſſemblies, and are called of men Maſter; and ſuch were and are againſt my Saviour and Maker: and they ſhut up the kingdom of heaven from men, neither go in themſelves, nor ſuffer others. Therefore ye ſhall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their ſteps. You may ſay, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Chriſt, ye would not have perſecuted them, wherefore be ye witneſſes againſt yourſelves, that ye are the children of them, ſeeing ye now perſecute the *way of truth*. O conſider there is a true judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations, which the true Prophet cried againſt! O come down, and ſit in the duſt! The Lord is coming with power; and he will throw down every one that is exalted, that he alone may be exalted.

Having thus written to them jointly, he, after ſome time, wrote to each of them apart. That to juſtice Bennet was thus:

FRIEND,

THOU that doſt profeſs God and Chriſt in words, ſee how thou doſt follow him. To take off burdens, and to viſit them that be in priſon, and ſhew mercy, and cloath thy own fleſh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; theſe are God's commandments: *To relieve the fatherleſs, and to viſit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyſelf unſpotted of the world; this is pure religion before God.* But if thou doſt profeſs Chriſt, and followeſt covetouſneſs, and greedineſs, and earthly-mindedneſs, thou denieſt him in life, and deceiveſt thyſelf and others, and takeſt him for a cloak. Wo be to you greedy men, and rich men; weep, and houl for your miſery, that ſhall come. Take heed of covetouſneſs and extortion: God doth forbid that. Wo be to the man, that coveteth an evil covetouſneſs, that he may ſet his neſt on high, and cover himſelf with thick clay. O do not

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love that which God forbids: his ſervant thou art whom thou doſt obey, whether it be of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs. Think upon Lazarus and Dives: the one fared ſumptuouſly every day; the other was a beggar. See, if thou be not Dives? Be not deceived; God is not mocked with vain words: *Evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteouſneſs and ſin not.* 1650.

G. F.

And that to juſtice Barton was thus worded:

FRIEND,

THOU that preacheſt Chriſt, and the ſcriptures in words, when any come to follow that, which thou haſt ſpoken of, and to live the life of the ſcriptures, then they, that ſpeak the ſcriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, perſecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, and all the holy men of God; what they ſpake, was from the life: but they that had not the life, but the words, perſecuted and impriſoned them that lived in the life, which they had back-ſlidden from.

G. F.

Now though the mayor of Darby did not ſign the Mittimus, yet having had a hand with the reſt in ſending G. Fox to priſon, he alſo writ to him after this manner:

FRIEND,

THOU art ſet in place to do juſtice; but in impriſoning my body, thou haſt done contrary to juſtice, according to your own law. O take heed of pleaſing men more than God, for that's the way of the Scribes and Phariſees: they ſought the praiſe of men more than God. Remember who ſaid, *I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not.* O friend, thy envy is not againſt me, but againſt the power of truth: I had no envy to you, but love: O take heed of oppreſſion, for *the day of the Lord is coming, that ſhall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, ſhall be as ſtubble; and the day that cometh, ſhall burn them up, ſaith the Lord of hoſts: it ſhall leave them neither root nor branch.* O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldeſt love the truth, and hear the truth ſpoken, and not impriſon unjuſtly: the love of God beareth, and ſuffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would ſhew mercy; but you do ſhew forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth ſhew forth its fruit: you do ſhew forth your fruits openly. For drunkenneſs, ſwearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend, mercy, and true judgment, and juſtice, are cried for in your ſtreets! oppreſſion, unmercifulneſs, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleaſures, wantonneſs, and fulneſs, is in your ſtreets; but the poor is not regarded. O take heed of the wo: *Wo be to the crown of pride! Wo be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to periſh.* O remember Lazarus and Dives: one

To the mayor of Darby.

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To the mayor of Darby.

1650. fared deliciouſly every day; and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind theſe things, for they are near, and ſee, whether thou be not the man, that is in Dives's ſtate.

To thoſe of the court at Darby, he alſo writ the following exhortation:

To the court at Darby. I AM moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppreſſing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people, which they cannot bear: and of falſe oaths, or making them to take oaths, which they cannot perform. The Lord ſaith, *I will come near to judgment, and I will be a ſwift witneſs againſt the ſorcerers, againſt the falſe ſwearers, and againſt the idolaters, and againſt thoſe that do oppreſs widows and fatherleſs.* Therefore take heed of all theſe things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy: ſo love mercy, dear people, and conſider in time.

And becauſe the ringing of bells for joy, is a thing generally tending to ſtir up vanity and immorality, he alſo writ a few lines to the bell-ringers of the ſteeple-houſe, called St. Peter's, in Darby:

To the ringers of the bells. FRIENDS,

TAKE heed of pleaſures, and prize your time now, while you have it; and do not ſpend it in pleaſures, nor earthlineſs. The time may come, that you will ſay, You had time, when it is paſt: therefore look at the love of God now, while you have time; for it bringeth to loath all vanities, and worldly pleaſures. O conſider! time is precious: fear God and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.

G. F. in priſon, diſcourſes with ſome profeſſors pleading for ſin. Whilſt G. Fox was in priſon there, ſeveral of the profeſſors came to diſcourſe with him, and he perceiving that they came to plead for ſin and imperfection, aſked them, 'Whether they were 'believers, and had faith?' and they ſaying yes, he farther aſked them, 'In whom?' to which they anſwering, 'In Chriſt,' he replied, 'If ye are true believers in Chriſt, you are paſſed from death to life; 'and if paſſed from death, then from ſin that bringeth death. And if 'your faith be true, it will give you victory over Sin and the Devil, 'and purify your hearts and conſciences, (for the true faith is held 'in a pure conſcience) it will bring you to pleaſe God, and give 'you acceſs to him again.' But ſuch language as this they could not endure; for they ſaid, 'They could not believe that any could 'be free from ſin on this ſide the grave.' To which he anſwered, 'That then they might give over their talking concerning the 'ſcriptures, which were the words of holy men; whilſt they 'themſelves pleaded for unholineſs.' At another time, another company of ſuch profeſſors came, and they alſo pleading for ſin, he aſked them, 'Whether they had hope?' To which they anſwered, 'Yes, God forbid but we ſhould have hope.' Then he aſked, 'What hope is it you have? *Is Chriſt in you the hope of your 'glory? Doth it purify you as he is pure?*' But they could not abide

abide to hear of being made pure here, and therefore he bad them, 'Forbear talking of the ſcriptures, which were the holy 'men's words; for the holy men that writ the ſcriptures, ſaid he, 'pleaded for holineſs in heart, life, and converſation here; but 'ſince you plead for impurity and ſin, which is of the Devil, 'what have you to do with the holy men's words?' 1650.

Now the keeper of the priſon, who was alſo an high profeſſor, was much enraged againſt G. Fox, and ſpoke wickedly of him. But it pleaſed the Lord one day to ſtrike him ſo, that he was under great anguiſh of mind: and G. Fox walking in his chamber, heard a doleful noiſe, and ſtanding ſtill to hearken, he heard him ſay to his wife: 'Wife, I have ſeen the day of 'judgment, and I ſaw George there, and was afraid of him, 'becauſe I had done him ſo much wrong, and ſpoken ſo much 'againſt him to the miniſters, and profeſſors, and to the juſtices, 'and in taverns and ale-houſes.' After this, towards the evening, the keeper came up into his chamber, and ſaid to him: 'I have 'been as a lion againſt you; but now I come like a lamb, and 'like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling.' And he deſired that he might lie with him? to which G. Fox anſwered, 'That 'he was in his power, he might do what he would.' But ſaid the other, 'Nay, I'll have your leave; and I could deſire to be always 'with you, but not to have you as a priſoner.' G. Fox unwilling to deny his deſire, complied with it, and ſuffered him to lie with him. Then the keeper told him all his heart, and ſaid, 'He be-'lieved what he had ſaid of the true faith and hope, to be true:' and he wondered that the other man that was put into priſon with him, did not ſtand to it; for, ſaid he, 'That man was not right, 'but you are an honeſt man.' He alſo confeſſed, that at thoſe times when G. Fox had aſked him to let him go and ſpeak the word of the Lord to the people, and at his refuſal had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he uſed to be under great trouble, amazed, and almoſt diſtracted for ſome time. The next morning the keeper went to the juſtices, and told them, 'That he and his 'houſe had been plagued for G. Fox's ſake.' To which one of the juſtices, viz. Bennet, ſaid, 'That the plagues were on them 'too, for keeping him.' The juſtices now to be rid of him, gave leave, 'That he ſhould have liberty to walk a mile.' But he perceiving their end, told the gaoler, 'If they would ſet down to 'him how far a mile was, he might take the liberty of walking 'it ſometimes: for he believed, they thought he would go away;' and the gaoler alſo told him afterwards, 'that this was their intent.' But he ſignified to him, that he had no mind to get his liberty that way.—And ſo he remained priſoner, and was viſited by the gaoler's ſiſter, who was ſo affected with what he ſpoke to her, that ſhe coming down, told her brother, 'They were an innocent 'people, that did no hurt to any, but good to all;' and ſhe deſired that he might be treated civilly.

Some paſſages with his gaoler.

Now, ſince by reaſon of his reſtraint, he had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare the doctrine of truth, he, to diſcharge himſelf, wrote the following paper, and ſent it forth for the opening of people's underſtandings, in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themſelves. The

1650.

Being under reſtraint, he ſends forth the following advice to open people's underſtandings.

THE Lord doth ſhew unto man his thoughts, and diſcovereth all the ſecret workings in man. A man may be brought to ſee his evil thoughts, and running mind, and vain imaginations, and may ſtrive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in; but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. Now, in this ſtate and condition, ſubmit to the ſpirit of the Lord, that ſhews them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord; and he that hath diſcovered them, will deſtroy them. Therefore ſtand in the faith of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (who is the author of the true faith) and mind him; for he will diſcover the root of luſts, and evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived and bred; and then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member doth work. He will diſcover every principle from its own nature and root.

So mind the faith of Chriſt, and the anointing, which is in you, to be taught by it, which will diſcover all workings in you: and as he teacheth you, ſo obey and forſake; elſe you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Chriſt, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth do meet, what joy there is! and mercy doth triumph in judgment: and love and mercy doth bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world's judgment, is not the love of God; for love beareth all things, and is above the world's judgment; for the world's judgment is but fooliſhneſs. And though it be the world's judgment and practice, to caſt all the world's filthineſs, that is among themſelves, upon the ſaints; yet their judgment is falſe. Now the chaſte virgins follow Chriſt the Lamb, that takes away the ſins of the world: but they that are of that ſpirit, which is not chaſte, will not follow Chriſt the Lamb in his ſteps; but are diſobedient to him in his commands. So the fleſhly mind doth mind the fleſh, and talketh fleſhly, and its knowledge is fleſhly, and not ſpiritual; but ſavours of death, and not of the ſpirit of life. Now ſome men have the nature of ſwine, wallowing in the mire: and ſome men have the nature of dogs, to bite both the ſheep and one another: and ſome men have the nature of lions, to tear, devour and deſtroy: and ſome men have the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and ſheep of Chriſt: and ſome men have the nature of the ſerpent (that old adverſary) to ſting, envenom and poiſon: *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear*, and learn theſe things, within himſelf. And ſome men have the natures of other beaſts and creatures, minding nothing, but earthly and viſible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some men have the nature of an horſe, to prance and vapour in their ſtrength, and to be ſwift in doing evil. And ſome men have the nature of tall ſturdy oaks, to flouriſh and ſpread in wiſdom and ſtrength, who are ſtrong in evil, which muſt periſh, and come to the fire. Thus the evil is but one in all, but worketh many ways; and whatſoever a man's or woman's nature is addicted to, that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will pleaſe his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from the Creator. O

therefore

1650.

therefore let not the mind go forth from God; for if it do it will be ſtained, and venomed and corrupted: and if the mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again. Therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Chriſt. O! therefore mind that which is eternal and inviſible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of all things: for the things that are made, are not made of things that do appear; for the viſible covereth the inviſible ſight in you. But as the Lord, who is inviſible, doth open you, by his inviſible power and ſpirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you; ſo the inviſible and immortal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you, that know the light, walk in the light! for there are children of darkneſs, that will talk of the light, and of the truth, and not walk in it; but the children of the light love the light, and walk in the light. But the children of darkneſs walk in darkneſs, and hate the light; and in them the earthly luſts, and the carnal mind choke the ſeed of faith, and that bringeth oppreſſion on the ſeed, and death over them. O therefore mind the pure ſpirit of the everlaſting God, which will teach you to uſe the creatures in their right place; and which judgeth the evil. *To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all viſibles and inviſibles! To thee be all praiſe, who bringeſt out of the deep to thyſelf; O powerful God, who art worthy of all glory!* For the Lord who created all, and gives life and ſtrength to all, is over all, and merciful to all. *So thou, who haſt made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory! In thee is my ſtrength, refreſhments, and life, my joy and my gladneſs, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore!* So to live and walk in the ſpirit of God, is joy, and peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any viſible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now when the mind is got into the fleſh, and into death, then the accuſer gets within, and the law of ſin and death, that gets into the fleſh; and then the life ſuffers under the law of ſin and death: and then there is ſtraitneſs and failings. For then the good is ſhut up, and then the ſelf-righteouſneſs is ſet a top; and then man doth work in the outward law, and he cannot juſtify himſelf by the law; but is condemned by the light: for he cannot get out of that ſtate, but by abiding in the light, and reſting in the mercy of God, and believing in him, from whom all mercy doth flow: for there is peace in reſting in the Lord Jeſus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few will abide in it: therefore keep in the innocency and be obedient to the faith in him. And take heed of conforming to the world, and of reaſoning with fleſh and blood, for that bringeth diſobedience; and then imaginations and queſtionings do ariſe, to draw from obedience to the truth of Chriſt. But the obedience of faith deſtroyeth imaginations, and queſtionings, and reaſonings, and all the temptations in the fleſh, and buffetings, and lookings forth, and fetching up things that are paſt. But not keeping in the life and light, and not croſſing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man; and then burdens will come, and man will be ſtained with that nature. But Eſau's mountain ſhall be laid waſte, and become a

1650. wilderneſs, where the dragons lie: but Jacob, the ſecond birth, ſhall be fruitful and ſhall ariſe. For Eſau is hated, and muſt not be lord: but Jacob, the ſecond birth, which is perfect and plain, ſhall be lord; for he is beloved of God.

G. F.

About the ſame time he writ to his friends the following paper:

And writes to his friends.

THE LORD is KING over all the earth! therefore all people praiſe and glorify your king in the true obedience, in the uprightneſs, and in the beauty of holineſs. O conſider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an underſtanding from him is received. Mark and conſider in ſilence, in the lowlineſs of mind, and thou wilt *hear the Lord ſpeak unto thee in thy mind:* his voice is ſweet and pleaſant; his ſheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another: and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they alſo ſing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlaſting triumph! they ſing, and praiſe the eternal God in Sion: their joy ſhall man never take from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore!

And ſince many, that had been convinced of the truth, turned aſide, becauſe of the perſecution that aroſe, he writ for the encouragement of the faithful, theſe lines:

And for encouragement of the faithful.

COME ye bleſſed of the Lord, and rejoice together! keep in unity and oneneſs of ſpirit; triumph above the world! Be joyful in the Lord; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearneſs, righteouſneſs, pureneſs and joy, you may be preſerved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! and come, ſing together, ye righteous ones, the ſong of the Lord, the ſong of the Lamb; which none can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.

Now while G. Fox was at Derby in the houſe of correction, his relations came to ſee him, and being ſorry for his impriſonment, they went to the juſtices, by whoſe order he was put there, and deſired that he might be releaſed, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others in Derby in fifty pounds apiece with them, that he ſhould no more come thither to declare againſt the prieſts. But he being brought before the juſtices, would not conſent that any ſhould be bound for him, becauſe he believed himſelf to be innocent from any ill behaviour. Then juſtice Bennet roſe up in a rage, and as G. Fox was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, Bennet ran upon him, and ſtruck him with both his hands, crying, 'Away with him, gaoler; take him 'away, gaoler.' Whereupon he was carried back again to priſon, and there kept, until the time of his commitment for ſix months was expired. But now he had liberty of walking a mile; which he made uſe of, in his own freedom: and ſometimes he

Juſtice Bennet's unchriſtian behaviour.

went

went into the market and ſtreets, and warned the people to repentance. And on the firſt-days he now and then viſited the priſoners in their religious meetings. But the juſtices having required ſureties for his good behaviour, it came upon him to write to them again, as followeth : 1650.

FRIENDS,

SEE what it is in you that doth impriſon; and ſee, who is head in you; and ſee, if ſomething do not accuſe you? conſider, you muſt be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared ſumptuouſly every day; the other a beggar: and now you have time, prize it, while you have it. Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour? I am bound to my good behaviour, and do cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleaſures and oppreſſion, and from the deceits of this world: and there will come a time, that you ſhall know it. Therefore take heed of pleaſures, and deceits, and pride; and look not at man, but at the Lord; for *Look unto me all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved*, ſaith the Lord. G. F. writes to the juſtices.

Not long after he wrote to them again, thus :

FRIENDS,

WOULD you have me to be bound to my good behaviour from drunkenneſs, or ſwearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all theſe things; and the love of God hath brought me to loath all wantonneſs, bleſſed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and ſwearers, have their liberty without bonds: and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other can juſtly accuſe of theſe things, praiſed be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone; who hath all mens hearts in his hand. Again.

And after ſome time, not finding his ſpirit clear of them, he writ again as followeth :

FRIENDS,

HAD you known who ſent me to you, ye would have received me; for the Lord ſent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you; and to bid you, *Look at the Lord, and not at man.* But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you ſent me to priſon; where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye ſee what ye have done; ye would not have impriſoned me, had not my Father ſuffered you; and by his power I ſhall be looſed; for he openeth and ſhutteth, to him be all glory! In what have I miſbehaved myſelf, that any ſhould be bound for me? All mens words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright And again.

life

1650. life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his ſtrength and power, I ſhall be preſerved from ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts. The ſcripture ſaith, *receive ſtrangers*; but you impriſon ſuch. As you are in authority, take heed of oppreſſion and oaths, and injuſtice and gifts, or rewards, for God doth loath all ſuch: but love mercy, and true judgment, and juſtice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conſcience clear: take heed how you ſpend your time.

To the prieſts of Derby he alſo writ again in this manner:

To the prieſts of Derby again.

FRIENDS,

YOU do profeſs to be the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt in words, but you ſhew forth by your fruits, what your miniſtry is. Every tree doth ſhew forth its fruit: the miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt is in mercy and love, to unlooſe them that be bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated, go free. Now friends, where is your example (if the ſcriptures be your rule) to impriſon for religion? Have you any command for it from Chriſt? If that were in you, which you do profeſs, you would walk in their ſteps, who ſpake forth theſe words, the ſcriptures, which you do profeſs. *But he is not a Jew, who is one outward, whoſe praiſe is of men; but he is a Jew, who is one inward, whoſe praiſe is of God.* But if you do build upon the prophets and apoſtles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jeſus Chriſt ſpake againſt ſuch. *They that ſpake the prophets words, but denied Chriſt, they profeſſed a Chriſt to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him.* The ſaints, whom the love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; *for he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God.* But where envy, pride, and hatred doth rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jeſus Chriſt. I write with no hatred to you, but that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you paſs on your time.

Having thus cleared his conſcience to the prieſts, it was not long before a concern came upon him to write again to the juſtices, which he did as followeth:

To the juſtices again.

I AM moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the croſs, and ſatisfy not your minds in the fleſh; but prize your time while you have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God; and then you ſhall not be condemned for that you know not, but for that you do know, and do not obey. Conſider betimes, and weigh yourſelves, and ſee where you are, and whom you ſerve. For if ye blaſpheme God, and take his name in vain; if ye ſwear and lie: if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetouſneſs, and greedineſs, pleaſures, and wantonneſs, or any other vices, be aſſured then, that ye do ſerve the Devil: but if ye fear the Lord and ſerve him, ye will loath all theſe things. He that loveth God, will not blaſpheme his name; but where there is oppoſing of God, and ſerving the

Devil

Devil, that profeſſion is ſad and miſerable. O prize your time, and do not love that which God doth forbid. Lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greedineſs, covetouſneſs, oppreſſion, gluttony, drunkenneſs, whoredom, and all unrighteouſneſs, God doth forbid. So conſider and be not deceived, *Evil communication corrupts good manners.* Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words; the wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs. Therefore obey that which doth convince you of all evil, and telleth you, that you ſhould do no evil. It will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord! O look at the mercies of God, and prize them, and do not turn them into wantonneſs. O eye the Lord, and not earthly things. 1650.

Beſides this, he writ the following to Nathaniel Barton, who, as was hinted before, was both a juſtice and a preacher:

And again to juſtice Barton.

FRIEND,

DO not cloak and cover thyſelf; there is a God who knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee: he ſeeth thy way. *Wo be to him that covereth and not with my ſpirit*, ſaith the Lord. Doſt thou do contrary to the law, and then put it from thee? mercy and true judgment thou neglecteſt: look what was ſpoken againſt ſuch. My Saviour ſaid to ſuch, *I was ſick, and in priſon, and ye viſited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a ſtranger and ye took me not in.* And when they ſaid, *When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come to thee, &c.* He replied, *Inaſmuch as ye did it not to one of theſe little ones, ye did it not to me.* Friend, thou haſt impriſoned me for bearing witneſs to the life and power of truth; and yet profeſſeſt to be a miniſter of Chriſt: but if Chriſt had ſent thee, thou wouldeſt bring out of priſon, and out of bondage, and wouldeſt receive ſtrangers. Thou haſt been wanton upon earth; thou haſt lived plenteouſly, and nouriſhed thy heart, as in a day of ſlaughter: thou haſt killed the juſt. O look where thou art, and how thou haſt ſpent thy time! O remember thyſelf, and now, while thou haſt time, prize it, and do not ſlight the free mercy of God, and deſpiſe the long-ſuffering of God, which is great ſalvation; but mind that in thee, which doth convince thee, and would not let thee ſwear, nor lie, nor take God's name in vain. Thou knoweſt thou ſhouldſt do none of theſe things: thou haſt learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light, which doth convince thee, and forſake thy ſins, and look at the mercies of God, and prize his love in ſparing thee till now. The Lord ſaith, *Look unto me all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved:* and, *Ceaſe from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils.* And friend, prize thy time, and ſee whom thou ſerveſt; for his ſervant thou art, whom thou doſt obey, *Whether of ſin unto death, or obedience unto righteouſneſs.* If thou ſerveſt God, and feareſt him, thou wilt not blaſpheme his name, nor curſe, nor ſwear, nor take his name in vain; nor follow pleaſures and wantonneſs, whoredom and drunkenneſs, or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or raſhneſs, or headineſs, pride, or gluttony, greedineſs, oppreſſion, or covetouſneſs, or fooliſh jeſting, or vain ſongs.

O God

1650. God doth forbid theſe things, and all unrighteouſneſs. If thou profeſſeſt God, and acteſt any of theſe things, thou takeſt him for a cloak, and ſerveth the Devil. Conſider with thyſelf, and do not love that which God doth hate. *He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments.* The Devil will tell thee, it is an hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an eaſy thing to keep the Devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteouſneſs and ungodlineſs, turning the grace of God into wantonneſs. *But let the unrighteous man forſake his ways, and turn unto me,* ſaith the Lord, *and I will have mercy: turn ye, why will ye die?* ſaith the Lord.

Howl ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! howl ye oppreſſors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon you! Wo unto them that covetouſly join one houſe to another, and bring one field ſo nigh unto another, that the poor can get no more ground, and that ye may dwell upon the earth alone: theſe things are in the ears of the Lord of hoſts. Wo unto him that covetouſly getteth evil-gotten goods into his houſe, that he may ſet his neſt on high, to eſcape from the power of evil.

Eliz. Hooton, ſaid to be the firſt woman-preacher among the Quakers.

It has been ſaid already, that ſome of G. Fox's friends were moved, as well as he, to preach the doctrine of truth; and in this year it alſo happened, that Elizabeth Hooton, of whom mention hath been made before, from a true experience of the Lord's work in man, alſo felt herſelf moved publickly to preach the way of ſalvation to others, being the firſt woman preacher, by what I am informed, among thoſe that began now generally to be called by the name of Quakers. Yet I have found in a Dutch book, printed at Dort, in the year 1647, and called, 'Hiſtory of the troubles in England, concerning the various ſects 'riſen there,' that among other perſuaſions at London, there were alſo women that did preach in large meetings, and were heard by many with great ſatisfaction; ſo that the preaching of a woman was not ſuch a novelty, as otherwiſe it might have been.

Publick tranſactions.

In the foregoing year it hath been ſaid, that ſome Scotch commiſſioners having been with Charles II. in Holland, were returned to Scotland; and though the king at firſt ſeemed backward to conſent to the Preſbyterian covenant, yet ſeeing no other way open to the Scottiſh throne, he came to other thoughts, and ſo went over to Scotland, and made his entry into Edinburgh, thro' the gate on which were placed the quarters of the earl of Montroſs; who having endeavoured not long before to ſubdue the Scots, had been beaten with his forces, and being taken priſoner, was executed. The young king being now come into Scotland, ſeemed willing to comply as much as he could, thereby to ingratiate himſelf, not only with the Scots, but alſo with the Engliſh, if poſſible: and in order thereunto, he gave forth a Declaration at his court at Dumfermling, dated the 16th day of Auguſt, 1650, and in the ſecond year of his reign, as it is there ſaid; in which Declaration, I meet with the following words:

"Though his majeſty, as a dutiful ſon, be obliged to honour the

the memory of his royal father, and have in eſtimation the perſon of his mother; yet doth he deſire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit before God, becauſe of his father's hearkening to evil counſels, and his oppoſition to the work of reformation, and to the ſolemn league and covenant, by which ſo much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been ſhed in theſe kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother."

1650. Remarkable expreſſions in the king's declaration.

Here the king confeſſed openly, that his father's houſe was guilty of great crimes; and plainly ſignified, that the nation indeed had been wronged by his father's behaviour; and he ſeemed to promiſe amendment if he came to be reſtored. In the mean while, they began to ſee in England, that the Scots were like to make head againſt them; and therefore they ordered to ſend general Fairfax with an army thither; but he ſhewed himſelf unwilling to go, chiefly, as it was believed, by the advice of his wife, who hearkened to the counſel of the Preſbyterian preachers; and theſe thought it would contribute to their own ſettlement, if thoſe of their own perſuaſion in Scotland were not reſiſted. But the parliament, many of whoſe members were Independants, did not matter that; but reſolved, ſince Fairfax reſigned voluntarily, to create Oliver Cromwell general of the national forces, in the room of Fairfax. Which being done, Cromwell was ſent with an army to Scotland, and beat the Scots not far from Edinburgh, whereby that city not long after yielded to him.

Fairfax reſigning, Cromwell is made general.

In this year was born in Holland, on the 14th of the month called November, N. S. William the third, prince of Orange, whoſe mother was daughter of the late king Charles the firſt. And this prince by a ſtrange revolution of human affairs, has ſince been advanced to the Engliſh throne; and is at preſent, whilſt I write this, king of Great-Britain, &c.

William the third, prince of Orange, born.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE year 1651 had ſcarce begun, when the Scots reſolved, notwithſtanding their overthrow, to crown their new king, which, after he had ſworn to maintain the covenant, they did in the beginning of the month called January. But leaving this

1651. Ch. II. takes the covenant, and is crowned.

We return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Derby, in the houſe of correction; where about this time a trooper came to him, who ſaid, that having been in the ſteeple-houſe, hearing the prieſt, exceeding great trouble came upon him, and that a voice (which he took to be that of the Lord) ſaid to him, 'Doſt 'thou not know that my ſervant is in priſon? Go to him for 'direction.' G. Fox ſpeaking to his condition, told him, 'That 'which ſhewed him his ſins, and troubled him for them, would 'alſo ſhew him his ſalvation; becauſe he that ſhews a man his 'ſin, is the ſame that takes it away.' Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, the trooper's underſtanding began to be opened concerning the truth,

1651. truth, and he was ſenſible of God's mercies, which made him ſpeak boldly in his quarters amongſt the ſoldiers, and others, alledging the ſcriptures for what he now believed to be truth. He alſo ſaid, 'His colonel (which I take to be Barton) was as 'blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to caſt the ſervant of the Lord into 'priſon.' This ſo incenſed his colonel, that, when at Worceſter fight, the two armies lying near one another, two from the king's army challenged any two of the parliament's army to fight with them, the ſaid colonel made choice of him and another to anſwer the challenge: and when in the encounter his companion was ſlain, he drove both his enemies within a muſket-ſhot of the town, without firing a piſtol at them. Thus he returned victorious; but then he ſaw the deceit of the officers, and how wonderfully the Lord had preſerved him; and in proceſs of time, becoming ſenſible that fighting was unlawful for a true chriſtian, he laid down his arms, henceforth to fight under the banner of the Prince of Peace, by entering into the ſpiritual warfare.

A valiant trooper convinced of the unlawfulneſs of outward warfare.

Now the time of G. Fox's commitment to the houſe of correction being very near out, and there being many new ſoldiers raiſed, the commiſſioners would have made him captain over them, and the ſoldiers cried, 'They would have none but him.' So the keeper of the houſe of correction was commanded to bring him up before the commiſſioners and ſoldiers in the market-place; and there they proffered him that preferment, (as they called it) aſking him if he would not take up arms for the commonwealth, againſt Charles Stuart? G. Fox, never having been a fighter, though it has appeared he was bold and valiant, told them, 'That he could 'not do ſo, as well knowing from whence all wars did ariſe, '(viz. *from the luſts, according to the doctrine of the apoſtle James*) 'and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, that 'took away the occaſion of all wars.' The commiſſioners, to fawn upon him, ſaid, 'They offered him the office in love and 'kindneſs, becauſe of his virtue.' But he not mattering thoſe flattering words, replied, 'If this be your love and kindneſs, I 'trample it under my feet.' This bold anſwer preſently ſhewed how ſhallow their pretended kindneſs was; for it ſo enraged them, that they ſaid, 'Take him away gaoler, and put him into 'the dungeon among the rogues and felons.' Thus G. Fox was put into a louſy ſtinking place amongſt thirty felons, where he had no bed, and was kept almoſt half a year, unleſs that at times he was ſuffered to walk in the garden, for they believed of him that he would not run away. Being in this naſty priſon, it was ſaid among the people, that he never ſhould come out: but he, truſting in God, believed the contrary, it being ſhewed him from the Lord (according to what he relates) that he was not yet to be removed from that place, there being a ſervice for him to do.

G. F. is offered a captain's commiſſion, but on ſlighting it, is committed to a dungeon.

In the mean while it was noiſed abroad, that he was in Derby dungeon, and his relations came again to ſee him, they being much troubled about it; for they thought it a great ſhame to them, that he ſhould lie thus in gaol: beſides, it was a ſtrange thing then to be impriſoned for religion. But ſome judged him to

be

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be mad, becauſe he maintained the doctrine of purity, righteouſneſs, and perfection. Among others that came to ſee him, there was alſo a ſoldier from Nottingham, who ſaid to him, 'Your faith ſtands in a 'man that died at Jeruſalem; and there was never any ſuch thing.' This ſo grieved G. Fox, that he ſaid to him, 'How! did not Chriſt 'ſuffer without the gates of Jeruſalem, by the profeſſing Jews, the 'chief prieſts, and Pilate?' No, ſaid the other, 'he did not ſuffer 'there outwardly.' Then G. Fox aſked him, 'Whether there were 'not Jews, chief prieſts and Pilate outwardly?' This puzzled the ſoldier a little, ſo that he could not deny it. Then he told him, 'As certainly as there was a chief prieſt, and Jews, and Pilate, 'ſo certainly Chriſt did ſuffer there outwardly under them.' Yet this inconſiderate perſon ſaid alſo, 'That never any of the prophets, 'or apoſtles, or holy men of God, ſuffered any thing outwardly; 'but that all their ſufferings were inward.' Then G. Fox inſtanced to him many of the prophets and apoſtles, how they ſuffered, and by whom they ſuffered, thereby to confound his ſilly imaginations. Yet ſuch was the malice of ſome, that a ſlander was raiſed among the people, 'That the Quakers denied Chriſt that ſuffered and died 'at Jeruſalem.' This, indeed, is a ſingular evidence of the credulity of people, taking upon truſt any ſtory, how falſe ſoever, when it relates to thoſe that are become the object of vulgar odium. Now as G. Fox was often viſited by thoſe that came out of curioſity, it is not to be wondered, that ſometimes he was contradicted by preſumptuous and ſelf-conceited perſons. Once there came to him ſome that pretended they were triers of ſpirits; and theſe he aſked, 'What was the firſt ſtep to peace? And what it was by 'which a man might ſee his ſalvation?' But they being of an airy mind, took this to be ſuch a ſtrange queſtion, that they did not ſtick to ſay, he was mad. Thus it appeared, that theſe who pretended to try ſpirits, did not know what ſpirit they themſelves were of, and that they had not ſufficient knowledge to make a good judgment of the corporal conſtitution, ſaying he was mad, who was in nowiſe out of his ſenſes.

He oppoſing a ſoldier that denied the outward ſufferings of Chriſt. Quakers are charged with denial of Chriſt.

He confounds the pretended triers of ſpirits.

In the time of his impriſonment he was much exerciſed in mind about the proceedings of the magiſtrates, becauſe men were put to death for ſtealing of cattle, money, &c. and he was the more troubled about it, becauſe this practice was contrary to the law of God in old time. Wherefore he writ the two following letters to the judges:

Writes to the judges, againſt putting to death for ſtealing money, &c.

I AM moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for ſtealing cattle, or money, &c. for the thieves in the old time were to make reſtitution; and if they had not wherewithal, they were to be ſold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the ſcriptures, and the ſpirit that gave them forth; and let them be your rule in executing judgment: and ſhew mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. And take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and they do blind the eyes of the wiſe. I do not write to give liberty to ſin; God hath forbidden it: but that you ſhould judge according to his laws, and ſhew mercy: for he delighteth

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The other letter was thus:

I AM moved to write unto you, that ye do true juſtice to every man, and ſee that none be oppreſſed, nor wronged; nor no oaths impoſed; for the land mourneth becauſe of oaths, and adulteries, and ſorceries, and drunkenneſs, and profaneneſs. O conſider, ye that be men ſet in authority: be moderate, and in lowlineſs conſider theſe things. Shew mercy to the fatherleſs, and to the widows, and to the poor: and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they do blind the eyes of the wiſe: the Lord doth loath all ſuch. Love mercy and true judgment, juſtice, and righteouſneſs, for the Lord delighteth in ſuch. Conſider theſe things in time, and take heed how ye do ſpend your time: now ye have time, prize it, and ſhew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord: for he is coming to try all things and will plead with all fleſh, as by fire.

Whilſt G. Fox was in priſon among the felons, it grieved him to hear their foul language; and he often reproved them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other; and people did admire that he was ſo preſerved among this bad company, without being defiled by their converſation: but the fear of God ſo prevailed in his heart, that he could not be charged with any evil word or action all the time he was there: yet he perceived that it was dangerous to converſe with ſuch a naughty crew, and therefore he laid before the judges what an hurtful thing it was, that priſoners ſhould lie long in gaol, becauſe they learned wickedneſs one of another, in talking of their bad deeds; and that therefore ſpeedy juſtice ought to be done.

And repreſents that priſoners learn wickedneſs oftentimes by lying long in gaol.

Now whilſt he was confined here, there was a young woman in the gaol for robbing her maſter of ſome money; and ſhe being to be tried for her life, he wrote concerning her to the judge and jury, ſhewing them, how contrary it was to the law of God of old, to put people to death for ſtealing; and that it was an incumbent duty to ſhew mercy. But notwithſtanding his writing ſo, ſhe was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her. G. Fox having heard this, writ a few words containing, 'A warning 'for all people to beware of covetouſneſs, and to fear the Lord, 'and prize their time while they have it; that ſo they might 'avoid wickedneſs;' and when the woman, at the time appointed, was carried forth to execution, he gave this writing to be read at the gallows; but when ſhe was upon the ladder, with a cloth over her face, and ready to be turned off, ſhe was reprieved, and was brought back again to priſon, where afterwards ſhe came to be convinced of the truth, as held forth by G. Fox and his friends.

A felon convinced.

In the gaol there was alſo detained a wicked man, who was ſaid to be a conjurer; this man threatened G. Fox, and alſo the gaoler, 'That he would raiſe the Devil, and break the houſe 'down;'

'down;' ſo that he made the gaoler afraid. But G. Fox went to him, and ſaid, 'Come, let us ſee what thou canſt do, and do thy 'worſt: the Devil is raiſed high enough in thee already; but the 'power of God chains him down.' At this undaunted ſpeech, the fellow ſlunk away. 1651. G. F. defeats a pretended conjurer.

Now the juſtices to get rid of G. Fox, reſolved to preſs him for a ſoldier, ſeeing he would not voluntarily accept of a command; and Bennet ſent conſtables to give him preſs-money: but he told them, 'That he was brought off from outward war, and was 'dead to it.' And though the commiſſioners over and again proffered him money, yet he would not take it; at which they grew ſo angry, that he was committed cloſe priſoner. Hereupon G. Fox wrote to the juſtices, and thoſe that were concerned in his commitment, the following lines:

Refuſes preſs money, and writes to the juſtices that ordered his cloſe confinement.

YOU, who are without Chriſt, and yet uſe the words, which he and his ſaints have ſpoken, conſider, neither he nor his apoſtles did ever impriſon any; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of priſon and bondage: but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppreſs and impriſon. My Saviour ſaith, *Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you:* for the love of God doth not perſecute any; but loveth all, where it dwelleth: *he that hateth his brother,* is a murderer. You profeſs to be chriſtians, and one of you a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt; yet you have impriſoned me, who am a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt. The apoſtles never impriſoned any; but were impriſoned themſelves: take heed of ſpeaking of Chriſt in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the impriſoning my body is to ſatisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, ye would not have impriſoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow creatures: and that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you ſtand, is this written.

About this time he gave forth a paper to thoſe that were convinced of the truth, to ſhow them the deceit of the world, and how the prieſts had deceived the people, viz.

Gives forth a paper againſt prieſts deceiving the people, &c.

CHRIST was ever hated; and the righteous for his ſake. Mind, who they were, that did ever hate them. He that was born after the fleſh, did perſecute him that was born after the ſpirit; and ſo it is now. And mind, who were the chiefeſt againſt Chriſt; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profeſs the law and the prophets, and looked for Chriſt. They looked for an outwardly-glorious Chriſt, to hold up their outward glory: but Chriſt ſpake againſt the works of the world; and againſt the prieſts, and ſcribes and Phariſees, and their hypocritical profeſſion. He that is a ſtranger to Chriſt, is an hireling: but the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt are freemen. The falſe teachers always laid burdens upon the people: and the true ſervants of the Lord did ſpeak againſt them. Jeremiah

1651. miah did ſpeak againſt hirelings, and ſaid, *It was an horrible thing;* and ſaid, *What will ye do in the end?* for the people and prieſts were given to covetouſneſs. Paul did ſpeak againſt ſuch as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the ſaints to turn away from ſuch as were covetous men and proud men, ſuch as did love pleaſures more than God; ſuch as had a form of godlineſs, but denied the power thereof. For of this ſort, ſaid he, are they *that creep into houſes, and lead captive ſilly women, who are ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo, ſaith he, do theſe reſiſt the truth; but they ſhall proceed no further, for their folly ſhall be made manifeſt unto all men.* Moſes forſook honours and pleaſures, which he might have enjoyed. The apoſtle in his time ſaw this corruption entering, which now is ſpread over the world, of having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power. Aſk any of your teachers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions and ſins? None of them doth believe that; but, *as long as man is here, he muſt (they ſay) carry about with him the body of ſin.* Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and maſterſhip, which Chriſt denied; and all unrighteouſneſs: yet multitudes of teachers; heaps of teachers; the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages; but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, ſee who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah ſaid, *the prophets propheſy falſely, and the prieſts bear rule by their means*, but now the prieſts bear rule by the means they get from the people: take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are ſuch as, the apoſtle ſaid, intruded into thoſe things, which they never ſaw, being vainly puffed up with a fleſhly mind; and, as the ſcriptures declare of ſome of old, *they go in the way of Cain*, (who was a murderer) *and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of unrighteouſneſs.* The prophet Micah alſo cried againſt the judges, that judged for reward; and the prieſts, that taught for hire; and the prophets, that propheſied for money; and *yet leaned on the Lord*, ſaying, *Is not the Lord amongſt us?* Gifts do blind the eyes of the wiſe: and the gift of God was never purchaſed with money. All the holy ſervants of God did ever cry againſt deceit: and where the Lord hath manifeſted his love, they do loath it, and that nature which holdeth it up.

He alſo wrote a ſerious exhortation to the magiſtrates of Derby, to conſider whom they impriſoned:

FRIENDS,

Writes to the magiſtrates of Derby.

I DESIRE you to conſider in time, whom ye do impriſon: for the magiſtrate is ſet for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. But when the Lord doth ſend his meſſengers unto you, to warn you of the woes that will come upon you, except you repent; then you perſecute them, and put them into priſon, and ſay, 'We have a law, and by our law we 'may do it.' For you indeed juſtify yourſelves before men; but God

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God knoweth your hearts: he will not be worſhipped with your forms and profeſſions, and ſhews of religion. Therefore conſider, ye that talk of God, how ye are ſubject to him; for they are his children, that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you, but *to do juſtice, to love and ſhew mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherleſs to their right?* but inſtead thereof ye oppreſs the poor. Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your prieſts teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who ſeeth all things, will diſcover all your ſecrets. And know this aſſuredly, the Lord will deliver his ſervants out of your hands, and he will recompence all your *unjuſt dealings towards his people.* I deſire you to conſider of theſe things, and ſearch the ſcriptures, and ſee whether any of the people of God did ever impriſon any for religion; but were themſelves impriſoned. I deſire you to conſider, how it is written, that when the church is met together, they may *all propheſy, one by one;* that all may hear, and all may learn, and all may be comforted: and then, *If any thing be revealed to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.* Thus it was in the true church; and thus it ought to be. But it is not ſo in your aſſemblies; but he that teaches for hire, may ſpeak, and none may contradict him. Again, conſider the liberty, that was given to the apoſtles, even among the unbelieving Jews; when, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the ſynagogue ſaid unto them, *Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, ſay on.* I deſire you to conſider in ſtillneſs, and ſtrive not againſt the Lord; for he is ſtronger than you. Though ye hold his people faſt for a time; yet when he cometh he will make known, who are his: for his coming is like the *refiner's fire*, and like *fuller's ſoap.* Then the ſtone, that is ſet at nought of you builders, ſhall be the head ſtone of the corner. O friends, lay theſe things to heart, and let them not ſeem light things to you. I write unto you in love, to mind the laws of God, and your own ſouls, and do as the holy men of God did.

During his impriſonment there, he was under a great exerciſe and travel in ſpirit, becauſe of the wickedneſs of that town; for though ſome were convinced there of the doctrine of truth, yet generally they were a hardened people: and he ſeeing the viſitation of God's love paſs away from them, he mourned, and wrote the following lamentation:

His lamentation over that city.

O DERBY! as the waters run away, when the flood gates are up, ſo doth the viſitation of God's love paſs away from thee, O Derby! therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded; and conſider, before thou art utterly forſaken. The Lord moved me twice, before I came to cry againſt the deceits and vanities that are in thee; and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The wo is againſt the crown of pride, and the wo is againſt drunkenneſs and vain pleaſures, and againſt them that make a profeſſion of religion in words, and are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppreſſion and envy. O Derby! thy profeſſion and preaching, ſtinks before the Lord. Ye do profeſs a ſabbath in

1651. words, and meet together, dreſſing yourſelves in fine apparel; and you uphold pride. Thy women go with *ſtretched-forth necks*, and *wanton eyes*, &c. which the true prophet of old cried againſt. Your aſſemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is ſet up, and bowed down to; covetouſneſs abounds; and he that doth wickedly is honoured: ſo deceit doth bear with deceit; and yet they profeſs Chriſt in words. O the deceit that is within thee! it doth even break my heart to ſee how God is diſhonoured in thee, O Derby!

The magiſtrates not knowing what to do with him, at laſt turn him out of priſon.

After he had written this, he perceived that his impriſonment there would not continue long; for the magiſtrates grew uneaſy about him, and could not agree what to do with him: one while they would have ſent him up to the parliament, and another while they would have baniſhed him to Ireland. At firſt they called him a deceiver, and a blaſphemer; and afterwards, when the judgments of God befel them, they ſaid he was an honeſt virtuous man. But their well or ill ſpeaking was nothing to him; for the one did not lift him up, nor did the other caſt him down. At length they turned him out of gaol, about the beginning of the winter, in the year 1651, after he had been priſoner in Derby about a year, ſix months whereof in the houſe of correction, and the reſt of the time in the common gaol and dungeon.

He then viſits Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Yorkſhire.

Being ſet at liberty, he went into Leiceſterſhire, and had meetings where he came, preaching ſo effectually, that ſeveral were convinced. He went after to Nottinghamſhire again, and from thence into Derbyſhire, where, having viſited his friends, he paſſed into Yorkſhire, and coming into Doncaſter, and other places, he preached repentance. Afterwards he came to Balby, where

Rich. Farnſworth,

Richard Farnſworth, and ſeveral others, were convinced by his preaching. And coming afterwards into the parts about Wakefield, James Naylor came to him, and alſo acknowledged the truth

J. Naylor, W. Dewſbury, and G. Fox, jun. convinced, and become miniſters.

of that doctrine he held forth; likewiſe William Dewſbury, with many more; and theſe three named, became in time alſo miniſters of the goſpel. But by the way, I muſt ſay that William Dewſbury was one of thoſe that had already been immediately convinced, as G. Fox himſelf was, and, coming to him, found himſelf in unity with him; of theſe was alſo G. Fox the younger, of whom more hereafter.

At Beverly G. F. ſpeaks to the congregation in the ſteeple-houſe, and at another place, where he is invited again.

But I return to the other G. Fox, who coming about Selby, paſſed from thence to Beverly, where he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and, after he that preached there had done, G. Fox ſpoke to the congregation, and ſaid, that they ought to turn to Chriſt Jeſus as their teacher. This ſtruck a dread among the people, and the mayor ſpoke to him; but none meddled with him. In the afternoon he went to another ſteeple-houſe, about two miles off, where, after the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to him and the people, ſhewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The prieſt ſaying he could not diſpute, G. Fox told him, 'He did not come to diſpute, but to hold forth the word of 'truth, that they might all know the one ſeed, to which the 'promiſe was, both in the male and in the female.' Here his

ſpeaking

ſpeaking did ſo pleaſe the auditory, that he was deſired to come again on another day, and to preach there. But he directed them to their teacher Chriſt Jeſus, and ſo went away.

Capt. Purſloe goes with him to juſtice Hotham's, who entertains him in much love.

The next day he came to Crantſick, to captain Purſloe's, who accompanied him to juſtice Hotham's, and entering into diſcourſe with G. Fox, told him, 'He had known that principle above ten 'years, and was glad that the Lord did publiſh it abroad among 'the people.' While G. Fox was there, a great woman of Beverly, came to ſpeak with the ſaid juſtice about ſome buſineſs, who in diſcourſe ſaid, 'That the laſt ſabbath-day (as ſhe called it) there 'was an angel or ſpirit came into the church at Beverly, and 'ſpoke the wonderful things of God, to the aſtoniſhment of all 'that were there: and that when it had done, it paſſed away, 'they not knowing whence it came, nor whither it went; but it 'aſtoniſhed all, both prieſts and profeſſors, and the magiſtrates of 'the town.' This relation juſtice Hotham gave himſelf afterwards; and then G. Fox told him, that it was he who had been that day at Beverly ſteeple-houſe, and had declared truth there. The next firſt day of the week captain Purſloe came to G. Fox, and they both went to the ſteeple-houſe, where G. Fox, when the prieſt had done, ſpoke to both prieſt and people, and directed them where they might find their teacher, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, viz. inwardly, in their hearts; which was of ſuch effect, that ſome received that doctrine of truth, and continued in it. In the afternoon he went to another ſteeple-houſe, about three miles off, where one preached that bore the title of Doctor: he took his text from Iſaiah lv. *Every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price.* G. Fox ſtaid till the prieſt had done, and well knowing what kind of teacher he was, he was kindled with ſuch a zeal, that he ſaid, 'Come down thou 'deceiver: doſt thou bid people come freely, and take of the 'water of life freely, and yet thou takeſt three hundred pounds a 'year of them! Mayeſt not thou bluſh with ſhame! Did the 'prophet Iſaiah and Chriſt do ſo, who ſpake the words, and gave 'them forth freely? Did not Chriſt ſay to his miniſters, whom he 'ſent to preach, *Freely ye have received, freely give?*' The prieſt being amazed, haſtened away, and ſo gave G. Fox as much time as he could deſire, to ſpeak to the people: who then directed them to the light, and the grace of God, and to the ſpirit of God in their inward parts, to be taught and inſtructed thereby. Having thus cleared himſelf amongſt that people, he returned to juſtice Hotham's houſe that night, who embracing him, ſaid, 'My houſe is your houſe;' and alſo ſignified, 'that he was 'exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power 'was revealed.'

A prieſt amazed at G. F's doctrine and courage, leaves him at liberty to preach to his people.

From thence G. Fox went through the country, and came at night to an inn, where he bid the woman of the houſe, if ſhe had any meat, to bring him ſome. But becauſe he ſaid thee and thou to her, ſhe looked ſtrangely on him. Then he aſked her, If ſhe had any milk? and ſhe ſaid no. He believing ſhe ſpoke falſely, and ſeeing a churn ſtand in the room, would try her farther,

1651. farther, and asked her, If she had any cream? but she denied that she had any. Then a little boy playing about the churn, put his hands into it, and pulling it down, threw all the cream on the floor. Thus the woman appeared to be a liar, and she being amazed, took up the child, and whipped it sorely: but he reproved her for her lying, and going out of the house, went away, and that night lay in a stack of hay, in rain and snow. The next day he came to York, and the first day of the week being come, he went to the cathedral: when the priest had done, he said, 'he had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and 'people.' 'Then, said a professor, say on quickly;' for it was very cold weather. G. Fox then told them, 'This was the word 'of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; but God 'Almighty looked for fruits among them'. As soon as these words were out of his mouth, he was hurried out, and thrown down the steps. But he got up again without hurt, and went to his lodging. Yet several of the people were so reached, that they became convinced of the truth.

G. F. goes into the cathedral at York, is turned out, and thrown down, but several are convinced.

He having now done his service in York, went from thence, and came the next day to Burraby, and going into a certain meeting, where there was a priest also, he had occasion to declare the truth, and many were convinced; and the priest himself confessed to the truth, tho' he came not to live up to it. The following day G. Fox passed to Cleveland, where, having a meeting, some were convinced. The first day of the next week he went to the steeple-house, and when the priest had done, he directed the people to their teacher within, Christ Jesus, who had bought them. The priest then coming to him, he had a little discourse with him, and put him soon to silence.

Thence to Burraby.

And Cleveland, where he has good service.

From thence he went to Stath, where he had great meetings, and many received the truth he preached, among whom was Philip Scarth, a priest, that afterwards came to be a minister of the gospel among those called Quakers, who now began thereabout to increase in number, and had great meetings. It happened here, that a certain Scotch priest, walking with G. Fox, asked him many questions concerning the light, and the soul: to all which he answered fully. But after they parted, this Scotch priest met Philip Scarth, and breaking his cane against the ground, said in anger, 'If ever he met with G. Fox again, he would have his life, or Fox 'should have his;' adding, 'That he would give his head, if G. 'Fox was not knocked down within a month.' Yet what is marvellous, this same Scotch priest, after some years, came to be one of the people called Quakers, and afterwards G. Fox visited him at his house. Not much unlike to this, was, that a woman of note, among the Independants, being swayed by prejudice against G. Fox, said, 'she would willingly have gone to have seen him hanged:' but when she heard him preach, was so reached, that being convinced of the truth he declared, she came to be one of his friends. Oftentimes he had opportunity to speak with the priests, who, when they heard of his coming, would hide themselves; for it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, 'the man in lea-'ther breeches is come;' for this was indeed his dress in those days,

P. Scarth, a priest, comes to be a minister among the Quakers.

Remarkable change wrought on a Scotch priest.

Priests hide themselves from the man in leather breeches.

not

not out of any ſuperſtition, but becauſe leather clothes being ſtrong, it was not unſuitable for one that travelled ſo much as he did. 1651.

Coming to Malton he had great meetings; but it was thought ſuch a ſtrange thing to preach in houſes, that many durſt not come there, for fear of their relations; and therefore he was much deſired to come and preach in the churches, as the ſteeple-houſes are commonly called: nay, one of the prieſts himſelf called Boyes, (who was ſo taken with him, that he called him brother) did invite him to preach in his ſteeple-houſe: but G. Fox had little inclination to that, becauſe both prieſts and people, called that place of worſhip, *The houſe of God;* whereas the apoſtle ſaid to the Athenians, *God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.* And therefore he endeavoured to draw people off from them, and to make them ſenſible, that God and Chriſt ought to dwell in their hearts, that ſo their bodies might be made the temples of God. Yet for that time he went into the ſteeple-houſe at Malton, where there were not above eleven hearers to whom the prieſt was preaching; but after it was known in the town that G. Fox was there, it was ſoon filled with people. And when the prieſt had done, he ſent the other that had invited him thither, to bring him up into the pulpit. But G. Fox ſent him word, 'That he needed not to go into the pulpit.' The prieſt not ſatisfied with this refuſal, ſent again, deſiring him to go up into it, for, ſaid he, 'It is a better place to be ſeen of the people.'. But G. Fox anſwered, 'That he could be ſeen and heard well enough 'where he was; and that he came not there to hold up ſuch places, 'nor their maintenance and trade.' This created ſome diſpleaſure, and it was ſaid, *That falſe prophets were to come in the laſt times.* But this ſaying grieved many of the people, and ſome began to murmur at it; whereupon G. Fox ſtood up, and deſiring all to be quiet, he ſtept upon an high ſeat; and ſince ſomewhat had been ſpoken of *falſe prophets*, he declared to the auditory, 'The marks 'of thoſe prophets;' and he ſhewed, 'That they were already 'come, and were out of the ſteps of the true prophets, and of 'Chriſt and his apoſtles.' He alſo directed the people, 'To their 'inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus, who would turn them from dark-'neſs to light.' And having opened divers ſcriptures to them, 'He directed them to the ſpirit of God in themſelves, by which 'they might come to God, and alſo to know who the falſe pro-'phets were.' And having thus had a large time to preach to the people, he went away without any diſturbance.

Prieſt Boyes invites G. F. to preach in his ſteeple-houſe, where G. F. opens the ſcriptures to the edification of the hearers.

After ſome time he came to Pickering, where the juſtices held their ſeſſions in the ſteeple-houſe; juſtice Robinſon being chairman. At the ſame time G. Fox had a meeting in the ſchool-houſe, where many prieſts and profeſſors came, and aſked ſeveral queſtions, which were anſwered to their ſatisfaction, ſo that many perſons, and amongſt theſe, four chief conſtables were convinced that day; and word was carried to juſtice Robinſon, that his prieſt, whom he loved more than all the others, was overthrown and convinced. After the meeting was done, they went to an inn, and the ſaid prieſt was very loving, and would have paid for G. Fox's dinner; but this he would not ſuffer by any means.

Juſtice Robinſon very kind to G. F. at Pickering, where four chief conſtables are convinced.

1651. Then he offered that he ſhould have his ſteeple-houſe to preach in; but he refuſed, and told him and the people, 'That he came to 'bring them off from ſuch things to Chriſt.' The next morning he went with the four chief conſtables to viſit juſtice Robinſon, who meeting him at his chamber-door, G. Fox told him, 'He 'could not honour him with man's honour:' to which the juſtice ſaid, 'He did not look for it.' Then he went into his chamber, and ſpoke to him concerning the ſtate of the falſe prophets, and of the true; and alſo concerning election and reprobation, ſhewing that reprobation ſtood in the firſt birth, and election in the ſecond; and what it was that the promiſe of God was to, and what the judgment of God was againſt. All this ſo pleaſed the ſaid Robinſon, that he not only confeſſed it to be truth, but when another juſtice that was preſent, made ſome little oppoſition, he informed him; and at their parting he ſaid to G. Fox, 'It was 'very well that he did exerciſe that gift which God had given 'him.' And he took the chief conſtables aſide, and would have given them ſome money for G. Fox, ſaying, 'He would not 'have him to be at any charge in their country.' But they told him, 'That they themſelves could not get him to take any money.' G. Fox paſſing from thence, prieſt Boyes went along with him: but the year being now come to an end, let us take a ſhort view how it ſtood with ſtate-affairs.

King Charles, his army being beaten at Worceſter, he hides himſelf in a hollow oak.

It hath been ſaid already, that Charles the ſecond had been crowned king by the Scots, but having been beaten, with his forces, by Cromwell, he marched afterwards with a new army into England, and took Worceſter without oppoſition: yet in the month of September, his forces were ſo entirely routed by Cromwell, that king Charles, to prevent being taken priſoner after the battle, hid himſelf a whole day in a hollow oak, and afterwards, being cloathed like a ſervant, and called by the name of William, paſſed the country, and through many hazards eſcaped out of England, and arrived on the coaſt of Normandy in France, where we will leave him, to return again to

Prieſt Boyes accompanies G. F. who declaims againſt ſteeple-houſe worſhip, ceremonies, tythes, &c.

G. Fox, who coming with prieſt Boyes into a town to bait, and hearing the bells ring, aſked, What that was for? They told him, 'That it was for him to preach in the ſteeple-houſe.' Walking thither, he ſaw the people were gathered together in the ſteeple-houſe-yard. The prieſt who accompanied him, would have had him to go into the ſteeple-houſe: but he ſaid, 'It was no matter.' This ſeemed ſtrange to the people, that he would not go into that which they called, 'The houſe of GOD.' But he ſtood up in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, and declared to them, 'That he came not 'to hold up their idol-temples, nor their prieſts, nor their tythes, 'nor their Jewiſh and Heatheniſh ceremonies: that the ground on 'which theſe their temples ſtood, was no more holy than any 'other piece of ground: that the apoſtles going into the Jews 'ſynagogues, and temples, was to bring people off from that tem-'ple, &c. and from the offerings and tythes, and covetous prieſts 'of that time: that ſuch who came to be converted, and believed 'in Chriſt, afterwards met together in dwelling-houſes: and that 'all who preach Chriſt, the Word of Life, ought to preach freely,

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'as the apoſtles did, and as Chriſt had commanded: and that the 'Lord God of heaven and earth had ſent him to preach freely, and 'to bring people off from the outward temples made with hands, 'in which God dwelleth not; that ſo they might know their 'bodies were to become the temples of God and Chriſt. More-'over, that they ought to leave all their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, 'traditions, and doctrines of men; and not regard ſuch teachers 'of the world, that took tythes, and great wages, *preaching for* '*hire, and divining for money*, whom God and Chriſt never ſent, 'according to their own confeſſion, when they ſay, They never 'heard God's voice. That therefore people ought to come to 'the ſpirit and grace of God in themſelves, and to the light 'of Jeſus in their own hearts; that ſo they might come to know 'Chriſt their free teacher, to bring them ſalvation, and to open 'the ſcriptures to them.' This ſpeech had ſuch effect, that many of them declared, they were convinced of the truth.

From this place he went to another town, and prieſt Boyes went along with him. Thither came ſeveral profeſſors, but he ſat ſilent for ſome hours: which made them often aſk the prieſt, 'When 'will he begin? When will he ſpeak?' To which the prieſt ſaid, 'wait:' and told them, 'That the people waited upon Chriſt a long 'while before he ſpake.' Now, though G. Fox by ſilence was to famiſh people from words, yet at length he felt himſelf moved to ſpeak, which he did ſo effectually, that many were reached, and there was a general convincement amongſt them.

A general convincement after long waiting.

From hence he paſſed on, the prieſt continuing to go with him, as did ſeveral others. And as they went along, ſome people called to the prieſt, and ſaid, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you ſome money for 'tythes, pray, come and take it.' But he throwing up his hands, ſaid, 'He had enough, and would have none of it; they might 'keep it; and he praiſed the Lord he had enough.' At length they came into this prieſt's ſteeple-houſe in the Moors; and the prieſt going before, held open the pulpit-door: but G. Fox told him, 'He would not go into it.' And this ſteeple-houſe being very much painted, he told him and the people, 'That the paint-'ed beaſt, had a painted houſe.' Then he ſpoke to them concerning the riſe of all thoſe houſes, and their ſuperſtitious ways; and he told them, 'That as the end of the apoſtles going into 'the temple and ſynagogues, was not to hold them up, but to bring 'people to Chriſt, the ſubſtance; ſo the end of his coming there, 'was not to hold up theſe temples, prieſts and tythes, but to 'bring them off from all theſe things, to Chriſt, the ſubſtance. 'Moreover, he declared to them what the true worſhip was, 'which Chriſt had ſet up; and he diſtinguiſhed Chriſt, the true 'way, from all the falſe ways, opening the parables to them, 'and turning them from darkneſs to the true light, that by it 'they might ſee themſelves, and their ſins, and Chriſt their Savi-'our, that ſo believing in him, they might be ſaved from 'their ſins.'

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Prieſt Boyes continues to accompany G. F. and refuſeth his tythes when offered him.

G. F. diſtinguiſhes the true way of worſhip from the falſe, &c.

After this, he went to the houſe of one Birdet, where he had a great meeting, and the prieſt Boyes accompanied him ſtill, leaving his ſteeple-houſe. Then he returned towards Crantſick,

Viſits one Birdet,

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And returns to capt. Purſloe, and juſtice Hotham, who receive him kindly, and rejoice that many had received the truth.

to captain Purſloe's, and juſtice Hotham's, who received him kindly, being glad that truth was ſpread, and ſo many had received it. And juſtice Hotham ſaid, 'If God had not raiſed up this 'principle of light and life, which G. Fox preached, the nation 'had been overrun with Ranteriſm, and all the juſtices in the 'nation could not have ſtopped it with all their laws; becauſe '(ſaid he) they would have ſaid as we ſaid, and done as we com-'manded, and yet have kept their old principle ſtill: but this 'principle of truth overthrows that principle, and the root and 'ground thereof.'

Now, though G. Fox found good entertainment, yet he did not ſettle there, but kept in a continual motion, going from one place to another, to beget ſouls unto God. I don't intend to relate all his occurrences, but will give a ſhort hint only of ſome of the chief.

Coming to Pattrington, and warning to repentance, he is refuſed entertainment, ſo ſits among furz-buſhes till day.

Coming then towards night into Pattrington, he walked thro' the town, and meeting the prieſt in the ſtreet, he warned both him and the people, *To repent, and turn to the Lord.* And people gathering about him, he declared to them the word of life, directing them to the inward word, viz. the light wherewith they are enlightened. Going afterwards to an inn, for it was dark, he deſired lodging, but it was denied him: then he aſked for a little meat, or milk, offering to pay for it; but this alſo was refuſed him. Being thus put off, he walked out of the town, and ſome rude fellows following, aſked him, 'What news?' To which his anſwer was, 'Repent and fear the Lord.' After he was gone a pretty way out of the town, he came to another houſe, where he deſired to have ſome meat, drink, and lodging for his money; but they would not ſuffer him to ſtay there: then he went to another houſe, but met with the like refuſal. By this time it was grown ſo dark, that he could not ſee the high-way, but perceiving a ditch, he found a little water, and ſo refreſhed himſelf. Then he got over the ditch, and being weary, ſat down amongſt the furz-buſhes, till it grew day; and then he aroſe, and paſſing on through the fields, a man came after him with a pike-ſtaff, and went along with him to a town, where he raiſed the people, with the conſtable and chief conſtable, before the ſun was up. G. Fox ſeeing the multitude, warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs, and exhorted them to repent. But they laying hold on him, carried him back to Pattrington, and guarded him with halberds, pikes, ſtaves, &c. Being come to the ſaid town, all was in an uproar; and the prieſt and conſtable conſulting together what to do with him, he took that opportunity to exhort the people to repentance, and to preach the word of life to them. At laſt a diſcreet man called him into his houſe, where he got ſome milk and bread, not having eaten for ſome days before. Then he was carried about nine miles to a juſtice; and when he was come near his houſe, there came a man riding after, and aſked him, 'Whether he was the 'man that was apprehended?' G. Fox aſking him, 'why?' the other ſaid, 'for no hurt.' Then he told him 'he was;' and ſo the man rode away to the juſtice.

Is ſeized and had back to Pattrington, and then about nine miles to a juſtice.

Now the men that guarded G. Fox ſaid, 'It would be well if

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'the juſtice was not drunk when they came to him, becauſe he 'uſed to be drunk early.' G. Fox being brought in before him, and not putting off his hat, and ſaying thou to him, the juſtice aſked the man that rode thither before, 'Whether he was not 'mazed or fond?' But the man ſaid, 'No, it is his principle ſo 'to behave himſelf.' G. Fox, who was unwilling to let any opportunity ſlip, without admoniſhing people to virtue, warned the juſtice to repent, and bid him 'Come to the light which Chriſt 'had enlightened him with, that by it he might ſee all his evil 'words and actions, and ſo return to Chriſt Jeſus, whilſt he had 'time, and that he ought to prize that time.' 'Ay, ay,' ſaid he, 'the light that is ſpoken of in the third of John.' G. Fox deſired him that he would mind it, and obey it; and laying his hand upon him, he was ſo brought down by the Lord's power, that all the watchmen ſtood amazed. Then he took G. Fox with him into a parlour with the other men, and deſired to ſee what he had in his pockets, of letters, or intelligence; for it ſeems they ſuſpected him to be an enemy to the commonwealth. Then he pulled out his linen, and ſhewed that he had no letters; which made the juſtice ſay, 'He is not a vagrant by his linen;' and ſet him at liberty. Then G. Fox went back to Pattrington again, with that man who had rode before to the juſtice, and who lived in that town. Coming to his houſe, he deſired G. Fox to go to bed, or to lie down upon it: which he did, that they might ſay, they had ſeen him in a bed, or upon a bed; for there was a report, that he would not lie on any bed, raiſed doubtleſs, becauſe about that time he had lain often without doors.

And no letters of intelligence being found about him, is ſet at liberty.

When the firſt day of the week was come, he went to the ſteeple-houſe, and declared the doctrine of truth to the prieſt and people, without being moleſted. Then preſently after he had a great meeting at that man's houſe where he lay, and many were convinced that day of the truth he preached; and they were exceeding ſorry that they had not given him lodging when he was there before. From thence he travelled through the country, warning people, both in towns, and in country-villages, to repent, and turn to Chriſt Jeſus their teacher.

Then viſits the ſteeple-houſe, &c. and the people are ſorry they refuſed him lodging before.

On a firſt day of the week he came to one colonel Overton's houſe, and had a great meeting of the chief of the people of that country; where he opened many things out of the ſcriptures, which they never heard before. Coming afterwards again to Pattrington, he underſtood that a taylor, and ſome wild blades in that town, had occaſioned his being carried before the juſtice: this taylor came to aſk him forgiveneſs, fearing he would complain of him: the conſtables alſo were afraid, leſt he ſhould trouble them: but he forgave them all, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid, was, that he having been not long before in the ſteeple-houſe at Oram, there came a profeſſor that gave him a puſh on the breaſt, and bid him, 'Get out of the church.' To which G. Fox ſaid, 'Doſt thou call the ſteeple-houſe the church? The 'church is the people, whom God hath purchaſed with his blood, 'and not the houſe.' But juſtice Hotham having heard of this

Has a meeting at colonel Overton's.

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Juſtice Hotham's care of the peace, and G. F's readineſs to forgive.

man's thus abuſing G. Fox, ſent a warrant, and bound the ſaid man over to the ſeſſions. So zealous was this juſtice to keep the peace, that he had aſked G. Fox before, whether any people had abuſed him: but he eſteeming it his duty to forgive all, told him nothing of that kind.

Being refuſed lodging, after warning them to repentance, he ſits under a hay-ſtack till morning. Travels to Hull.

From Pattrington he went to ſeveral great men's houſes, warning them to repent. Some received him lovingly, and ſome ſlighted him. Paſſing thus through the country, at night he came to another town, where he deſired lodging and meat, offering to pay for it; but they would not lodge him, unleſs he went to a conſtable to aſk leave, which they ſaid was the cuſtom of ſtrangers. But he told them, 'That cuſtom was for ſuſpected perſons, 'and not for ſuch as he, who was an innocent man.' So after he had warned them to repent, and to mind the day of their viſitation, and directed them to the light of Chriſt, and ſpirit of God, he paſſed away. As it grew dark, he ſpied an hay-ſtack, and went and ſat under it till morning. The next day he came to Hull, where he admoniſhed the people to turn to Chriſt Jeſus, that they might receive ſalvation. And being very weary with travelling on foot ſo far, he got that night a lodging there.

Thence into Nottinghamſhire, and ſo to Lincolnſhire.

From thence he went to Nottinghamſhire, viſiting his friends there; and ſo paſſed into Lincolnſhire, where he did the like. And coming to Gainſborough, where one of his friends had been preaching in the market, he found the town and people all in an uproar; the more, becauſe a certain man had raiſed a falſe accuſation, reporting, that G. Fox had ſaid, 'He was Chriſt.' Here going into the houſe of a friendly man, the people ruſhed in after him, ſo that the houſe ſoon was filled; and amongſt the reſt was alſo this falſe accuſer, who ſaid openly before all the people, 'That G. Fox ſaid he was Chriſt; and that he had got 'witneſſes to prove the ſame.' G. Fox kindled with zeal, ſtept upon the table, and ſaid to the people, 'That Chriſt was in 'them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Chriſt 'the eternal power of God, that ſpoke in him at that time unto 'them; not that he was Chriſt.' This gave general ſatisfaction, except to the falſe accuſer himſelf, to whom G. Fox ſaid, 'That 'he was a Judas, and that Judas's end ſhould be his; and that 'that was the word of the Lord through him [Fox] to him.' The minds of the people coming thus to be quieted, they departed peaceably. But very remarkable it was, this Judas ſhortly after hanged himſelf, and a ſtake was driven into his grave. Now though this was a well known thing in this country, yet ſome prieſts ſpread a report, 'That a Quaker had hang-'ed himſelf in Lincolnſhire, and had a ſtake driven through him.' And though this was taken upon truſt by hearſay, yet, out of meer malice, a certain prieſt gave out this falſehood in print, as a true matter. But this wicked ſlander prevailed ſo little, that many people in Lincolnſhire were convinced of the truth preached by G. Fox.

Is falſely accuſed at Gainſborough, but judgment overtakes his accuſer, and many are convinced.

After this he paſſed into Yorkſhire, and coming to Warnſworth, went to the ſteeple-houſe in the forenoon, but found no acceptance; and being thruſt out he was ſorely beaten with ſtaves,

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and clods and ſtones were thrown at him; yet he exhorted to repent, and turn to Chriſt. In the afternoon he went to another ſteeple-houſe; but the ſermon was finiſhed before he got thither; ſo he preached repentance to the people, that were not departed, and directed them to their inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus. From hence he came to Doncaſter, where he had formerly preached in the market; but now on the firſt day of the week he went into the ſteeple-houſe; and after the prieſt had done, he began to ſpeak, but was hurried out, and haled before the magiſtrates, who threatened him with death, if ever he came thither again. But notwithſtanding all this, G. Fox bid them 'Mind the light 'of Chriſt in them,' ſaying, 'That God was come to teach 'his people himſelf, whether they would hear or not.' After a while being put out with ſome of his friends, that were with him, they were ſtoned by the rude multitude. A certain innkeeper, that was a bailiff, ſeeing this, came and took them into his houſe, but one of the ſtones, that were thrown, hit his head, ſo that the blood ran down his face. The next firſt day G. Fox went to Tickhill, where he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and there found the prieſt, and the chief of the pariſh in the chancel, to whom he began to ſpeak; but they immediately fell upon him, and the clerk ſtruck him with his bible ſo violently on the face, that the blood guſhed out, and he bled exceedingly. Then the people thruſt him out of the ſteeple-houſe, beat and threw him down, and dragged him along the ſtreet, ſo that he was beſmeared with blood and dirt, and his hat taken away. When got up again, he ſpoke to the people, and ſhewed them how they diſhonoured chriſtianity. Some time after, the prieſt coming by, ſcoffingly called G. Fox and his friends, Quakers. But he was ſpoken to, in ſuch authority and dread, that he fell a trembling; which made one of the people ſay, 'Look how the prieſt trembles and 'ſhakes, he is turned a Quaker alſo.' Some moderate juſtices now, hearing how G. Fox and his friends had been abuſed, came to examine the buſineſs, and the clerk was afraid of having his hand cut off, for ſtriking him in the church: but G. Fox, as a true chriſtian, forgave him, and would not appear againſt him.

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Comes into Yorkſhire, where he viſits ſeveral ſteeple-houſes, and is grievouſly abuſed, yet forgives.

Thus far G. Fox only hath been mentioned as a preacher of repentance; but now ſome others of his perſuaſion began alſo to preach publickly, viz. Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnſworth, and not long after, William Dewſbury. This made ſuch a ſtir, that the prieſt of Warnſworth procured a warrant from the juſtices againſt G. Fox and Thomas Aldam. The conſtable, who came with this order, which was to be executed in any part of the weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York, and G. Fox went with him twenty miles; but though the conſtable had a warrant for him alſo, yet he meddled not with G. Fox, ſaying, 'He was loath to trouble men that were ſtrangers;' but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. About this time Richard Farnſworth went into an eminent ſteeple-houſe, in, or about Wakefield; where he ſpoke ſo powerfully, that the people were amazed. The prieſt of that place, whoſe name was Marſhall, ſpread a ſlanderous report, 'That G. Fox carried bottles about

T. Aldam, R. Farnſworth, W. Dewſbury, begin to have publick teſtimonies.

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The prieſt of Wakefield ſpreads ſilly lies of G. F.

Who viſits the ſteeple-houſe near Bradford.

Then travels ſome time with R. Farnſworth.

Then parting from him, he came to Wentzerdale, where he went into the ſteeple-houſe; and after the lecture, he ſpoke to the people much in the ſame terms as he uſed to do on the like occaſions; and had not much oppoſition there. Thus he went from place to place, and often met with ſtrange occurrences, ſome of which were more jocoſe than ſerious; others very rude, and even dangerous to his life. But he truſted in God, really believing that he had ſent him to preach repentance, and to exhort people to a true converſion.

Goes to Wentzerdale.

Thus travelling on he came near Sedburgh; there he went to a meeting at juſtice Benſon's, where a people met that were ſeparated from the publick worſhip; and by his preaching, he gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, that moſt of the hearers were convinced of the truth declared by him. Thus the number of his fellow believers increaſed ſo, that now they had meetings by themſelves, in many places of the country.

Quakers begin to have ſeparate meetings.

About this time there being a fair at Sedburgh, G. Fox declared the day of the Lord through the fair; and afterwards went into the ſteeple-houſe-yard, where abundance of people came to him: here he preached for ſeveral hours, ſhewing, 'That the Lord was 'come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all 'the world's ways and teachers, to Chriſt, the true teacher, and 'the true way to God. Moreover, he ſhewed the declining ſtate 'of the modern doctors and teachers; and exhorted the people to 'come off from the temples made with hands, and wait to re-'ceive the ſpirit of the Lord, that they might know themſelves 'to be the temples of God.' None of the prieſts, ſeveral of whom were there, ſpoke againſt what he had declared; but a captain ſaid, 'Why will you not go into the church; for this is not a fit 'place to preach in?' G. Fox told him, 'That he did not approve 'of their church.' Then ſtood up one Francis Howgil, who

G. F. preaches through Sedburgh fair.

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was a preacher, and though he never had ſeen G. Fox before, yet he was ſo affected with him, that he anſwered the captain, and ſoon put him to ſilence: for, ſaid Howgil, 'This man ſpeaks 'with authority, and not as the ſcribes.' After this G. Fox opened to the people, 'That that ground and houſe was not more holy 'than another place; and that the houſe was not the church, but 'the people, whom Chriſt was the head of.' Then the prieſts coming to him, he warned them to repent, upon which one of them ſaid, 'He was mad:' but notwithſtanding his ſaying ſo, many were convinced there that day; and amongſt theſe, one captain Ward.

F. Howgil, defends him.

Many convinced, among whom capt. Ward.

The next firſt day G. Fox came to Firbank-chapel in Weſtmoreland, where the aforeſaid Francis Howgil, and one John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel at that time was ſo full of people, that many could not get in: and Howgil ſaid afterwards, 'He thought G. Fox looked into the chapel, 'and his ſpirit was ready to fail.' But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgil had been ſo reached when he heard him preach in the ſteeple-houſe-yard at Sedburgh, that he was, as it were, checked, and ſo quickly made an end of his ſermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that day, as indeed he did: for having refreſhed himſelf at noon, with a little water out of a brook, he went and ſat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel, intending to have a meeting there. At this people wondered, becauſe they looked upon the church (ſo called) as an holy place, requiſite for worſhip. But G. Fox told them afterwards, 'That the ground whereon he ſtood, was as 'good as that of the ſteeple-houſe;' beſides, we find, that Chriſt himſelf did preach on a mountain, and alſo at the ſea ſide. Now in the afternoon, the people gathered about him, with ſeveral of their preachers, and amongſt theſe, F. Howgil, and J. Audland. To this auditory, which was judged to conſiſt of more than a thouſand people, G. Fox began to preach, and ſpoke about the ſpace of three hours, directing all 'To the ſpirit of God in them-'ſelves, that ſo they might be turned from darkneſs to light, and 'from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto 'God; by which they ſhould become children of the light, and, 'by the ſpirit of truth, be led into all truth, and ſo ſenſibly under-'ſtand the words of the prophets of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles; and 'come to know Chriſt to be their teacher to inſtruct them, their 'counſellor to direct them, their ſhepherd to feed them, their biſhop 'to overſee them, and their prophet to open divine myſteries to 'them, that ſo their bodies might be prepared, ſanctified, and made 'fit temples for God and Chriſt to dwell in. Moreover, he explain-'ed the prophets, and the figures, and ſhadows, and directed his 'hearers to Chriſt the ſubſtance. He alſo opened the parables 'and ſayings of Chriſt, and ſhewed the intent and ſcope of the 'apoſtles writings and epiſtles to the elect. Then he ſpoke alſo 'concerning the ſtate of apoſtacy, that hath been ſince the apoſtles 'days; how the prieſts had gotten the ſcriptures, without being 'in that ſpirit which gave them forth; and how they were found 'in the ſteps of the falſe prophets, ſcribes and Phariſees of old,

G. F. preaches at Firbank-chapel, where F. Howgil, and J. Audland, had been preaching in the morning.

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Whilſt G. Fox was thus preaching, many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows, thinking it a ſtrange thing to ſee a man preach on a hill, and not in the church (as they called it.) He perceiving this, ſaid, 'That the ſteeple-houſe, and the 'ground whereon it ſtood, was no more holy than that hill; and 'that thoſe temples, which they called the dreadful houſes of 'God, were not ſet up by the command of God and Chriſt; 'nor their prieſts inſtituted, as Aaron's prieſthood was; nor their 'tythes appointed by God, as thoſe amongſt the Jews were. But 'that Chriſt was come, who ended both the temple, and its wor-'ſhip, and the prieſts and their tythes; and that therefore all 'ought to hearken unto him; for he ſaid, *Learn of me;* and 'God ſaid of him, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well 'pleaſed, hear ye him.* In concluſion, he ſaid, That the Lord 'God had ſent him to preach the everlaſting goſpel, and word 'of life amongſt them; and to bring them off from all theſe 'temples, tythes, prieſts, and rudiments of the world, which 'were gotten up ſince the apoſtles days, and had been ſet up by 'ſuch as had erred from the ſpirit and power the apoſtles were in.'

G. F. ſent to preach the goſpel, and bring off from outward temples, tythes, prieſts rudiments, &c. the powerful effect of his ſermon.

Thus preached G. Fox, and his miniſtry was at that time accompanied with ſuch a convincing power, and ſo reached the hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, were convinced of that truth which was declared to them.

In particular on J. Audland, and F. Howgil. They become publiſhers of the ſame doctrine.

After this meeting was over, G. Fox went to John Audland's, who, as well as Francis Howgil, and others, had been quite brought over by his effectual preaching. And as theſe had been zealous preachers amongſt thoſe of their former perſuaſion, ſo it was not long before they became publiſhers of that doctrine, which now, by the miniſtry of G. Fox, they had embraced; and were ſo far from approving their former ſervice, that they gave back the money they received for their preaching to the pariſh of Colton in Lancaſhire; being now reſolved to give freely what they had received freely. And here I ſhall make ſome ſmall digreſſion, in ſaying ſomething concerning theſe two excellent men.

Character of J. Audland,

John Audland was a young man, of a comely countenance, and very lovely qualities. When he was but ſeventeen or eighteen years old, he was very religious, and a zealous ſearcher of the holy ſcriptures; and having a good underſtanding, and ſtrong memory, he thereby gathered a large treaſure of ſcripture learning, became an eminent teacher among the Independents, and had a very numerous auditory. But when he heard G. Fox preach, he was thereby ſo reached to the heart, that he began in proceſs of time to ſee the emptineſs of his great literal knowledge, and that all his righteouſneſs was but as filthy rags. This brought him to a ſtate of mourning; for now he ſaw that all his profeſſion and wiſdom could not bring him to true happineſs. But the Lord, who doth not break the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoaking flax, did pity him in this ſtate of deep humiliation, and bore

him

him up again by his ſupporting power; whereby in time he came to be prepared for that ſervice he was appointed to by God. 1652.

Concerning Francis Howgil; he was alſo a religious man, who having ſeen the ſuperſtitions of the epiſcopal church, had left it, and applied himſelf to the Independents. But although he, who had been trained up in the univerſity to be a miniſter, became a teacher among the Independents, and was zealous in virtue; yet he remained diſſatisfied in himſelf, finding, that notwithſtanding all his faſting, praying, and good works, the root of ſin ſtill remained in him; and although the common doctrine was, that Chriſt had taken the guilt of ſin upon himſelf, yet this could not ſatisfy him; becauſe his conſcience told him, *His ſervant thou art, whom thou obeyeſt.* Thus increaſing in underſtanding, it was revealed to him, that the Lord, according to what the prophets had foretold, would teach his people himſelf; and it ſeemed alſo to him, that this time was near at hand. Some while after it happened, as hath been ſaid already, that he was preſent when G. Fox preached, and when he heard him ſay, That 'the light of Chriſt 'in man, was the way to Chriſt;' he believed this to be the word of truth; and he ſaw how he had been ignorant of the principle of true religion. Submitting then to the reproofs of this inward light, he ſaw the unfruitfulneſs of all his labour, and anguiſh and ſorrow ſeized on him; and judgment went over all his former actions: but he being given up, and reſigned in that ſtate, ſaying with himſelf, 'Thou, O God art juſt in all thy judgments,' it pleaſed the Lord in due time to fill his heart with joy, and to make him a miniſter of his everlaſting word. But no ſooner did he enter into that ſervice, but both prieſts and magiſtrates, of whom he formerly had been beloved, became his enemies; and envy was ſo kindled againſt him, that he was locked up in a naſty place, at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, and was kept there priſoner for ſome time.

And of F. Howgil.

Impriſoned at Appleby in Weſtmoreland.

But let me now return to G. Fox, who coming to Kendal, had a meeting there in the town-hall, where, declaring the word of life, he ſhewed the people, 'How they might come to the ſaving 'knowledge of Chriſt, and to have a right underſtanding of the 'holy ſcripture; opening to them what it was that would lead 'them into the way of reconciliation with God.'

This was of ſuch effect, that ſeveral became convinced of the truth publiſhed by him; and others were ſo well affected to him, that when he went to Under-Barrow, ſeveral people accompanied him, and he had great reaſonings with them, but eſpecially with one Edward Burrough, who, though of extraordinary parts, and acquired knowledge, was not able to withſtand the efficacious ſayings of G. Fox. And becauſe this Burrough became an eminent man among the Quakers, ſo called, being endued with courage and underſtanding, fit to overcome his oppoſers, and to break even ſtony hearts, I'll mention here a little of his deſcent and quality.

G. F. has a meeting at Kendal, and at Under-Barrow, reaſons with E. Burrough who is convinced.

He was born in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, of parents who, for their honeſt and virtuous life, were in good repute; he was well educated, and trained up in ſuch learning as

His deſcent and character.

that

1652. that country did afford. His knowledge and underſtanding ſoon paſſed his years; for being but a boy, he had the ſpirit of a man, and in his youth was endued with wiſdom above his equals in years: moreover, he was very religious, converſing frequently with thoſe that were in eſteem for piety and a godly life. Neither was he inclined to the ordinary pleaſures of youth; but it was his delight to be exerciſed in reading of the holy ſcriptures, wherein he was well verſed. By his parents he was trained up in the epiſcopal worſhip; yet when but twelve years of age, he often went to the meetings of the Preſbyterians, becauſe their doctrine in many things ſeemed to him to approach nearer to truth, than that of the publick church; wherefore he became a follower of the Preſbyterians, although he was reviled for it by his acquaintance. But being come to the age of about ſeventeen years, and growing more and more ſenſible of his own condition, he was often ſtruck with terror, and when he had been praying, he heard, as it were, a voice, 'Thou art ignorant of God; thou 'knoweſt not where he is, nor what he is: to what purpoſe is thy 'prayer?' This brought him under ſuch a concern, that he began to take diligent heed to his life, ſo that he abſtained not only from all vanities, but when occaſion offered, he reproved others for their vain converſation and wickedneſs; but for this was derided, and looked upon ſcornfully by many; yet continued to live religiouſly, and felt ſometimes ſweet refreſhments to his ſoul. But though he had the truth in his comprehenſion, yet he wanted the real and experimental knowledge of it, and ſo became darkened again, loſing what he once poſſeſſed: and being too ready to flatter himſelf, would ſay, 'Whom God loves once, he loves for ever.' Now he grew weary of hearing of any of the prieſts, for he ſaw they did not poſſeſs what they ſpoke of to others; and ſometimes he began to queſtion his own experiences. Being thus many times put to a ſtand, he ſeemed almoſt to be at a loſs. In this condition he heard G. Fox preach, and afterwards reaſoned with him; and it pleaſed the Lord ſo to open his underſtanding, that he perceived (as he relates himſelf) that he was in the prodigal ſtate, above the croſs of Chriſt, and not in the pure fear of the Lord. Being thus convinced, he entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers, though he was now rejected by his relations, and by a blind zeal, turned out of his father's houſe. This he bore patiently, and continued faithful in the doctrine he had embraced. And in proceſs of time he ſo advanced in true knowledge, that he became a very eminent miniſter of the goſpel. But what adverſities did he not undergo? reviling, ſlandering, buffeting, and caning, were often his lot; watching and faſting were many times his portion; and impriſonment, great jeopardies, and danger of life, he was not unacquainted with. But nothing could make this hero ſhrink: he always was laborious, and ſeldom had any hours of reſt. In his preaching he was very acceptable, and eloquent in his ſpeech, and had the tongue, (according to what an eminent author relates, that knew him from his youth) of a learned orator, to declare himſelf to the underſtandings and conſciences of all men he met with. He was alſo a great writer, and often would

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engage in diſputes with thoſe of other perſuaſions, ſparing no pains, where he thought he could ſerve the Lord and the church. Thus much for this time of E. Burrough. 1652.

Let us return now to G. Fox, whom we left at Under-Barrow, where, with the conſent of the inhabitants, he had a great meeting in the chapel, and many were convinced, and received the truth preached by him. From thence he went to Lancaſhire, and having in ſome places ſpoken in the ſteeple-houſes, he came to Ulverſtone, and ſo to Swarthmore, to the houſe of Thomas Fell, a judge in Wales, where many prieſts frequently came. The judge was at that time abroad, employed in the exerciſe of his office, and his wife Margaret was alſo gone abroad that day. G. Fox in the mean while coming thither, met the prieſt William Lampitt, who was a high notioniſt, and rich in words. But G. Fox ſoon perceiving that he was without the poſſeſſion of what he profeſſed, oppoſed him boldly. Before it was night, Margaret Fell returned home, and her children told her, that Lampitt and Fox had diſagreed, which did ſomewhat trouble her, for ſhe making much of the prieſts, eſpecially admired Lampitt. That ſame night G. Fox had much reaſoning there, and declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and G. Fox diſcourſed with him in the preſence of Margaret Fell, who then began clearly to diſcern the prieſt.

G. F. comes to Swarthmore, to the houſe of judge Fell, while abſent.

The following day being appointed for an humiliation, Margaret went with her children to the ſteeple-houſe at Ulverſtone, having aſked G. Fox before to go with her: but he replying, 'That 'he muſt do as he was ordered by the Lord,' left her, and walked into the fields; and there he felt a ſtrong motion to go alſo to the ſteeple-houſe. When he came there, the people were ſinging, but what they ſung was, according to his opinion, altogether unſuitable to their ſtates. After they had done, he ſtept up on a form, and aſked leave to ſpeak: the prieſt conſenting, G. Fox began thus, 'He is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is 'that circumciſion which is outward; but he is a Jew that is one 'inwardly; and that is circumciſion which is of the heart.' And ſo he went on, and ſaid, 'That Chriſt was the light of the world, 'and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and 'that by this light they might be gathered to God,' &c. Margaret Fell ſtanding up in her pew, wondered at this doctrine, having never heard any ſuch before. In the mean while G. Fox went on, and opening the ſcriptures, ſaid, 'That they were the 'prophets words, and Chriſt's, and the apoſtles words; and that 'what they ſpoke, they enjoyed and poſſeſſed, and had it from 'the Lord. What have any to do, ſaid he, with the ſcriptures, 'if they come not to the ſpirit that gave them forth? you will 'ſay, Chriſt ſaith this, and the apoſtles ſay this; but what canſt 'thou, O man, ſay thyſelf concerning this? art thou a child of 'the light? doſt thou walk in the light? and what thou ſpeakeſt, 'is it inwardly from God?' He ſhewed alſo, 'That God was 'come to teach his people himſelf by his ſpirit, and to bring them 'off from their churches, and religions, and their ways of wor-'ſhip,' &c. Theſe his words did ſo effectually reach the aforeſaid

With the prieſts leave he ſpeaks to the people at the ſteeple-houſe.

1652. Margaret that ſhe ſat down in her pew again, and weeping bitterly, cried in her ſpirit to the Lord, 'We are all thieves! we are all thieves! 'we have taken the ſcriptures in words, and know nothing of 'them in ourſelves.' G. Fox ſtill going on, declared againſt the falſe prophets, and ſaid, 'That their way of worſhip was but 'talking of other men's words, and that they themſelves were 'out of the life and ſpirit, which thoſe were in who gave them 'forth.' Then cried out a juſtice of peace, called John Sawrey, 'Take him away.' But Margaret Fell ſaid to the officers, 'Let 'him alone: why may not he ſpeak as well as another?' Prieſt Lampitt, it is like, to pleaſe her, ſaid alſo, 'Let him ſpeak.' G. Fox then ſpeaking yet awhile, was at length led out by the conſtable, according to the order of the ſaid juſtice Sawrey; and then he ſpoke to the people in the grave-yard.

In the evening he came again into the houſe of judge Fell, where he took occaſion to ſpeak to the ſervants, and thoſe of the family, who moſt of them came ſo effectually to be convinced by him, that they embraced the truth which he preached. Among theſe, was alſo William Caton, of whom more hereafter. Margaret Fell in the mean while being come home, was ſo reached, that ſhe ſcarce knew what to do, her huſband being from home; for ſhe clearly perceived what ſhe had heard G. Fox preach, was truth.

Margaret Fell W. Caton, and moſt of the family convinced.

The firſt day after, he went to Aldenham ſteeple-houſe, where, when the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to the people, and admoniſhed them to return to the Lord. From thence he went to Ramſyde, where was a chapel, in which one Thomas Lawſon, who was an eminent prieſt, uſed to preach; who having ſome notice of G. Fox's coming, preached in the morning, and told his people that G. Fox was to come there in the afternoon; by which means, very many people were gathered together. When he came, he ſaw there was no place ſo convenient to ſpeak to the people, as the chapel, and therefore he went into it. The prieſt Lawſon willing to give a full opportunity to G. Fox, went not up into the pulpit, but left all the time to him. And G. Fox ſo powerfully declared the doctrine of truth, that many received it, and amongſt thoſe, the prieſt himſelf, who left off his preaching for hire, and in proceſs of time, came to preach the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his glorious goſpel freely; which however did not hinder him to exerciſe himſelf in the knowledge of herbs, wherein he came to be ſo experienced, that he was, as I have been told, one of the moſt ſkilful herbaliſts in England; which gave occaſion to an eminent botaniſt, who at firſt ſeemed a little ſhy of him, when he perceived his great ſkill, to love him as a ſingular friend. But this tranſiently.

T. Lawſon, an eminent prieſt and ſkilful herbaliſt, becomes a preacher among the Quakers.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who having performed his ſervice about Ramſyde, went ſomewhere elſe, and then to Brerecliff, where he found ſome people that told him, 'They could not diſ-'pute.' But he bid them to 'fear the Lord, and not to ſpeak 'the words of God in an airy manner, but do the things required. 'Moreover, that they ought to mind the light of Chriſt, and 'take heed to his ſpirit in their hearts, whereby they would come 'to ſee their evil thoughts, words and actions; for this light, he 'ſaid,

G. F. inſtructs the people at Brerecliff.

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'ſaid, would ſhew them their ſins, and by following this light, 'they ſhould alſo ſee that their Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, ſaved them 'from ſin.' And he ſaid, 'The firſt ſtep to peace, was to ſtand 'ſtill in the light, which ſhewed them their ſins and tranſgreſſi-'ons; by which they ſhould ſee they were in the fall of the 'old Adam, in darkneſs and death, alienated from the covenant 'of the promiſe, and without God in the world; and that Chriſt 'who died for them, was their Saviour and Redeemer, and their 'way to God.' After G. Fox had ſpoken thus, he went to a new built chapel near Gleaſton, wherein none had yet preached: hither came a great many people, unto whom he preached, and many were convinced.

And Gleaſton, where many are convinced.

From thence he returned to Swarthmore again: for Margaret Fell being full of fear, and expecting her huſband's return home, had deſired G. Fox to come, ſince ſome of the great ones of the country being gone to meet her huſband, had informed him, 'That a great diſaſter had befallen the family; and that the 'Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; 'and that he muſt ſend them away, or all the country would be 'undone.' Without all queſtion, this was a very ſad meſſage to judge Fell, for he came home greatly offended: and one may eaſily think what a condition his wife was in, being in fear, that ſhe ſhould either diſpleaſe her huſband, or offend God.

Returns to Swarthmore, where the gentry had incenſed judge Fell againſt the Quakers.

At that time Richard Farnſworth and James Nayler, were at her houſe, and ſhe deſired them to ſpeak to her huſband; which they did very moderately and wiſely: and though at firſt he was diſpleaſed, yet after he had heard them ſpeak, he was better ſatisfied. And they making as if they would go away, ſhe deſired them to ſtay, becauſe ſhe expected G. Fox that evening; and ſhe wiſhed for an opportunity, that both he and they might ſpeak to her huſband, whereby he might ſatisfy himſelf farther about them. Dinner in the mean time being ready, judge Fell, and his wife Margaret, ſat down at table, and whilſt they were ſitting, an extraordinary power ſeizing on her, made ſuch an operation on her mind, that he was ſtruck with amazement, and knew not what to think of it; but he was quiet and ſtill; and the children alſo were become ſo grave and modeſt, that they could not play on their muſick they were learning. At night G. Fox came, and judge Fell ſitting in the parlour, Margaret aſked him, If G. Fox might come in; and he ſaid yes. George then coming in without any compliment, began to ſpeak preſently; at which the family, as well as J. Nayler, and R. Farnſworth entered. He now ſpeaking, 'declared what the practice of Chriſt and the apoſtles was 'in their day; and ſhewed how the apoſtacy came in ſince; and 'what was the practice of the modern prieſts in the apoſtacy.' He alſo anſwered all the objections of judge Fell, and ſo throughly ſatisfied him by the ſcriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment, and aſked, 'If he was that George Fox whom juſtice 'Robinſon had ſpoken ſo much in commendation of amongſt 'many of the parliament-men?' To this G. Fox anſwered him, 'That he had been with the juſtices Robinſon and Hotham in 'Yorkſhire; that they had been very civil and loving to him, and

R. Farnſworth, and J. Nayler, at judge Fell's meet with G. F. who has ſuch place with the judge, that he offered friends liberty to meet in his houſe.

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1652. 'that they were convinced in their judgments by the ſpirit of 'God, that the principle he bore teſtimony to, was the truth; 'and that they ſaw beyond the prieſts of the nation.' All this ſo ſatisfied judge Fell, that he was very quiet that night, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, the prieſt of Ulverſtone, and walking with the judge into the garden, ſpoke much to him there, to render the doctrine of the Quakers odious to him, having alſo ſaid to others, that G. Fox held ſtrange notions. But judge Fell had ſeen the night before ſo much, that the prieſt got little entrance upon him. And when Lampitt came into the houſe again, G. Fox ſpoke ſharply to him, and aſked him, 'When God ſpake to him, and called him to preach to the people?' The prieſt not liking ſuch queſtions, it was not long before he went away. And whilſt ſome were ſpeaking how ſeveral in thoſe parts were convinced of the truth now declared, and that they knew not where to get a meeting-place: judge Fell hearing them, ſaid of his own accord, 'You may meet in my hall if you will.' So the next firſt day there was at his houſe a meeting, and a large one indeed, being the firſt meeting of the people called Quakers, that was at Swarthmore; and ſo it continued to be kept there, until the year 1690, when a new meeting-houſe was built there. Judge Fell not being willing to appear in that meeting, went that day to the ſteeple-houſe, and none with him but his clerk and his groom. Yet in proceſs of time he came to be ſo well affected to the doctrine of the Quakers, ſo called, that though he did not enter publickly into their ſociety, yet he loved them, and ſeveral years before his death, did not frequent the ſteeple-houſe any more.

Where a meeting was continued to 1690.

G. F. preaches in Lancaſter-market-place, is haled out, and ſtoned thro' the ſtreets.

After G. Fox had ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of judge Fell, he went to Lancaſter, and there preached in the market; and on the next firſt day, had a great meeting in the ſtreet, amongſt the ſoldiers, to whom he declared the truth; and in the afternoon went to the ſteeple-houſe: but ſpeaking there, and directing people to the ſpirit of God, he was haled out, and ſtoned along the ſtreet.

Then having travelled about ſome time, and preached in ſome places, ſometimes with rude oppoſition, he returned to Swarthmore, where, diſcourſing with ſeveral prieſts at judge Fell's houſe, he aſked them, 'Whether any of them ever heard the voice of 'God or Chriſt, commanding them to go to any people, and de-'clare the word of the Lord to them?' But none of them anſwered this with, 'yea:' yet one ſaying, 'I can ſpeak of my experience 'as much as you;' G. Fox told him, 'Experience was one thing, 'but to go with a meſſage, and to have the word of the Lord, as 'the prophets and apoſtles had, was quite another.' An ancient prieſt, whoſe name was Thomas Taylor, did ingenuouſly confeſs before judge Fell, 'That he had never heard the voice of God, 'nor of Chriſt, but that he ſpoke his experiences, and the expe-'riences of the ſaints in former ages.' This very much confirmed judge Fell in the perſuaſion he had already, that the prieſts were not what they pretended to be: for he had thought, as the generality of the people did then, that they were ſent from God. At this time, the ſaying of G. Fox wrought ſo cloſe on the mind of the

Diſcourſes with ſeveral prieſts at judge Fell's.

T. Taylor is convinced, travels with G. F. and has a publick teſtimony.

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the ſaid T. Taylor, that he was convinced, and travelled with him into Weſtmoreland; and coming into Croſland ſteeple-houſe, T. Taylor's mouth was opened, ſo that he declared amongſt the people, how he had been before he was convinced; and like the good ſcribe, brought forth things new and old from his treaſury, to the people; and ſhewed them how the prieſts were out of the way.

Now great rage aroſe among the prieſts, and they began as much as they could, to ſtir up to perſecution; for not only T. Taylor after ſome time preached the goſpel freely, but ſeveral others, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgil, John Cam, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Halhead, and others, appeared zealous preachers among thoſe called Quakers, and often declared the doctrine they profeſſed in ſteeple-houſes, and markets, whereby the number of their friends began greatly to increaſe.

As has alſo J. Audland, F. Howgil, J. Cam, E. Burrough, R. Hubberthorn, M. Halhead, &c.

In the mean while G. Fox returned into Lancaſhire, and went to Ulverſtone, where Lampitt before mentioned was prieſt. He now ſeeing how the people called Quakers did ſet up meetings, and met in private houſes, ſaid, 'They forſook the temple, and went 'to Jeroboam's calves-houſes;' whereas formerly he had preached of a people, 'That would own the teachings of God, and that 'men and women ſhould come to declare the goſpel.' Now it was told him, 'That the old maſs-houſes, which were called churches, 'were more like Jeroboam's calves-houſes; though men ſtrove to 'perſuade people that ſuch a building was the houſe of God: 'whereas Chriſt was the head of the church, and never was called 'the head of an old houſe; and that the apoſtle ſpeaking of 'Chriſt, ſaid, *Whoſe houſe we are*, Heb. iii. 6.' This paſſage puts me in mind how ſome of the parliament ſoldiers, obſerving, over ſome of the ſteeple-houſe doors, theſe words of the patriarch Jacob, when God had appeared to him in a dream, *This is none other but the houſe of God, and this is the gate of heaven*, could not endure to ſee this groſs conceit concerning thoſe buildings, but raſed out the words, *of God*, and, *of heaven*; ſo that nothing was left, but, *This is none other but the houſe, and this is the gate*: and certainly their zeal was more reaſonable than the conceit of thoſe, who think that in the goſpel-days a building of lime and ſtone, may be called 'The houſe of God.' It ſeems alſo a ſilly conceit, to call a meeting-houſe, furniſhed with a ſteeple, a church, and to deny that name to the congregation-houſes of Diſſenters, calling them, and them only, meeting-houſes. But this notion hath kept up the eſteem of thoſe maſs-houſes; and the prieſts, that they might not loſe their gain of burials, have endeavoured to keep people in the belief, that the ground of theſe buildings was holy: and this gave occaſion to the people called Quakers, to call thoſe buildings, ſteeple-houſes. Now ſince a fantaſtical man I very well knew in Holland, converſing there among the people of that perſuaſion, undertook to tranſlate that denomination into Dutch, 'geſpitſte huyzen,' it gave occaſion to ſome Latin writers in Germany, to complain, that the Quakers ſcornfully called their temples 'domus acuminatas.' And though Croeſe ſays alſo in hiſtoria Quakeriana concerning them, 'templa cuncti Quakeri contu-'meliosè vocabant ædes pyramidatas,' yet he knew better. But this digreſſion has led me off from G. Fox,

A remarkable paſſage of the parliament ſoldiers.

Occaſion of the word ſteeple-houſes.

1652. G. Fox, whom I left at Ulverſtone, went to the ſteeple-houſe, whilſt prieſt Lampitt was preaching. And when G. Fox began to ſpeak, John Sawrey the juſtice came to him, and ſaid, 'If he 'would ſpeak according to the ſcripture, he ſhould ſpeak.' G. Fox told him, 'He would ſpeak according to the ſcriptures, and 'bring the ſcriptures to prove what he had to ſay.' But then Sawrey, contradicting himſelf, ſaid, 'he ſhould not ſpeak,' and incenſing the people againſt him, they fell upon G. Fox, knocked him down, kicked him, and trampled upon him. At laſt Sawrey came, took him from the people, and led him out of the ſteeple-houſe, bidding the conſtables to whip him. Then he was dragged out of the town, and given up to the rage of the rude multitude, who did ſo terribly beat him with ſwitches and ſtaves, that at length fainting, he fell down upon the wet common; but recovering again, and being ſtrengthened by an immediate power, he ſtood up, and ſtretching out his arms, ſaid with a loud voice, 'Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my 'cheeks.' Then a maſon gave him ſuch a heavy blow over the back of his hand with his rule, that it was much bruiſed, and his arm ſo benumbed, that he could not draw it to him again, ſo that ſome of the people cried out, 'He has ſpoiled his hand 'forever.' But he being preſerved through the love of God, ſtood ſtill, and after a while, felt ſuch an extraordinary ſtrengthening power, that he inſtantly recovered ſtrength in his hand and arm.

Juſtice Sawrey incenſes the people againſt G. F. who is uſed in a barbarous manner.

This made the people fall out among themſelves; and ſome ſaid, 'If he would give them money, they would ſecure him 'from the reſt.' But he, inſtead of doing ſo, ſhewed them their falſe chriſtianity, and told them, they were more like Jews and Heathens, than true Chriſtians; and that their fruits were an evidence of the unprofitable miniſtry of their prieſts. Then he felt himſelf moved to return to Ulverſtone, and went into the market there: and as he went, a ſoldier meeting him, ſaid, 'Sir, 'I ſee you are a man, and I am aſhamed and grieved that you 'ſhould be thus abuſed.' But G. Fox told him, 'The Lord's 'power was over all.' And this he experienced, when he walked through the people in the market; for none of them had power to touch him then, though ſome of his friends were abuſed. And he ſeeing the ſoldier among them, with his naked rapier, bid him, 'put up his ſword again if he would go along with him;' for he was willing to draw him out of the company, leſt ſome miſchief ſhould be done: and yet a few days after ſeven men fell upon this ſoldier, and beat him cruelly, becauſe he had taken part with G. Fox, and his friends.

Which is much regreted by a ſoldier.

G. Fox having performed his ſervice at Ulverſtone, came again to Swarthmore, where he found ſeveral of his friends dreſſing their wounds and bruiſes received from the hearers of prieſt Lampitt. And now the prieſts began to propheſy again, 'That within half 'a year the Quakers ſhould all be put down and gone.' But they reckoned wrong; for it fared with thoſe people, as with trees, which grow beſt when moſt lopped. Duris ut ilex tonſa bipennibus, per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo ducit opes animumque ferro.

Prieſts propheſy againſt the Quakers.

G. Fox

1652.

G. Fox keeping in continual motion, went with James Nayler to Walney iſland, having firſt had a meeting at a little town called Cockan, after which a man came to him with a piſtol, and held it at him, but it would not go off. G. Fox then zealouſly ſpeaking to him, he was ſo ſtruck, that he trembled with fear, and went away. The next morning G. Fox went over in a boat to James Lancaſter's, and as ſoon as he came to land, about forty men with ſtaves, clubs, and fiſhing-poles, fell upon him, beating and punching him, and endeavoured to thruſt him backward into the ſea: but he preſſing on, was knocked down and ſtunned. When he came to himſelf again, he ſaw James Lancaſter's wife throwing ſtones at his face, and her huſband James was lying over him, to keep the blows and ſtones from off him: for the people had perſuaded this woman, that G. Fox had bewitched her huſband, and promiſed her to kill him when he came thither. But the Lord, by his inviſible power, preſerved him wonderfully, ſo that they could not take away his life. At length he got up, but was ſoon beat down again into the boat; which James Lancaſter obſerving, came to him, and ſet him over the water. Being come to the other ſide, they ſaw how the wicked crew was fallen upon James Nayler, with an horrible cry, 'kill him, kill him:' for whilſt they had been beating of G. Fox, they had not minded Nayler, who was walking up into a field.

G. F. and J. Nayler, grievouſly abuſed at Walney iſland, and Cockan.

G. Fox being now come again to Cockan, met with no better entertainment, for the people came on with pitchforks, flails, and ſtaves, to keep him out of the town, crying, 'kill him, 'knock him on the head.' But he was preſerved alive; and after having been much abuſed, they drove him a pretty way out of the town, and left him. Then James Lancaſter went back to look after James Nayler. In the mean while G. Fox went to a ditch of water, and waſhed himſelf from the blood and dirt: after which he walked about three miles to the houſe of one Thomas Hutton, but was ſo bruiſed, that he could hardly ſpeak: only he told where he left James Nayler. Whereupon the ſaid Hutton, and Thomas Lawſon, the prieſt mentioned before, (who lodged then at Hutton's houſe) took each of them a horſe, to ſee if they could find James Nayler; and they lighting on him brought him thither that night.

Margaret Fell the next day hearing what was befallen G. Fox, ſent an horſe for him; but he was ſo ſore bruiſed, that he was not able to bear the ſhaking of the horſe, without much pain. When he was come to Swarthmore, the juſtices Sawrey and Thomſon gave forth a warrant againſt him; but judge Fell coming home, made it ineffectual, and ſent out warrants into the iſle of Walney, to apprehend all thoſe riotous perſons: whereupon ſome of them fled the country. But what is remarkable, James Lancaſter's wife, who ſo wickedly behaved herſelf, repented ſo of her evil, that ſhe became afterwards one of G. Fox's friends.

Judge Fell defeats the deſign of juſtice Sawrey and Thomſon, and grants warrants againſt the rioters.

Judge Fell now deſired of G. Fox a relation of what had befallen him: but he was backward, and ſaid, 'That thoſe people could 'not do otherwiſe in the ſpirit they were; and that they mani-'feſted the fruits of their prieſts miniſtry.' Which made the judge

1652. judge afterward ſay to his wife, 'G. Fox ſpoke of the things as a 'man that had not been concerned.'

Prieſts deſigning againſt G. F's life, accuſe him of blaſphemy.

The occaſion upon which a warrant was iſſued out againſt him, was, a deſign the prieſts had laid to touch his life: in order to which, a report was ſpread, that in a certain meeting he had ſpoken blaſphemy; and they, to maintain this forgery, had ſuborned falſe witneſſes. The time of the ſeſſions at Lancaſter being come, G. Fox went thither with judge Fell, who on the way told him, 'That ſuch a matter had never been brought before him, and 'that he did not know what to do in the caſe.' But G. Fox ſaid, 'When Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and 'prieſts accuſed him of many falſe things, he ſtood ſtill all that 'while, till they had done; and when they had done, Felix the 'governor beckoned to him to ſpeak for himſelf: and ſo, ſaid G. 'Fox, thou mayſt do by me.'

Prieſt Marſhal their orator. A young prieſt and two prieſts ſons, are witneſſes againſt G. Fox.

Being come to Lancaſter, at the ſeſſions, there appeared about forty prieſts againſt him; and theſe had choſen one Marſhall, prieſt of Lancaſter, to be their ſpeaker; and the witneſſes they had provided, were a young prieſt, and two prieſts ſons. When the juſtices were ſet, and had heard all the charges of the prieſts and witneſſes; which were, that G. Fox had ſaid, 'That God taught 'deceit; and that the ſcriptures contained but a parcel of lies;' the witneſſes were examined upon oath; but they were ſo confounded, and at ſuch a loſs, that one of them, not being able to anſwer directly to what was aſked him, ſaid, 'the other 'could ſay it;' which made the juſtices ſay, 'Have you ſworn it, 'and do you now ſay, that the other can ſay it? It ſeems you 'did not hear thoſe words ſpoken yourſelf, though you have given 'it in upon your oath.' There were ſeveral perſons in the court, who declared that they had heard one of the two prieſts ſons ſay, 'If he had power, he would make George deny his profeſſion; 'and that he would take away his life.' The young prieſt, who alſo was a witneſs, confeſſed, that 'he ſhould not have meddled 'with the thing, had not another prieſt ſent for him, and ſet him 'to work.' After all the accuſations had been heard, ſeveral men of reputation in the country affirmed in court, 'That no ſuch 'words, as had been ſworn againſt G. Fox, were ſpoken by him at 'the meeting;' for moſt of the ſerious men on that ſide of the county, that were then at the ſeſſions, had been at that meeting, wherein the witneſſes ſwore he ſpoke the aforeſaid blaſphemous words. Colonel Weſt, being a juſtice of peace, and then upon the bench, was ſo well pleaſed with theſe evidences, that he (having long been weak in body) ſaid, 'He bleſſed the Lord that 'had healed him that day;' adding, 'that he never ſaw ſo many 'ſober people, and good faces together in all his life.' And then turning himſelf to G. Fox, ſaid, 'George, if thou haſt any 'thing to ſay to the people, thou mayeſt freely declare it.' Then he began to ſpeak; but prieſt Marſhall, the orator for the other prieſts, went away preſently. Now that which G. Fox declared, was, 'That the holy ſcriptures were given forth by the ſpirit of God; 'and that all people muſt firſt come to the ſpirit of God in them-'ſelves, by which they might know God and Chriſt, of whom the

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'the prophets and apoſtles learnt, and alſo know the holy ſcrip-
'tures: for as the ſpirit of God was in them that gave forth the
'ſcriptures; ſo the ſame ſpirit of God muſt alſo be in thoſe that
'come to know and underſtand the ſcriptures; by which ſpirit
'they might have fellowſhip with the Father, and with the Son,
'and with one another: and that without that ſpirit, they could
'know neither God, nor Chriſt, nor the ſcriptures, nor have right
'fellowſhip with one another.' No ſooner had he ſpoken theſe words, but about half a dozen prieſts burſt out into paſſion, and one of them, whoſe name was Jackus, ſaid, 'That the ſpi-
'rit and the letter were inſeparable:' which made G. Fox anſwer, 'Then every one that hath the letter, hath the ſpirit; and
'they might buy the ſpirit with the letter of the ſcripture:' to which judge Fell, and colonel Weſt added, 'That according to
'that poſition, they might carry the ſpirit in their pockets, as they
'did the ſcriptures.' The juſtices alſo bid Jackus prove what he had ſaid. But he finding himſelf caught, would have denied it: and the other prieſts endeavoured to diſguiſe his words with a pretended meaning. But the juſtices would admit no other meaning, than the plain ſenſe of the words. And ſeeing the witneſſes did not agree, and perceiving that they were ſet on by the envy of the prieſts, they diſcharged him: and after judge Fell had ſpoken to the juſtices Sawrey and Thompſon, concerning the warrant they had given forth againſt G. Fox, ſhewing that this tended to encourage ſuch riots as thoſe in the iſle of Walney, he, and colonel Weſt, granted a ſuperſedeas, to ſtop the execution of the ſaid warrant.

Prieſt Jackus greatly confuſed.

G. Fox cleared in open ſeſſions.

G. Fox being thus cleared in open ſeſſions, many people rejoiced, and were that day convinced of the truth declared by him in the court; and among theſe, one juſtice Benſon, and the mayor of Lancaſter, whoſe name was Ripan; alſo one Thomas Briggs, who had been very averſe to, and an oppoſer of the Quakers ſo called; and this ſame Briggs became afterwards a faithful miniſter of the goſpel amongſt them, and remained ſo to the end of his days.

Several perſons of note convinced.

As alſo T. Briggs, who became a miniſter.

G. Fox ſtaid yet ſome days at Lancaſter. But to relate all that he and his friends met with, is not my intention; for to ſet down at large all ſuch occurrences, would be a work requiring more leiſure and ſtrength than can be expected of me: and therefore I intend only to deſcribe what I find moſt remarkable; tho' many notable things have happened, of which I could not fully be informed in every circumſtance, as name, place, time, &c. But it is probable that this may give occaſion in England, to ſome other author after me, to make ſuch diſcoveries, that poſterity will wonder at it. For ſuch abuſes as G. Fox met with, was the ſhare alſo of many others of his friends, eſpecially the preachers, who this year were no leſs than twenty-five in number; and almoſt in every place where they came, they met with oppoſition, and became as it were the prey of the rude multitude. But neither the beating, buffeting, nor ſtoning of the mad rabble, nor the gaols or whippings that befel them from the magiſtrates, were able to ſtop the progreſs of the doctrine they preached to the peo-

Twenty-five preachers now among the Quakers.

1652. ple in markets, and ſtreets, and alſo in ſteeple-houſes: and many even of thoſe that had been enraged like wolves, became afterwards like lambs, and ſuffered patiently from others, what formerly they themſelves in a blind zeal had committed.

Thus the Quakers, ſo called, by a firm and laſting patience, have ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties, and are at length become a numerous people, many not valuing their own lives, when they met with any opportunity, for the ſervice of God. And though their enemies, on this account, have charged them with ſtubbornneſs and obſtinacy, yet they meekly reſigned to what befel them, well knowing that thus to be accuſed hath been always the lot of thoſe who ſuffered for the teſtimony of truth. Neither could they be charged with reſiſtance, or making head againſt their perſecutors; for one man did ſometimes lead a great many of them to priſon, who never forſook their religious aſſemblies, how hot ſoever perſecution was. That this was alſo the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, appears by what Cyprian (who died a martyr) wrote to Demetrian, viz. 'Nemo noſtrum, 'quando apprehenditur, reluctatur: nec ſe adverſus injuſtam vio-'lentiam veſtram, quamvis nimius & copioſus ſit noſter populus, 'ulciſcitur.' But let not my reader think, that theſe that I have deſcribed have been the greateſt ſufferings of this harmleſs people; for I believe them to have been an hundred times more than my pen will be able to mention. Now I take up again the thread of my relation.

Thoſe people not chargeable with reſiſtance to their perſecutors.

G. Fox being acquitted by the court, as hath been ſaid, it made the prieſts fret to hear it cried about, that 'the prieſts had loſt 'the day, and that the Quakers had kept the field.' To revenge this, they got ſome envious juſtices to join with them, who, at the following aſſizes at Lancaſter, informed judge Windham againſt G. Fox; which ſo prevailed upon him, that he commanded colonel Weſt, who was clerk of the aſſizes, to iſſue forth a warrant for apprehending him. But the ſaid colonel telling the judge of his innocency, ſpoke boldly in his defence. The judge offended at this, commanded him again, 'either to write a warrant, or to 'go off from his ſeat.' Then the colonel told him in plain terms, 'That he would not do it, but that he would offer up all his 'eſtate, and his body alſo for G. Fox.' Thus the judge was ſtopt; and G. Fox coming that night to Lancaſter, heard of a warrant to be given out againſt him, and therefore judged it better to ſhew himſelf openly, than to make his adverſaries ſeek him. So he went to the chambers of judge Fell, and colonel Weſt; and as ſoon as he came in, they ſmiled, and the colonel ſaid, 'What! 'are you come into the dragon's mouth?' But G. Fox was always undaunted, and did not uſe to flinch in danger. So he ſtaid ſome days in town, and walked up and down there, without being meddled with, or queſtioned by any.

Judge Windham's conteſt with colonel Weſt about G. Fox at the aſſizes.

Yet his friends in the mean while did not ſuffer the leſs; for all villany or inſolence that could be thought of, was not judged by ſome to be too bad to vex them. It was about this time that Richard Hubberthorn, and ſeveral others were haled out of a meeting by ſome wicked men, and carried ſome diſtance off into the

R. Hubberthorn, &c. left bound in the fields in winter.

the fields, where they bound them, and left them ſo in the winter ſeaſon. 1652.

G. Fox being now come again to Swarthmore, wrote ſeveral letters to the magiſtrates and prieſts who had raiſed perſecution thereabouts. That to juſtice John Sawrey was very ſharp, and after this manner:

FRIEND,

THOU waſt the firſt beginner of all the perſecution in the north: thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer of them up againſt the righteous ſeed, and againſt the truth of God; and waſt the firſt ſtrengthener of the hands of evil doers againſt the innocent and harmleſs: and thou ſhalt not proſper. Thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer up of ſtrikers, ſtoners, perſecutors, ſtockers, mockers, and impriſoners in the north, and of revilers, ſlanderers, railers, and falſe accuſers, and ſcandal-raiſers: this was thy work, and this thou ſtirredſt up! ſo thy fruits declare thy ſpirit. Inſtead of ſtirring up the pure mind in people, thou haſt ſtirred up the wicked, malicious and envious; and taken hand with the wicked. Thou haſt made the peoples minds envious up and down the country: this was thy work. But God hath ſhortened thy days, and limited thee, and ſet thy bounds, and broken thy jaws, and diſcovered thy religion to the ſimple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! How is thy beauty loſt, and thy glory withered! How haſt thou ſhewed thy end, that thou haſt ſerved God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in the hypocriſy! How hath the form of thy teaching declared itſelf to be the mark of the falſe prophets, whoſe fruit declares itſelf! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wiſe men turned backward! View thy ways, and take notice, with whom thou haſt taken part. That of God in thy conſcience will tell thee: the Ancient of Days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal; a perſecutor, which Chriſt and his apoſtles forbad Chriſtians to follow! How haſt thou ſtrengthened the hands of evil-doers, and been a praiſe to them, and not to them that do well! How like a madman, and a blindman didſt thou turn thy ſword backward againſt the ſaints, againſt whom there is no law! How wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou ſhalt feel the flame and have the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to knaw thy tongue for pain, becauſe of the plagues! thou ſhalt have thy reward according to thy works: thou canſt not eſcape; the Lord's righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witneſs of God in thy conſcience ſhall anſwer it. How haſt thou cauſed the Heathen to blaſpheme, and gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! How is thy latter end worſe than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf, to devour the lambs! How haſt thou diſcovered thyſelf to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be ſet in a place to nurture! How waſt thou exalted and puffed up with pride! and how art thou fallen down with ſhame, that thou comeſt to be

G. F. writes ſharply to juſtice Sawrey,

covered

1652. covered with that, which thou ſtirredſt up, and broughteſt forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth, till he be reformed: let him not take his name into his mouth, till he depart from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a profeſſion of the ſaints words, except they intend to proclaim themſelves hypocrites, whoſe lives are ſo contrary to the lives of the ſaints; whoſe church hath made itſelf manifeſt to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of godlineſs, but not the power; have made them that be in the power, your deriſion, your by-word, and your talk at your feaſts. Thy ill ſavour, John Sawrey, the country about have ſmelled, and of thy unchriſtian carriage all that fear God have been aſhamed; and to them thou haſt been a grief: in the day of account thou ſhalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou waſt mounted up, and hadſt ſet thy neſt on high; but never gotteſt higher, than the fowls of the air: but now thou art run amongſt the beaſts of prey, and art fallen into the earth; ſo that earthlineſs and covetouſneſs have ſwallowed thee up: and thy conceitedneſs would not carry thee through, in whom was found the ſelfiſh principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back muſt be bowed down always; for thy table is already become thy ſnare. G. F.

Who was the firſt perſecutor in thoſe parts, and afterwards drowned.

Sharp indeed was this letter; but G. Fox thought himſelf moved thereto by the Lord: and it is remarkable that this juſtice Sawrey, who was the firſt perſecutor in thoſe parts, afterwards was drowned, and ſo died not a natural death. To the prieſt William Lampitt he wrote alſo, and another letter to others, to reprove them for their wickedneſs.

Some time after he went to Weſtmoreland, where miſchief was intended againſt him; but prevented by juſtice Benſon, and ſome conſiderable men beſides. Coming to Grayrigg, he had a meeting there; where a prieſt came to oppoſe, but was confounded; and there being many people, ſome of the milk-pails that ſtood upon the ſide of the houſe, tumbled down, by reaſon of the croud; from which the prieſt afterwards raiſed a ſlander, 'That the Devil 'frighted him, and took away one ſide of the houſe.' And tho' this was a known falſhood, yet it was given out as true in publick print.

Fooliſh ſlander of a prieſt printed.

Another time this prieſt came to another meeting, and fell to jangling, ſaying firſt, that 'the ſcriptures were the word of God.' To which G. Fox ſaid, that 'they were the words of God, but not 'Chriſt, who is the Word:' and when he urged the prieſt for proof of what he had ſaid, the prieſt being at a loſs, was not long before he went away. Some time after coming again into a meeting, and hearing that G. Fox directed the people to Chriſt Jeſus, the prieſt taking out his bible, ſaid, 'It was the Word of God.' Then G. Fox told him, 'It was the words of God, but not God, 'the Word.' The prieſt however perſiſted in what he had ſaid; and offered to prove before all the people, 'The ſcriptures to be the 'Word of God.' But this quarrel tending to vain logomachies, or conteſts about words, ended in confuſion; and many of the prieſt's followers came to ſee the vanity of his aſſertions.

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The year being now come to an end, and a war kindled between England and Holland, king Charles II. then in exile, aſked the Dutch to be received in their navy, as a volunteer, without any command: but this was courteouſly refuſed by the ſtates-general. Oliver Cromwell in the mean while, ſtrove for the ſupreme authority in England, the more, becauſe he perceived how ſome of the parliament, jealous of his increaſing greatneſs, endeavoured to croſs him in his deſign. This made him labour to get the parliament diſſolved: but they not going on ſo quickly as he would have them, to put a period to their ſitting, he reſolved arbitrarily to make an end of them. And entering the houſe in the month called April, 1653, after having rudely inveighed againſt them, by telling them, 'That they had made a bad uſe of their authority, and that without their diſſolution the realm would not be 'ſafe,' &c. He at length cried out, 'You are no parliament:' and then ordering ſome muſketeers to enter, he made the members depart the houſe, and ordered the doors to be ſhut; thus putting an end to this aſſembly, that had been ſitting nigh thirteen years.

K. Cha. II. offers himſelf a volunteer in the Dutch navy.

Oliver deſolves the parliament.

But what is remarkable, G. Fox not long before being come to Swarthmore, and hearing judge Fell and juſtice Benſon diſcourſe together concerning the parliament, he told them, 'That before 'that day two weeks the parliament ſhould be broken up, and 'the ſpeaker plucked out of his chair.' And thus it really happened: for at the breaking up of the parliament, the ſpeaker being unwilling to come out of his chair, ſaid, 'That he would 'not come down unleſs he was forced:' which made general Harriſon ſay to him, 'Sir, I will lend you my hand:' and thereupon taking him by the hand, the ſpeaker came down. This agreed with what G. Fox had predicted. And a fortnight after, juſtice Benſon told judge Fell, that 'now he ſaw George was a 'true prophet;' ſince Oliver had by that time diſſolved the parliament.

This foretold by G. Fox.

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Now in Cumberland great threatenings were ſpread, 'That if 'ever G. Fox came there again, they would take away his life.' He hearing this, went thither; but no body did him any harm. Returning then to Swarthmore, where juſtice Anthony Pearſon was at that time; he ſo effectually declared truth, that this juſtice was convinced, and not long after entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers.

He is threatened in Cumberland.

Juſtice Pearſon comes to be a Quaker.

G. Fox then going again into Cumberland, went to Bootle, and there found preaching in the ſteeple-houſe, a prieſt from London, who gathered up all the ſcriptures he could think of, that ſpake of falſe-prophets, anti-chriſts, and deceivers, and made application of them to the Quakers. But when he had done, George began to ſpeak, and returned all thoſe ſcripture places on the prieſt; who being diſpleaſed at this, ſaid, 'That he muſt not 'ſpeak there.' But G. Fox told him, 'That the hour-glaſs being 'run, and he having done, the time was free for him, as well as 'for the prieſt, who was himſelf but a ſtranger there.' He having ſaid this, went on, and ſhewed who were the falſe prophets, and what marks the ſcriptures gave them; directing people to Chriſt

1653. their teacher. When he had done, the prieſt of the place made a ſpeech to the people in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, and ſaid, 'This 'man hath gotten all the honeſt men and women in Lancaſhire to 'him; and now he comes here to do the ſame.' To which G. Fox returned, 'What wilt thou have left? and what have the 'prieſts left them, but ſuch as themſelves? for if it be the honeſt 'that receive the truth, and are turned to Chriſt; then it muſt be the 'diſhoneſt that follow thee, and ſuch as thou art.' Some words were alſo exchanged about tythes; and G. Fox told them, 'That Chriſt 'had ended the tything-prieſthood, and had ſent forth his mini-'ſters to give freely, as they had received freely.'

Remarkable expreſſions of the prieſt of Bootle.

From thence he went to Cockermouth, near which place he had appointed a meeting; and coming thither, he found James Lancaſter ſpeaking under a tree, which was ſo full of people, that it was in danger of breaking. G. Fox now looked about for a place to ſtand upon, for the people lay ſpread up and down. But at length a perſon came to him, and aſked, 'If he would not go 'into the church?' He ſeeing no place more convenient to ſpeak to the people, told him, 'yes.' Whereupon the people ruſhed in on a ſudden; ſo that the houſe was ſo full of people, he had much ado to get in. When they were ſettled, he ſtood up on a ſeat, and preached about three hours; and ſeveral hundreds were that day convinced of the truth of his doctrine.

Some hundreds at Cockermouth convinced by J. Lancaſter and G. Fox,

From thence he went to other places, and particularly to Brigham, where he preached in the ſteeple-houſe with no leſs ſucceſs. Afterwards coming into a certain place, and caſting his eye upon a woman unknown to him, he told her that ſhe had lived a lewd life: to which ſhe anſwered, 'That many could tell her of 'her outward ſins, but of her inward, none could.' Then he told her, 'Her heart was not right before the Lord:' and ſhe was ſo reached, that afterwards ſhe came to be convinced of God's truth.

Who has the like ſucceſs at Brigham.

Then he came near Coldbeck, to a market-town, where he had a meeting at the Croſs, and ſome received the truth preached by him.

From thence he went to Carliſle, where the teacher of the Baptiſts, with moſt of his hearers, came to the abbey in which G. Fox had a meeting. After the meeting, the Baptiſt teacher, who was a notioniſt, and an airy man, came to him, and aſked, 'What muſt be damned?' And he told him, 'That which ſpake 'in him was to be damned.' And this ſtopt his mouth. Then he opened to him the ſtates of election and reprobation, ſo that he ſaid, 'He never heard the like in his life;' and came afterwards alſo to be convinced of the truth. Then he went up to the caſtle among the ſoldiers, who by beating of the drum called the garriſon together. Among theſe he preached: 'Directing them to 'the meaſure of the ſpirit of Chriſt in themſelves, by which they 'might be turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of 'Satan to God: he warned them alſo to do no violence to any 'man,' &c. G. Fox having thus diſcharged himſelf, none oppoſed him, except the ſergeants, who afterwards came to be convinced. On the market-day he went into the market, though he had been threatened, that if he came there, he would meet with rude treatment.

After other places comes to Carliſle, and preaches to the ſoldiers at the caſtle, who treat him courteouſly.

ment. But he willing to obey God more than man, ſhewed himſelf undaunted, and going upon the Croſs, he declared, 'That the 'day of the Lord was coming upon all deceitful ways and doings, 'and deceitful merchandize; and that they ſhould put away all 'cozening and cheating, and keep, to Yea and Nay, and ſpeak 'the truth to one another.' 1653.

On the firſt-day following, he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and after the prieſt had done, he began to preach. Now the prieſt going away, and the magiſtrate deſiring G. Fox to depart, he ſtill went on, and told them, 'He came to ſpeak the word of Life 'and Salvation from the Lord amongſt them.' And he ſpoke ſo powerfully, that the people trembled and ſhook, and they thought the ſteeple-houſe ſhook alſo; nay, ſome of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. Some women in the mean while making a great buſtle, at length the rude people of the city roſe, and came with ſtaves and ſtones into the ſteeple-houſe: whereupon the governor ſent ſome muſketeers to appeaſe the tumult; and theſe taking G. Fox by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out. Then he came to the houſe of a lieutenant, where he had a very quiet meeting. The next day the juſtices and magiſtrates ſent for him to come before them in the town-hall. So he went thither, and had a long diſcourſe with them concerning religion, and ſhewed them, that though they were great profeſſors, viz. Preſbyterians, and Independents, yet they were without the poſſeſſion of what they profeſſed. But after a long examination, they committed him to priſon as a blaſphemer, an heretick, and a ſeducer. There he lay till the aſſizes came on, and then all the talk was, 'That he was to be hanged:' and the high ſheriff, Wilfrey Lawſon, was ſo eager to have his life taken away, that he ſaid, 'He himſelf would guard G. Fox to execution.' This made ſuch a noiſe, that even great ladies came to ſee him, as one that was to die. But though both judge and magiſtrates were contriving how they might put him to death, yet the judge's clerk ſtarted a queſtion, which puzzled them, and confounded their counſels, ſo that he was not brought to a trial, as was expected; which however was contrary to law. But ſuch was their envy againſt him, that the gaoler was ordered to put him among the thieves and murderers, and ſome naughty women; which wicked crew was ſo louſy, that one woman was almoſt eaten to death with lice: but what made the priſon the worſe, there was no houſe of office to it, and in this naſty place, men and women were put together, againſt all decency. Yet theſe priſoners, how naught ſoever, were very loving to G. Fox, and ſo hearkened to his wholeſome counſel, that ſome of them became converts. But the under gaoler did him all the miſchief he could. Once when he had been at the grate to take in the meat his friends had brought him, the gaoler fell a beating of him with a great cudgel, crying, 'come out of the window,' though he was then far enough from it. But whilſt the gaoler was thus beating him, he was ſo filled with joy, that he began to ſing, which made the other rage the more, ſo that he went and fetched a fiddler, thinking thereby to vex him. But when this

But the magiſtrates after long examination, commit him to priſon as a blaſphemer, &c.

In a naſty place among criminals, who yet are loving to him, and ſome become converts.

1653.

this fellow played, he ſang a hymn ſo loud, that with his voice he drowned the ſound of the fiddle, and thereby ſo confounded the player, that he was fain to give over, and go his ways.

Juſtice Benſon's wife not being ſuffered to go out, delivered of her child in priſon.

Not long after, juſtice Benſon's wife felt herſelf moved to eat no meat but what ſhe ſhould eat with G. Fox, at the bars of the dungeon-window. Afterwards ſhe herſelf was impriſoned at York, when ſhe was big with child, for having ſpoken, it's like, zealouſly to a prieſt. And when the time of her travel came, ſhe was not ſuffered to go out, but was delivered of her child in the priſon.

J. Parnel viſiting G. Fox in Carliſle-dungeon, becomes a powerful miniſter of the goſpel.

Whilſt G. Fox was in the dungeon at Carliſle, there came to ſee him one James Parnel, a lad of about ſixteen years of age; and he was ſo effectually reached by the ſpeaking of G. Fox, that he became convinced of the truth of his ſayings; and notwithſtanding his youth, was by the Lord quickly made a powerful miniſter of the goſpel, ſhewing himſelf both with his pen, and his tongue, a zealous promoter of religion, although he underwent hard ſufferings on that account, as will be mentioned hereafter.

There were alſo many others, who not ſticking at any adverſities, came to be zealous preachers of repentance; among theſe was Thomas Briggs, already mentioned, who went through many cities, towns, and villages, with this meſſage: 'Repent, repent, 'for the mighty terrible day of the Lord God of power is appear-'ing, wherein no worker of iniquity ſhall ſtand before him, who is 'of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; for he wills not the death 'of a ſinner; and if ye repent, and turn to him, he will abundantly 'pardon.' Sometimes he went into markets and ſteeple-houſes, and was often cruelly abuſed. Once being in a ſteeple-houſe at Warrington in Lancaſhire, and ſpeaking a few words after the prieſt had done, he was very violently knocked on the head: after which, a man taking hold of his hair, ſmote him againſt a ſtone, and pulled off an handful of it, which Thomas taking up from the ground, mildly ſaid, 'Not one hair of my head ſhall fall 'without my Father's permiſſion.' At another time he ſpeaking to a prieſt in Cheſhire, as he was going on his journey, the prieſt was much offended at him; and one of his hearers, as it were in revenge of this pretended affront, ſtruck him on the head, and knocked him down; but Thomas getting up again, and turning his face to the ſmiter, he ſmote him on his teeth, ſo that the blood guſhed out exceedingly; which ſome of the ſtanders by could not but cry out againſt. But not long after, the man that ſtruck him thus, fell ſick, and died, crying upon his death-bed, 'Oh, that I had not ſmitten the Quaker!' This Thomas once going through Saliſbury, and calling the inhabitants to repentance, was apprehended, and brought before ſeveral juſtices, who proffered him the oath, under pretence of his being a Jeſuit: but ſaying, 'He could not ſwear, becauſe Chriſt had commanded, not 'to ſwear at all,' he was ſent to priſon, where he was kept a month. He alſo went up and down the ſtreets of Yarmouth, proclaiming, 'The terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent, 'and fear Him, that made heaven and earth, and the ſea.' And being followed by a great multitude of rude people, and turning about, he ſpoke ſo powerfully to them, and with ſuch piercing words,

T. Briggs's meſſage of repentance.

He is cruelly uſed at Warrington in Lancaſhire,

And in Cheſhire.

Impriſoned at Saliſbury,

And let out of Yarmouth.

words, that they ran away for fear. At length an officer came and took hold of him, but leading him gently, he had opportunity to continue preaching to the people, and to clear himſelf. Being brought before the magiſtrates, they ordered him to be led out of town; which being done, Thomas came in again by another way, and having performed his ſervice there to his ſatisfaction, he departed the town. 1653.

When he came to Lin, and warned people to repent, a great maſtiff dog was ſet at him, but the dog coming near him, fawned upon him. Thus he went through many places, paſſing ſometimes five or ſix towns in one day; and though ſwords were drawn againſt him, or axes taken up to hew him down, yet he went on, and ſpoke ſo awfully, that even ſome who did not ſee his face, were ſo reached by the power that accompanied him, that they became converts. Coming to Clayzons in Wales, and many hearing him attentively, the conſtable ſtirred up the rude people, and cried, 'kill him, kill him,' as if he had been a mad dog; and they threw ſuch great ſtones upon him, that he admired they did not kill him; but he was preſerved by ſuch a mighty power, that according to his relation, they were to him as a nut, or a bean. Many other rude encounters he met with, but was preſerved wonderfully in the greateſt dangers; which ſtrengthened him not a little in the belief, that God, who ſo miraculouſly ſaved him, did require this ſervice from him. He was alſo in America, and died in a good old age, after having laboured above thirty years in the ſervice of the goſpel.

At Lin a maſtiff dog ſet at him, fawns upon him.

Great ſtones caſt upon him at Clayzons in Wales, yet preſerved, and at laſt dies in Cheſhire, aged about 80.

Miles Halhead was alſo one of the firſt zealous preachers among the Quakers, ſo called. He was the firſt of thoſe of his perſuaſion, that was impriſoned at Kendal: once he went to Swarthmore to viſit his friends, and to aſſiſt at their meeting: by the way, he met the wife of the juſtice Thomas Preſton, and becauſe he paſſed by her quietly, without the ordinary way of greeting, ſhe grew ſo offended, that ſhe commanded her man to go back and beat him; which he did. At which Miles being kindled with zeal, ſaid to her, 'O thou Jezebel! Thou proud Jezebel! Canſt thou 'not permit and ſuffer the ſervant of the Lord to paſs by thee 'quietly?' She then held forth her hands, as if ſhe would have ſtruck him, and ſpit in his face, ſaying, 'I ſcorn to fall down at 'thy words.' This made Miles ſay again, 'Thou proud Jezebel, 'thou that hardeneſt thy heart, and brazeneſt thy face againſt the 'Lord, and his ſervant, the Lord will plead with thee in his own 'time, and ſet in order before thee, the things that thou haſt done 'this day to his ſervant.' And ſo he parted with her, and went to Swarthmore. About three months after this, he felt himſelf moved to go and ſpeak to her; and when he came to Houlker-Hall, he aſked for Thomas Preſton's wife: ſhe then coming to the door, and Miles not knowing her, aſked her, 'If ſhe was 'the woman of the houſe?' To which ſhe ſaid, 'no; but if you 'would ſpeak with Mrs. Preſton, I will intreat her to come to 'you.' Then ſhe went in, and coming back with another woman, ſaid, 'Here is miſtreſs Preſton:' but then it was manifeſted to him, that ſhe herſelf was the woman. It is true, as hath

M. Halhead the firſt of thoſe called Quakers, impriſoned at Kendal. Juſ. Preſton's wife's haughty and proud carriage to him.

1653. been ſaid, ſome time before he had ſeen her on the way, and ſpoken to her; but it may be, ſhe was then in ſo different a dreſs, that by reaſon thereof he did not now know her; yet firmly believing that it was ſhe, he ſaid, 'Woman, how dareſt thou lie before the 'Lord and his ſervant? Thou art the woman I came to ſpeak to.' And ſhe being ſilent, not ſpeaking a word, he proceeded, 'Wo-'man, hear what the Lord's ſervant hath to ſay unto thee: O wo-'man, harden not thy heart againſt the Lord; for if thou doſt, 'he will cut thee off in his ſore diſpleaſure; therefore take warning 'in time, and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou 'mayſt end thy days in peace.' Having ſaid this, he went away, ſhe, how proud ſoever, not doing him any harm, being withheld, without knowing by what: but notwithſtanding that, ſhe continued the ſame: for ſeveral years after, when G. Fox was priſoner at Lancaſter, ſhe came to him, and belched out many railing words, ſaying, amongſt the reſt, 'That his tongue ſhould be cut 'off, and he be hanged.' But ſome time after the Lord cut her off, and ſhe died, as it was reported, in a miſerable condition.

Preſton's man who beat M. Halhead, deſires forgiveneſs.

But before I leave this woman, I muſt alſo ſay, that about three years after ſhe had made her man beat Miles, it happened that as he was riding from Swarthmore, near to Houlker-Hall, he met with a perſon, who ſaid to him, 'Friend, I have ſomething to 'ſay unto you, which hath lain upon me this long time. I 'am the man that, about three years ago, at the command of my 'miſtreſs, did beat you very ſore, for which I have been very 'much troubled, more than for any thing that ever I did in all 'my life: for truly, night and day it hath often been in my 'heart, that I did not well in beating an innocent man, that ne-'ver did me any hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me, and 'deſire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet 'in my mind.' To this Miles anſwered, 'Truly, friend, from 'that time to this day, I never had any thing in my heart 'againſt thee, nor thy miſtreſs, but love; the Lord forgive you 'both; I deſire that it may never be laid to your charge; for ye 'knew not what ye did.' Here Miles ſtopt, and ſo went his ways. Many a notable occurrence he had in his life, and therefore he is to appear yet more than once in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Halhead laid for dead, at Skipton in Yorkſhire, is in three hours recovered.

Travelling once in Yorkſhire, he came to Skipton, where, declaring the word of truth, he was ſo ſorely abuſed and beaten, that he was laid for dead; nevertheleſs, by the Lord's power, he was healed of all his bruiſes, and within three hours he was healthy and ſound again, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that had ſo abuſed him, and to the convincing of many that beheld him.

Is perſecuted and cruelly abuſed in many other places, but comforted and ſupported by the Lord.

Then he went to Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax, where he alſo declared the doctrine of truth amongſt the people; but not without meeting with great perſecution.

From thence he came to Doncaſter, and there went on a firſt-day of the week to a ſteeple-houſe, where, after the worſhip was done, he ſpoke to the prieſt and people; but they, inſtead of hearkening to what he ſaid, fell upon him in a great rage, and drove him out of the town; and he being ſorely bruiſed, they left him for dead. But before his going from home, he had been

been firmly perſuaded, that the Lord would preſerve him in all dangers; and it happened ſo to him according to his belief; for he got up again, and went to a friend's houſe, where he laid himſelf down upon a bed. But not long after, he felt a very ſtrong motion to go to a certain chapel, and there to declare the word of the Lord: forthwith he felt alſo an inward aſſurance, that if he gave up to do ſo, the Lord would heal him from his bruiſes. Then he roſe, as well as he could, and came down ſtairs with great difficulty, by taking hold of the walls for a ſtay, and going out, he began to mend by degrees; and coming at length into the chapel, he ſpake as he was moved; and when he had cleared himſelf, he went back to the houſe from whence he came, and the Lord made him ſound of all his bruiſes. 1653.

Travels thro' Yorkſhire.

From thence he went to York, and there ſpoke to the lord-mayor, and other rulers of that city: and paſſing through Yorkſhire, he went into ſeveral ſteeple-houſes, to exhort the people: and though he met with great hardſhips, yet he was ſupported by an inviſible hand. So being clear of that country, he returned to his houſe at Mountjoy, in Underharrow, in the county of Weſtmoreland. But his going thus often from home, was an exceeding great croſs to his wife, who, in the firſt year of his change, not being of his perſuaſion, was very much troubled in her mind, and would often ſay from diſcontent, 'Would to 'God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him 'at the ale-houſe; but now I can't tell where to find my huſband.' But after the ſpace of a year, it pleaſed the Lord to viſit her: ſhe had a little ſon of about five years of age, which child ſhe loved extraordinarily, inſomuch that ſhe thought it was her only delight and comfort. But it happened that this darling died, and ſome time after, ſhe ſpoke thus to her huſband: 'Truly, huſband, 'I have ſomething to tell thee: one night being in bed mourning 'and lamenting with tears in my eyes, I heard a voice, ſaying, 'Why art thou ſo diſcontented concerning thy huſband: I have 'called and choſen him to my work; my right-hand ſhall uphold 'him; therefore be thou content and pleaſed, that he ſerve me, 'and I will bleſs thee, and thy children for his ſake; and all 'things ſhall proſper that thou ſhalt take in hand: but if thou 'wilt not be content, but grudge and murmur, and repine againſt 'me and my ſervant, whom I have choſen to do my work, I will 'bring a greater croſs upon thee. Theſe words being freſh 'in my mind both night and day, I often ſaid within myſelf, 'What croſs can this be, that would be greater than the want of 'my huſband? But for all this, I could not be content: all the 'joy I had, or could find, was in our little boy, who would often, 'when he ſaw me weeping and mourning, take me about my 'neck, and ſay, My dear mother, pray be content, for my father 'will come home in a little time. This child would often comfort 'me in this manner; but for all that I could not be content. Not 'long after, it pleaſed the Lord to take from me this my only ſon, 'my chiefeſt joy. Then the voice which I had heard, came into 'my mind, and I perceiving that this was the croſs which the 'Lord would bring upon me, ſmote upon my breaſt, and ſaid

A very remarkable occurrence to his wife.

'within

1653. 'within myſelf, that I was the very cauſe why the Lord had taken 'away my little ſon. A great fear then ſeizing upon me, I ſaid, 'O Lord my God! give me power to be content to give up my 'huſband freely to do thy will, leſt, O Lord, thou take away from 'me all my children. From that time I never durſt oppoſe thee, 'my huſband, any more in the work of the Lord, for fear that 'his judgments might alſo fall upon me, and my children.' This ſerved not a little to ſtrengthen and encourage Miles.

Some time after walking in his garden, he felt a motion to go to Stanley chapel in Lancaſhire. Now though he might expect to meet with rude entertainment there, yet he conſulted not with fleſh and blood, but went to the aforeſaid chapel. Being come, he was not ſuffered to enter, but the door was violently turned againſt him. Then he walked in the yard 'till the worſhip was done, and the people that came out, (one may gueſs how edified) fell upon him with great rage, and one captain William Rawlinſon took hold of his arms and ſhoulders, and calling another man to take him by the feet and legs, they threw him over the wall; by which fall he was exceedingly bruiſed, ſo that he had much ado to get home. By the way it was inwardly ſaid to him, 'That he muſt be content with what was befallen him that day, 'and that if he was faithful in what the Lord required of him, 'then he would heal him again.' Being come home, he waited upon the Lord to know his will. In this reſignedneſs, within ſix days, he was moved to go to Windermore ſteeple-houſe, and it was, as it were, ſaid unto him, 'Fear not the face of any man, 'but ſpeak the word of the Lord freely; and then thou ſhalt be 'made ſound again of all thy bruiſes.' So he went to the ſaid ſteeple-houſe, and having ſpoken the word of the Lord to the prieſt and people, without receiving any harm, he was healed that day of his ſore bruiſes.

He is thrown over a wall, and bruiſed exceedingly.

Some time after by another motion, he came to Furneiſs in Lancaſhire, to the houſe of captain Adam Sands, where he found a great number of profeſſors gathered, and prieſt Lampitt preaching. But as ſoon as Miles entered, Lampitt was ſilent, which continuing a pretty while, captain Sands ſaid to him, 'Sir, what's the 'matter? Are you not well?' To which the prieſt anſwered, 'I 'am well, but I ſhall ſpeak no more as long as this dumb devil is 'in the houſe.' 'A dumb devil!' ſaid the captain, 'where is he?' 'this is he,' ſaid the prieſt, pointing with his hand, 'that ſtand-'eth there.' Then the captain ſaid, 'this man is quiet, and 'ſaith nothing to you: I pray you ſir, go on in the name of the 'Lord; and if he trouble or moleſt you in my houſe, I will ſend 'him to Lancaſter caſtle.' But the prieſt ſaid again, 'I ſhall not 'preach as long as this dumb devil is in the houſe.' Then the captain ſaid to one Camelford, a prieſt alſo, 'I pray you, ſir, 'ſtand up, and exerciſe your gift, and I will ſee that you be not 'diſturbed.' But this prieſt anſwered as the other, 'I ſhall not 'ſpeak as long as this dumb devil is in the houſe.' Then the people cried, 'Lord, rebuke thee, Satan; Lord rebuke thee, Satan: 'what manner of ſpirit is this that ſtops our miniſters mouths?' Then the captain came to Miles, and taking him by the hand,

M. Halhead's preſence, without ſpeaking, ſilences two perſecuting prieſts, viz. Lampitt and Camelford.

led

led him out of the houſe. In all that time he had not ſpoke a word, and ſaw now the accompliſhment of what he had been perſuaded of before, viz. That an inviſible power would confound by him the wiſdom of the prieſts, when he ſpoke never a word. The ſaid Camelford was one, who a good while before had ſtirred up the rabble againſt G. Fox; and the other was that Lampitt, who has been mentioned already, and who had been ſo eſteemed by Margaret Fell, before ſhe came to be acquainted with G. Fox. 1653.

He is impriſoned at Newcaſtle; ſoon releaſed, and many convinced by him.

Some time after this occurrence, Miles went to Newcaſtle, and there ſaid to the mayor, rulers, and prieſts of that town, 'That 'God's anger was kindled againſt them, becauſe they had ſhut 'the kingdom of heaven againſt men, and would not enter them-'ſelves, nor ſuffer them that would.' Becauſe of this he was impriſoned: but the mayor being much troubled, ſent for the ſheriff, (for theſe two had committed Miles;) when come, he ſaid to him, 'We have not done well in committing an innocent 'man to priſon: pray let us releaſe him.' The ſheriff conſenting, Miles was ſet at liberty. Then he declared the Word of the Lord in thoſe parts, and many were convinced of the truth held forth by him. But now I part with this Miles Halhead: who hereafter is to be mentioned again.

Cromwell (as ſaid) chooſes a new parliament, to which he delivers the ſupreme authority.

About this time, viz. in the ſummer, general Cromwell had called a new parliament, conſiſting moſtly (as hath been ſaid by ſome) of members of his own choice; for it was a certain number of perſons out of each county and city in England, Scotland, and Ireland, nominated by the council of officers, and ſent for to meet at Weſtminſter. Into the hands of theſe, Cromwell delivered the ſupreme authority of the nation, by an inſtrument, or commiſſion, ſigned by himſelf and the officers; but the authority of this meeting, laſted ſcarce half a year, as will be ſaid in the ſequel.

G. Fox in Carliſle dungeon.

To this parliament a report was made, 'That at Carliſle, a 'perſon was impriſoned, who was to die for religion.' This was G. Fox, whom we have left thus long in the dungeon at Carliſle, and now are returning to him again. The parliament then cauſed a letter to be ſent down concerning him to the ſheriff, and other magiſtrates: and G. Fox knowing how ſcandalouſly he had been belied, about ſpeaking blaſphemous words, gave forth a paper, wherein he challenged all who found fault with his doctrine, to appear in publick; ſince he was ready to ſtand the teſt of whatſoever he might have ſpoken. He alſo wrote a ſignificant letter to the juſtices at Carliſle, wherein he ſhewed them plainly the injuſtice of their dealings, and the horrid evil of perſecution, as having been always the work of the falſe church. Mention hath been made already of the juſtices Benſon and Anthony Pearſon: theſe had deſired more than once, leave to viſit G. Fox in priſon; but this being denied them, they wrote a letter to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and people at Carliſle, wherein they emphatically deſcribed the wickedneſs of perſecution, and what would be the reward of perſecutors; ſaying alſo, 'That theſe were worſe than the Hea-'then, that put Paul into priſon; becauſe none of his friends, or 'acquaintance, were hindered by them from coming to him.' However, at length Pearſon got an opportunity to come with the

The juſtices Benſon and Pearſon interpoſe.

1653. governor into the dungeon, where G. Fox was kept, and they found the place ſo bad, and of ſo noiſome a ſmell, that the governor cried 'ſhame of the magiſtrates,' for ſuffering the gaoler to treat G. Fox after ſuch a manner; and calling the gaolers into the dungeon, required them to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and put the under-gaoler, who had been very cruel to G. Fox, into the dungeon with him. In the mean while thoſe who had impriſoned G. Fox, began to grow afraid, the rather it may be, becauſe the parliament took notice of theſe doings; and it was not long after, that he was releaſed; and then coming to the houſe of one Thomas Bewly, near Coldbeck, in Cumberland, there came a Baptiſt teacher to oppoſe him; but he found what G. Fox ſpoke to be ſo efficacious, that he became convinced of the truth thereof.

And at length he is releaſed.

At that time there was alſo Robert Widders, who being moved to go to Coldbeck ſteeple-houſe, the Baptiſt teacher went with him. Widders coming into the ſteeple-houſe, there was one — Hutton preaching, to whom he ſpoke; but the rude people threw him down, and dragged him into the yard, where they puſhed and beat him, till the blood guſhed out of his mouth, ſo that he lay for dead ſome time: but a certain woman coming to him, held up his head, ſo that at length he recovered his breath. The Baptiſt, who went along with him, had his ſword taken from him, and was ſorely beaten with it; yet this did not frighten or diſcourage him; and he not only left off the wearing of a ſword, but alſo freely gave up the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes.

R. Widders, at Coldbeck ſteeple-houſe laid for dead, recovers.

A Baptiſt reſigns the inheritance of an impropriation.

The ſame day that this preacher was thus attacked with his own ſword, being the firſt of the week, ſeveral of G. Fox's friends, and among them William Dewſbury, went, one to this, and others to other ſteeple-houſes; and by ſuch means, the number of the ſaid friends increaſed; though Dewſbury at that time was ſo violently beaten by the people, that he was almoſt killed; but the Lord's power healed him again.

W. Dewſbury almoſt killed.

But to return to Robert Widders: he being recovered from the rude treatment he met with, as hath been ſaid, felt himſelf ſo encouraged anew, and ſtrengthened in his undertakings, that he went, the ſame day in the afternoon, ſeven miles to Ackton ſteeple-houſe, where he ſpoke to prieſt Nichols, and calling him, 'an enemy of Chriſt,' told him alſo, 'that the hand of the Lord 'was againſt him.' Then William Briſcoe, a juſtice of Crofton, commanded the conſtable to ſecure Robert, which he did, and carried him to the prieſt's houſe, where being examined by the juſtice, the prieſt began to fawn upon him: thereupon Robert told the prieſt, 'That the ſpirit of perſecution lodged in him.' But the prieſt ſaid, 'no, he was not ſuch a man.' Yet preſently after he ſaid to the juſtice, 'That Robert had ſtolen the horſe he 'came with;' and, 'that he could find in his heart, to be his 'executioner with his own hands;' which made Robert ſay, 'did 'not I ſay unto thee, that the ſpirit of perſecution lodged in thee?' Then the aforeſaid juſtice writ a warrant to ſend Robert to Carliſle gaol; and after having given the warrant to the conſtable, he aſked Robert, 'by what authority or power he came to ſeduce

R. Widders reproves prieſt Nichols at Ackton;

For which juſ. Briſcoe gives a warrant to have him to Carliſle gaol;

'and

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'and bewitch the people?' Robert anſwered, 'I came not to ſe-
'duce and bewitch people, but I came in that power which ſhall
'make thee, and all the powers of the earth, bend and bow be-
'fore it, to wit, the mighty power of God.' Whilſt Robert was ſpeaking thus, the dread of the Lord ſeized on the juſtice, and ſo ſtruck him, that he called for his warrant again, and took it out of the conſtable's hand, ſuffering Robert about night to go away.

But recalls it, and lets him go free.

He being thus freed, did not leave viſiting the ſteeple-houſes from time to time, for which he was ſometimes impriſoned, and at other times was ſaved remarkably. Once coming near Skipton in Yorkſhire, at the ſteeple-houſe he ſpoke very ſharply to the prieſt — Webſter; ſince he was one that had been partly convinced of the doctrine of the inward light; but becoming diſobedient thereunto, was turned back again. He alſo ſpoke to the people, and to juſtice Coats, bidding them to mind the word of God in the heart, which divided between the precious and the vile. After having cleared himſelf, he went to a place where a few of his friends were met together; but he had not been long there, when there came ſome horſemen and foot, who took him away, and carried him to the ſaid juſtice; who examining him, ſaid, 'He had broken the law, by diſturbing the miniſter and the 'people, and that he might ſend him priſoner to York caſtle.' Robert anſwered, 'Send me to gaol thither if thou dareſt; 'for I appeal to the witneſs of God in thy conſcience.' But the juſtice being a moderate man, ſaid, 'I neither dare nor will;' and taking Robert by the hand, told him, he might take his own time in going away.

Near Skipton he ſpeaks ſharply to prieſt Webſter, and juſt. Coats, who ſaid he might ſend him to York caſtle;

But kindly lets him go.

To relate all the occurrences of this Robert Widders, would be too prolix; therefore I'll only ſay, that as he was very zealous in ſpeaking to the prieſts, ſo he ſuffered very much in his eſtate, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to pay them tithes; and on that account there was taken from him, at ſundry times, to the value of £. 143 beſides what he ſuffered for meetings, and for ſunday ſhillings, ſo called, which alſo amounted to a conſiderable ſum. And this not only befel him, but it was the portion of many hundreds, nay, perhaps thouſands of thoſe of his perſuaſion: wherefore I won't undertake to relate all that might be mentioned of this kind; for that would be beyond my reach.

R. Widders ſuffers greatly for tithes.

However, by this that hath been ſaid, may be ſeen, by what means the Quakers, ſo called, grew ſo numerous in thoſe early times. As on one hand there were raiſed zealous preachers; ſo on the other, there were abundance of people in England, who, having ſearched all ſects, could no where find ſatisfaction for their hungry ſouls. And theſe now underſtanding that God by his light was ſo near in their hearts, began to take heed thereunto, and ſoon found, that this gave them far more victory, over the corruption of their minds, (under which they had long groaned) than all the ſelf willed worſhips which they with ſome zeal had performed many years. And beſides thoſe that were thus prepared to receive a further manifeſtation of the way of life, there were alſo many of a rude life, who being pricked to the heart, and brought over by the chriſtian patience of the deſpiſed Quakers,

By what means the Quakers grew ſo numerous.

became

1653. became as zealous in doing good, as formerly they had been in working evil.

Why they viſited ſteeple-houſes ſo frequently, and ſpoke to the prieſts.

Perhaps ſome will think it was very indecent that they went ſo frequently to the ſteeple-houſes, and there ſpoke to the prieſts; but whatſoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that thoſe teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godlineſs, as was well known to thoſe who themſelves had been prieſts, and freely reſigned their miniſtry, thenceforth to follow Chriſt in the way of his croſs; and theſe were none of the leaſt zealous againſt that ſociety among whom they formerly had miniſtered with an upright zeal. Yet they were not for uſing ſharp language againſt ſuch teachers, who, according to their knowledge, feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly againſt thoſe who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true chriſtian fruits, and works of juſtice. Hence it was that one Thomas Curtis, who was formerly a captain in the parliament army, but afterwards entered into the ſociety of the people called Quakers, wrote, in a letter to Samuel Wells, prieſt of Banbury, and a perſecutor of thoſe of that perſuaſion, amongſt other things, theſe words: 'To 'thy ſhame, remember I know thee ſcandalous: how often haſt 'thou ſat evening after evening, at cards, and ſometimes whole 'nights, playing, and ſometimes compelling me to play with 'thee for money; yet then thou waſt called of the world a mini-'ſter; and now art thou turned perſecutor,' &c. None therefore need think it ſtrange, that thoſe called Quakers did look upon ſuch teachers as hirelings: and that there were not a few of that ſort, appeared plainly when king Charles the IId was reſtored; for thoſe who had formerly cried out againſt Epiſcopacy, and its liturgy, as falſe and idolatrous, then became turncoats, and put on the ſurplice, to keep in the poſſeſſion of their livings and benefices. But by ſo doing, theſe hypocrites loſt not a few of their auditors; for this opened the eyes of many, who began to enquire into the doctrine of the deſpiſed Quakers, and ſaw that they had a more ſure foundation, and that this it was which made them ſtand unſhaken againſt the fury of perſecution.

Part of T. Curtis's letter to prieſt Wells of Banbury.

G. Fox travels in the north of England, and at Derwentwater commending perfection, is oppoſed by profeſſors. Mat. v. 48. Job iv. 17. Ch. xv. 15. Ch. iv. 18.

Let us again take up the thread of thoſe tranſactions which concern G. Fox: who now travelling through many places in the north of England, had every where great meetings; but now and then met with ſome oppoſition; ſometimes with hands, and at other times with the tongue: among the reſt, at Derwentwater in Northumberland; where in a diſpute recommending perfection, he was contradicted; but to prove his poſition, he ſaid, 'That 'Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God 'made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the Devil 'and the fall; but that Chriſt, who came to deſtroy the Devil, 'ſaid, *Be ye perfect.*' To this one of the profeſſors anſwered, 'That Job ſaid, *Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? 'The heavens are not clean in his ſight. God charged his angels with 'folly.*' But G. Fox ſhewed him his miſtake, and told him, 'That it was not Job that ſaid ſo, but one of thoſe that con-'tended againſt him.' Then the profeſſors ſaid, 'The outward 'body was the body of death and ſin.' But G. Fox replied,

'That

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'That Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, be-
'fore the body of death and ſin got into them; and that men
'would have bodies, when the body of ſin and death was put off
'again, and they were renewed into the image of God again
'by Chriſt Jeſus.'

Thus G. Fox found work almoſt every where, and paſſing to Hexham, he had a great meeting there on the top of a hill. The prieſt indeed had threatened, that he would come and oppoſe; but came not.

Has a meeting of many thouſands on a hill in Cumberland.

G. Fox then travelling on, came into Cumberland, where he had a meeting of many thouſands of people on a hill near Langlands. Once he came into Brigham ſteeple-houſe, before the prieſt was there, and declared the truth to the people; but when the prieſt came in, he began to oppoſe, but was ſo wearied, that at length he went away.

There being now alſo ſeveral others who preached the doctrine of the inward light of God which convinceth man of ſin, the number of thoſe profeſſors of the light increaſed greatly: and as it had been ſaid at firſt, 'that they ſhould be deſtroyed within a 'ſhort time;' ſo now the prieſts began to ſay, 'that they would 'eat out one another:' for many of them, after meetings, having a great way to go, ſtaid at their friends houſes by the way, and ſometimes more than there were beds to lodge, ſo that ſome lay on the hay-mows. This made ſome of the publick church grow afraid, that this hoſpitality would cauſe poverty, and that when theſe friends had eaten out one another, they would come to be maintained by the pariſhes, and ſo be chargeable to them. But it fell out quite otherwiſe, for theſe people were the more bleſſed and increaſed, without falling into want. This puts me in mind of what one of the daughters of judge Fell once told me, viz. That her father having been abroad, and coming home with his ſervants, found the ſhed ſo full of the horſes of ſtrange gueſts, (for Margaret his wife had cleared the ſtable where they firſt ſtood, to make room for her huſband's own horſes) that he ſaid to his wife, 'This was the way to be eaten out, and that thus they themſelves 'ſhould ſoon be in want of hay.' But to this Margaret ſaid in a friendly way, 'That ſhe did not believe when the year was at an 'end, they ſhould have the leſs for that.' And, ſo it fell out; for this year their ſtock of hay was ſuch, that they ſold a great parcel of what they had in abundance. Thus the Proverb was verified, that *charity doth not impoveriſh*. The truth of this was alſo experienced by thoſe called Quakers; for though many people at firſt were ſhy, and would not deal with them, becauſe of their nonconformity with the vulgar ſalutation, and their ſaying Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, inſtead of You, &c. inſomuch, that ſome that were tradeſmen, loſt their cuſtomers, and could hardly get money enough to buy bread: yet this changed in time, when the people found by experience they could better truſt to the words of theſe, than to that of thoſe of their own perſuaſion. Hence it was, that often when any came into a town, and wanted ſomething, they would aſk, 'Where dwells a draper, or taylor, 'or ſhoemaker,' or any other tradeſman, 'that is a Quaker?'

The number of Quakers increaſed ſo, that 'twas ſuſpected they would eat out one another, and become chargeable to the publick.

Though their nonconformity at firſt loſt them many cuſtomers, yet their probity in thoſe days gained many more afterwards.

1653. But this ſo exaſperated others, that they began to cry out, 'If we 'let theſe Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation 'out of our hands.' Now the reaſon of their trades thus increaſing, was becauſe they were found upright in their dealing; for integrity did then ſhine out among them above many others: to this the true fear of God led them, and to this they were exhorted from time to time. G. Fox alſo writ a general epiſtle to them, which was as followeth:

To you all, FRIENDS *every where, ſcattered abroad:*

A general epiſtle of G. F. to be read at meetings.

IN the meaſure of the life of God, wait for wiſdom from God, even from him, from whence it comes. And all ye, who be babes of God, wait for the living food from the living to be nouriſhed up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes; that orderly, and in order, ye may all be guided and walk: ſervants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families; that every one, in your reſpective places may adorn the truth; every one in the meaſure of it. With it, let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jeſus, from whence it doth come; that a ſweet ſavour ye may be to God, and in wiſdom ye may all be ordered and ruled; that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no ſtrife, nor bitterneſs, nor ſelf-will may appear amongſt you; but with the light, in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may ſee to, and take care of the ordering and ruling of their own family; that in righteouſneſs and wiſdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord in every one's heart ſet, that the ſecrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that ſtewards of his grace you may come to be, to diſpenſe it to every one as they have need; and ſo in ſavouring, and right diſcerning, you may all be kept: that nothing that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged: ſo that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live; and all that is contrary to the light, and life and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light be condemned. And that no fruitleſs trees be among you; but all cut down and condemned by the light, and caſt into the fire: ſo that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge, and in his wiſdom. And ſo that none may appear in words beyond what they be in the life, that gave forth the words: here none ſhall be as the untimely figs: and none ſhall be of thoſe trees, whoſe fruit withers: ſuch go in Cain's way, from the light; and by it are condemned. And that none amongſt you boaſt yourſelves above your meaſure; for if you do, out of God's kingdom you are excluded: for in that boaſting part gets up the pride, and the ſtrife, which is contrary to the light; which light leads to the kingdom of God, and gives every one of you an entrance thereinto, and an underſtanding, to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. And there the light and life of man every one receives, Him who was before the world was, by whom it was made;

made; who is the righteouſneſs of God, and his wiſdom; to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praiſe belongs, who is God bleſſed for ever. Let no image, nor likeneſs be made; but in the light wait, which will bring condemnation on that part, that would make the images; for that impriſons the juſt. So to the luſt yield not the eye, nor the fleſh; for the pride of life ſtands in that, which keeps out of the love of the father; and upon which his judgments and wrath remains, where the love of the world is ſought after, and a crown that is mortal: in which ground the evil enters, which is curſed; which brings forth briars and thorns, where the death reigns, and tribulation and anguiſh is upon every ſoul, and the Egyptian tongue is heard; all which is by the light condemned. And there the earth is, which muſt be removed; by the light it is ſeen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its place it is ſhaken; to which the thunders utter their voices, before the myſteries of God be opened, and Jeſus revealed. Therefore all ye, whoſe minds are turned to this light (which brings condemnation upon all thoſe things before-mentioned, that are contrary to the light) wait upon the Lord Jeſus for the crown, that is immortal, and that fadeth not away. G. F. 1653.

This epiſtle he ſent to be read at the meetings of his friends. Not long after, a certain prieſt of Wrexham in Wales, whoſe name was Morgan Floyd, ſent two of his congregation into the north of England, to enquire what kind of people the Quakers were. Theſe two coming thither, found the doctrine of the ſaid people ſuch, that they became convinced of the truth thereof, and ſo embraced it; and after ſome ſtay, they returned home. One of theſe was called John ap-John, and continuing faithful, became a miniſter of the goſpel he had thus received; but the other afterwards departed from his convincement.

Prieſt Morgan Floyd of Wrexham in Wales, ſends John ap-John &c. to prove the Quakers.

Let us now take a ſhort view of ſtate-affairs in England. We have ſeen already Cromwell's power ſo great, that he ventured to diſſolve the long parliament, and that he called another in its room. But before the year's end, this parliament reſigned their power into the hands of Cromwell, from whom they had received it. Thus he, with his council of field-officers, ſaw himſelf again in the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme government: and it was not long before this council declared: 'That henceforth the chief rule of 'the nation ſhould be intruſted to a ſingle perſon, and that this 'perſon ſhould be OLIVER CROMWELL, chief general of all the 'forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that his title ſhould 'be "LORD PROTECTOR of the commonwealth of England, "Scotland, and Ireland; and all the dominions belonging there-"unto:" and he was to have a council of twenty-one perſons to 'aſſiſt him in the government.'

Cromwell declared protector of the commonwealth, &c.

This matter being thus ſtated, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and the lord-mayor, and aldermen of London, were required, on the 16th of December, to attend Cromwell, and his council, in Weſtminſter-Hall. Being come thither, the inſtrument of government was read, whereby Cromwell was declared protector, he ſtanding all this while bare-headed, and major-general Lambert

1653. bert kneeling, preſented him with a ſword in the ſcabbard, repreſenting the civil ſword, which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, to intimate thereby, that he would no longer rule by the military ſword. The ſaid inſtrument, being writ on parchment, contained, 'That the protector was to call a parliament every 'three years: that their firſt meeting ſhould be on the 13th of 'September next enſuing: that he ſhould not be permitted to diſ-'ſolve a parliament, before it had ſat five months: that the bills 'preſented to him for his conſent, if he did not confirm them 'within twenty days, ſhould have the force of laws: that he was 'to have a council, who were not to exceed the number of twen-'ty-one, and not to be under thirteen: that forthwith after his 'death, the council was to chooſe another protector: that no pro-'tector after him, ſhould be capable of being chief general of 'the army: and that it ſhould be in the power of the protector 'to make war and peace.' Whilſt this inſtrument was reading, Cromwell held his hand on the bible, and afterwards took the oath, 'That he would perform all that was contained therein.' This being done, he covered himſelf, all the others remaining uncovered. Then the commiſſioners delivered the ſeals to him, and the lord-mayor of London the ſword; all which he reſtored again, with an exhortation to 'uſe them well.' Afterwards general Lambert carried the ſword before him to his coach, in which he went to Whitehall, where he was proclaimed protector, which was done alſo in the city of London. Now he was attended like a prince, and created knights as kings uſe to do. Thus Cromwell, by a ſingular, and very ſtrange turn of mundane affairs, ſaw himſelf placed in the palace, from whence he, and his adherents, had caſt out king Charles the firſt.

THE THIRD BOOK.

1654. OLIVER CROMWELL in the beginning of the year 1654, ſeeing himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme authority of the nation, required, both of the ſoldiers and others, the oath of fidelity. But ſince among the firſt, there were many, who, though convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers ſo called, yet had not convenient opportunity to leave the military ſervice, it now preſented itſelf: for when the oath was tendered them, they declared that in obedience to Chriſt's command, they could not ſwear; whereupon they were diſbanded. Among theſe was John Stubs, a man ſkilled not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but alſo in the oriental languages; he was convinced by G. Fox, when in Carliſle priſon, and became afterwards a faithful miniſter of the goſpel. But ſome of the ſoldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, not continuing ſtedfaſt, took the required oath, but not long outlived it; for marching afterwards into Scotland, and paſſing by a garriſon there, theſe thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, whereby ſeveral were killed.

Quakers refuſing the oath of fidelity, are diſbanded, and among them, J. Stubs, a learned man, convinced by G. Fox in Carliſle priſon.

G. Fox

1654.

G. Fox now ſeeing the churches of his friends in the north ſettled, paſſed from Swarthmore (where he was about the beginning of this year) to Lancaſter, and from thence to Synder-hill-green, where he had a great meeting of ſome thouſands of people, among whom, were many perſons of note; and a general convincement there was, ſo that a great number entered into the communion of thoſe called Quakers, with whom about this time, Ambroſe Rigg was alſo united, who having been inclined to godlineſs from his youth, hearing G. Fox preach, and being convinced of the truth of the doctrine he taught, received it, and became a profeſſor of it, though for that reaſon, he was caſt out by his parents and relations.

A general convincement at a meeting of ſome thouſands.

A. Rigg profeſſes the truth, and is rejected by his parents.

We have ſeen the firſt riſe of theſe chriſtians, called Quakers, in the north of England, and how they increaſed under the oppreſſion of perſecution, ſo that in moſt places in thoſe parts, meetings were ſettled: it remains to relate how they ſpread farther.

There were now above ſixty miniſters of the word raiſed among them, and theſe went out in the ſervice of the goſpel, to turn people where they could have an opportunity, *from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan to God.* Of theſe, Francis Howgil, and Edward Burrough, went to London; John Camm, and John Audland, to Briſtol; Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead, to Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others other ways. G. Fox well knowing this to be a weighty work, writ a large epiſtle to theſe miniſters, wherein he admoniſhed them to prudence, adviſing them, 'To know the ſeed of God, 'which bruiſeth the head of the ſerpent; alſo to know the power 'of God, and the croſs of Chriſt: to receive wiſdom from God 'by the light; and not to be haſty, or to run in their own wills, 'but to continue in patience.

Miniſters are increaſed to above ſixty, who divide themſelves to ſeveral places.

G. F. writes them a large epiſtle.

I'll firſt mention ſomewhat of the occurrences at London, whither Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, with Anthony Pearſon, who had been a juſtice of the peace, came in the fore part of the ſummer. Howgil and Pearſon were the firſt of the people called Quakers, that had a meeting in this great city, where they preached in the houſe of one Robert Dring, in Watling-ſtreet; and Burrough was, as I have been informed, that day in an aſſembly of a ſeparate ſociety. Yet I have been told alſo, that Ruth, wife of William Crouch, merchant in London, had ſaid, that ſomewhat before that time, there had been in the ſaid houſe meetings of ſome few perſons, of whom ſhe was one; and alſo Anne Downer, afterwards married to George Whitehead; that one Iſabella Buttery, with another woman, having ſpread in London ſome books, and among theſe, one of G. Fox's, called, 'The way to the kingdom,' had met with this ſmall company, of which were but two or three men, one of which was Amos Stoddard, formerly a military officer, mentioned already; and that the ſaid Iſabella ſometimes ſpoke a few words in this ſmall meeting. But when F. Howgil, and E. Burrough were come to London, things began to have another face; for they laid hold of all opportunities they could light on, to preach the goſpel.

E. Burrough, F. Howgil, A. Pearſon, come to London. The two laſt are the firſt of that people, who preached there at R. Dring's in Watling-ſtreet.

At London there is a cuſtom in ſummer-time, when the evening

1654. approaches, and tradeſmen leave off working, that many luſty fellows meet in the fields, to try their ſkill and ſtrength in wreſtling, where generally a multitude of people ſtand gazing in a round. Now it ſo fell out, that E. Burrough paſſed by the place where they were wreſtling, and ſtanding ſtill among the ſpectators, ſaw how a ſtrong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durſt venture to enter the liſts. At length, none being bold enough to try, E. Burrough ſtept into the ring, commonly made up of all ſorts of people: and having looked upon the wreſtler with a ſerious countenance, the man was not a little ſurprized, inſtead of an airy antagoniſt, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all ſtood as it were amazed at this ſight, eagerly expecting what would be the iſſue of this combat. But it was quite another fight E. Burrough aimed at: for having already fought againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs, that had once prevailed on him, and having overcome in meaſure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured alſo to fight againſt it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention, he began very ſeriouſly to ſpeak to the ſtanders by, and that with ſuch a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixt multitude, with no leſs attention, than admiration; for his ſpeech tended, *to turn them from darkneſs to the light, and from the power of Satan to God.* To effect this he laboured with convincing words, ſhewing, how God had not left himſelf without a witneſs, but had given to man a meaſure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Chriſt. Thus he preached zealouſly: and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of ſuch effect, that ſome were convinced of the truth; for he was a breaker of ſtony hearts, and therefore by a certain author, not unjuſtly called, 'A ſon of thunder;' though he alſo omitted not in due ſeaſon, to ſpeak a word of conſolation to thoſe that were of a broken heart, and of a contrite ſpirit.

E. Burrough ſteps into the ring among wreſtlers, and ſpeaks with ſuch awfulneſs and power, to the ſpectators, that ſome are convinced.

But to thunder againſt ſin and iniquity, was his peculiar talent; inſomuch, that once preaching very zealouſly in a meeting, and perceiving there were ſome contrite ſouls, that wanted ſpiritually refreſhing food, he was heard to intimate, that though his preſent ſpeaking was not milk for babes, yet he would remember ſuch anon, and adminiſter to them alſo; but now, 'he muſt threſh the 'whore.' And indeed he was one of thoſe valiants, whoſe bow never turned back, nor ſword empty from the ſlaughter of the mighty: for the Lord bleſſed his powerful miniſtry with very glorious ſucceſs; nay, he was ſuch an excellent inſtrument in the hand of God, that even ſome mighty and eminent men were touched to the heart by the power of the Word of Life, which he preached. And although coals of fire, as it were, came forth of his mouth, to the conſuming of briars and thorns, and he paſſing through unbeaten paths, trampled upon wild thiſtles, and luxuriant tares; yet his wholeſome doctrine dropped as the oil of joy upon the ſpirits of the mourners in Sion. Hence it was that Francis Howgil not unjuſtly ſaid of him when deceaſed, 'Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as

To thunder againſt ſin, his peculiar talent.

'though

'though thou hadſt no being? Oh nay: ſhall not thy noble and 'valiant acts, and mighty works which thou haſt wrought, thro' 'the power of him that ſeparated thee from the womb, live in 'generations to come? Oh yes! the children that are yet unborn 'ſhall have thee in their mouths, and thy works ſhall teſtify of 'thee in the generations who yet have no being.' 1654. F. Howgil's lamentation for him.

The ſaid Howgil, alſo an eminent and eloquent man, being now at London, went to court, to utter what was in his mind to Oliver Cromwell: and after having ſpoke to him, he thought it convenient to expreſs himſelf farther in writing, as he did by the following letter: F. Howgil goes to court, ſpeaks to Cromwell, and then writes to him.

FRIEND,

I WAS moved of the Lord to come to thee, to declare the word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for any thing, but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me, concerning thee; and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou queſtionedſt it, whether it was the word of the Lord or not, and ſoughteſt by thy reaſon to put it off; and we have waited ſome days ſince, but cannot ſpeak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conſcience, and to leave thee; therefore hear the word of the Lord, thus ſaith the Lord, I choſe thee out of all the nations, when thou waſt little in thy own eyes, and threw down the mountains, and the powers of the earth before thee, which had eſtabliſhed wickedneſs by a law, and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppreſſor, and made them ſtoop before thee, and I made them as a plain before thee, that thou paſſedſt over them, and trod upon their necks; but thus ſaith the Lord, now thy heart is not upright before me, but thou takeſt counſel, and not of me; and thou art eſtabliſhing peace, and not by me; and thou art ſetting up laws, and not by me; and my name is not feared, nor am I ſought after; but thy own wiſdom thou eſtabliſheſt: what ſaith the Lord, have I thrown down all the oppreſſors, and broken their laws, and thou art now going about to eſtabliſh them again, and art going to build again that which I have deſtroyed? Wherefore thus ſaith the Lord, wilt thou limit me, and ſet bounds to me, when, and where, and how, and by whom I ſhall declare myſelf, and publiſh my name? Then will I break thy cord, and remove thy ſtake, and exalt myſelf in thy overthrow. Therefore this is the word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear, or forbear; if thou take not away all thoſe laws, which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes, are oppreſſed, thou ſhalt not be eſtabliſhed; but as thou haſt trodden down my enemies by my power, ſo ſhalt thou be trodden down by my power, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord; for my goſpel ſhall not be eſtabliſhed by thy ſword, nor by thy law; but by my might, and by my power, and by my ſpirit: unto thee, this is the word of the Lord, ſtint not the eternal ſpirit, by which I will publiſh my name, when, and where, and how I will; for if thou doſt, thou ſhalt be as duſt before the wind; the F. Howgil's works, p. 5, 6.

mouth

1654. mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it, and he will perform his promiſe: for this is that I look for at thy hands, ſaith the Lord, that thou ſhouldſt undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppreſſed go free: are not many ſhut up in priſon, and ſome ſtocked, ſome ſtoned, ſome ſhamefully entreated? And ſome are judged blaſphemers by thoſe who know not the Lord, and by thoſe laws which have been made by the will of man, and ſtand not in the will of God; and ſome ſuffer now, becauſe they cannot hold up the types, and ſo deny Chriſt come in the fleſh; and ſome have been ſhut up in priſon, becauſe they could not ſwear, and becauſe they abide in the doctrine of Chriſt; and ſome for declaring againſt ſin openly in markets, have ſuffered as evil-doers; and now if thou let them ſuffer in this nature by thoſe laws, and count it juſt; I will viſit for thoſe things, ſaith the Lord, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will bring deliverance another way, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord.

Moved of the Lord to declare and write this, by a ſervant of the truth for Jeſus's ſake, and a lover of thy ſoul, called,

The laſt of the firſt month, about the ninth hour, waiting in James's park at London. Francis Howgil.

T. Green and M. Stout, two of Cromwell's ſervants, join with Quakers.

How this was received I am not acquainted; but this I have underſtood, that ſome of Cromwell's ſervants, and among theſe one Theophilus Green, and Mary, afterwards wife of Henry Stout, were ſo reached by F. Howgil's diſcourſe, that after ſome time, they entered into the ſociety of the Quakers, ſo called.

Now in the ſaid letter or ſpeech, we find notice taken of laws made concerning religion: theſe I do not look upon as made by the induction of Cromwell, but ſuch as were made in former times, which he could have altered, if he would have done it, as afterwards many penal laws were abrogated, under the reign of king William and queen Mary, as will be ſaid in its proper place. For I don't find that in Cromwell's time any laws were made to conſtrain people to frequent the worſhip of the publick or national church. But notwithſtanding, the Quakers, ſo called, were impriſoned for refuſing to ſwear, or for not paying tithes to maintain the prieſts; and they were whipped like vagabonds, for preaching in markets, or in other publick places; or they were fined for not taking off their hats before magiſtrates; for this was called 'contempt of the magiſtracy;' and when for conſcience-ſake they refuſed to pay ſuch a fine, either the ſpoiling of goods, or impriſonment became their ſhare. And thus always a cloak or cover was found to perſecute them; and malice never wanted pretences to vex them. And it alſo often happened, that E. Burrough and F. Howgil were oppoſed by the chiefeſt of ſeveral ſects, whereby diſputes were raiſed, which many times gave occaſion for ſome of the hearers to embrace the doctrine maintained by the ſaid Burrough and Howgil; which ſo enraged their enemies, that no ſlanders were ſpared, and they ſometimes branded them as witches. In the mean-while the people called Quakers ſo increaſed in London, that they began to have ſettled meetings, the firſt of

No laws made in Cromwell's time, to force to the publick worſhip.

which

which was in Alderſgate-ſtreet, at the houſe of one Sarah Sawyer. The firſt among women of this ſociety that preached at London publickly, was the already mentioned Anne Downer, afterwards married to one Greenwell, and being become a widow, in proceſs of time entered into matrimony with George Whitehead, as hath been hinted already. 1654.

The firſt ſettled meeting in London. Anne Downer the firſt woman preacher there.

The number of the ſaid people increaſing at London from time to time, ſeveral meetings were now erected there, one of which was in the houſe of —— Bates, in Tower-ſtreet; and another at Gerrard Roberts's in Thomas Apoſtles, until the church became ſo great, that a houſe known by the name of the Bull and Mouth, in Martins le Grand near Alderſgate, was hired for a meeting-houſe; and it being a building that had belonged to ſome great man, there was a large hall in it that would hold many people, and ſo was very convenient for a meeting-place.

The Bull and Mouth in Martins le Grand hired for a meeting-houſe.

Abundance of books were now ſpread againſt the Quakers, as ſeducers and falſe prophets; and theſe written by the prieſts and teachers of ſeveral ſects: for they perceiving that many of their hearers forſook them, left no ſtone unturned to ſtop it. But the event did not anſwer their hope, ſince Burrough and Howgil did not ſuffer thoſe writings to go unanſwered, but clearly ſhewed the malice and abſurdities of thoſe writers.

Burrough and Howgil anſwer the writings of oppoſers.

Leaving them buſy with this work, we'll take a turn toward Briſtol, to behold the performances of John Audland, and Thomas Airey, who came thither in the month called July in this year, and going into the meetings of the Independents and Baptiſts, they found opportunity to preach truth there, and alſo had occaſion to ſpeak to others, ſo that many received their teſtimony.

J. Audland, and T. Airey, viſit Briſtol,

From thence they went to Plymouth in Devonſhire, and ſo to London, where they met with John Camm; but after ſome ſtay there, John Audland returned to Briſtol with John Camm, and found there a door opened for their miniſtry. Among thoſe that did receive their teſtimony, were Joſiah Cole, George Biſhop, Charles Marſhal, and Barbara Blaugdone, concerning which perſons more is to be ſaid hereafter. It was not long ere F. Howgil and E. Burrough, having gathered a church at London, came alſo to Briſtol, where perſecution began now to appear with open face: for the magiſtrates commanded them to depart the city and the liberties thereof; to which they anſwered, 'That they came 'not in the will of man; and that when He who moved them to 'come thither, did move them alſo to depart, they ſhould obey. 'That if they were guilty of the tranſgreſſion of any law, they 'were not unwilling to ſuffer by it: that they were free-born 'Engliſhmen, being free from the tranſgreſſion of any law: and 'that if by violence they were put out of the city, they were 'ready to ſuffer, and would not reſiſt.' And ſo they departed out of the preſence of the rulers. But now the prieſts, eſpecially one Ralph Farmer, began to incite and enrage the people, and to ſet the city, as it were, on fire.

Go from thence to Plymouth and London. Return to Briſtol with J. Camm, where ſeveral perſons receive their teſtimony. Here perſecution ariſes,

Thro' inſtigation of the prieſts.

Hence it was that J. Camm and J. Audland, intending to have a meeting at Briſlington, about two miles from Briſtol, and paſſing over a bridge, were aſſaulted by the rabble of the city, and

1654.

several apprentices of Farmer's parish, who having got notice of their coming, were gathered there, and violently abused them with beating, kicking, and a continual cry, 'knock them down, 'kill them, or hang 'em presently:' thus they were driven back, and forced into the city again, narrowly escaping with their lives. But the tumult did not yet cease; for some of the multitude were heard to say, 'that they should find more protection from 'the magistrates, than those strangers,' viz. Camm and Audland. But the officers of the garrison thinking it unwarrantable to permit such a tumult, since it was not without reason to be feared, that the royalists, or abettors of king Charles, might take hold of such an opportunity, and raise an insurrection, caused three of the ringleaders to be seized: but this made such a stir, that the next day more than five hundred people, as it was thought, were gathered together in a seditious manner, so that their companions were set at liberty. This made the tumultuous mob more bold and saucy, the rather because they saw that the magistrates, hearing that J. Camm and J. Audland not only had kept a meeting at Brislington, but also had visited some in their houses at Bristol, had bid them to depart the town.

Camm and Audland narrowly escape with their lives.

Now the riotous multitude did not stick to rush violently into the houses of the Quakers, so called, at Bristol, under a pretence of preventing treasonable plottings. And when some in zeal told the priests, 'these were the fruits of their doctrine,' they incited the people the more, and induced the magistrates to imprison some of those called Quakers. This instigated the rabble to that degree, that now they thought they had full liberty to use all kind of insolence against the said people; beating, smiting, pushing, and often treading upon them till blood was shed; for they were become a prey to every malapert fellow, as a people that were without the protection of the law. This often caused a tumult in the town; and some said (not without good reason) that the apprentices durst not have left their work, had not their masters given them leave. And a certain person informed the mayor and aldermen upon his oath, 'that he had heard an appren-'tice say, that they had leave from their masters, and were en-'couraged; for alderman George Hellier had said, he would die 'rather than any of the apprentices should go to prison.' Now an order of sessions came forth, 'that the constables do once in 'every fortnight, make diligent search within their several wards, 'for all strangers and suspicious persons: and that all people be 'forewarned not to be present at any tumult, or other unlawful 'assembly, or gather into companies or multitudes in the streets, 'on pain of being punished according to law.' But this order was to little purpose, for the tumultuous companies and riots continued; and when once a proclamation was read in the name of the lord Protector, requiring every one to depart, some of the rioters were heard to say, 'what do you tell us of a Protector? 'tell us of king Charles.' In the mean-while the Quakers, so called, were kept in prison, and it plainly appeared that the order against unlawful assemblies was levelled against their meetings: and though the magistrates pretended that they must answer for

Grievous outrages done to the Quakers by tumultuous rabbles;

Which alderman Hellier is said to encourage.

for it to the protector, if they did let the Quakers alone without disturbing their meetings, which at that time, for the most part were silent, and nothing was spoken, but when now and then one of their ministers from abroad visited them; yet this was not at all agreeable with the protector's speech he made on the 12th of the month called September, to the parliament in the painted chamber, where he spoke these words: 1654.

Protector's speech for liberty of conscience.

IS not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? so long as there is liberty for the supreme magistrate, to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church-government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? liberty of conscience is a natural right, and he that would have it, ought to give it, having liberty to settle what he likes for the publick. Indeed that hath been the vanity of our contests: every sect saith, give me liberty: but give it him, and to his power, he will not yield it to any body else. Where is our ingenuity? truly that is a thing that ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience: and I may say it to you, I can say it, all the money in the nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from Episcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scottish Presbytery, or an English either, if it had made such steps, or been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when it was first set up. This I say is a fundamental, it ought to be so: it is for us and the generations to come.

Cromwell spoke more in confirmation hereof; and indeed he would have been a brave man, if really he had performed what here he asserted with binding arguments. But though now he seemed to disapprove the behaviour of Presbytery, (for then he was for Independency) yet after some time he courted the Presbyterians; and these fawning upon him from the pulpit, as their preserver, and the restorer of the church, he suffered the Quakers to be persecuted under his government, (though he pretended not to know it,) when he might easily have stopt it. But by hearkening to the flatteries of the clergy, at length he lost his credit, even with those who with him had fought for the common liberty; and thus at last befel him after his death, what he seemed to have imprecated on himself in the foregoing speech, if he departed from allowing due liberty: for he farther said, 'That many of 'the people had been necessitated to go into the vast howling 'wilderness in New-England, for the enjoyment of their liberty; 'and that liberty was a fundamental of the government;' adding, 'that it had cost much blood to have it so, and even the hazard-'ing of all.' And in the conclusion he said, 'that he could soon-'er be willing to be rolled into his grave, and buried with infa-'my, than give his consent to the wilful throwing away of that 'government, so testified unto in the fundamentals of it.' Now who knows not what infamy befel him afterwards, when, in the reign of king Charles the second, 'tis said, his corps was digged up,

1654. up, and buried near the gallows, as may be farther mentioned in its due place.

But I return now to Briſtol, where ſeveral were kept in priſon ſtill, and no liberty granted them; nay, they were even charged with what they utterly denied themſelves to be guilty of; among theſe, one John Worring, was accuſed of having called the prieſt, Samuel Grimes, a devil: but Worring denied this, though he did not ſtick to ſay, 'he could prove ſomewhat like it by his own 'words.' And it being aſked him, 'how?' he anſwered, that 'the prieſt had ſaid at the meeting, that in all things he did, he 'ſinned; and if in all things, then as well in his preaching, as 'in other things; and he that ſinneth is of the Devil. If you 'will not believe me, believe the ſcriptures.' It may be eaſily conjectured that this anſwer did not pleaſe the prieſt's followers, and therefore Worring and ſome others were kept in priſon, and among theſe alſo Elizabeth Marſhal, who in the ſteeple-houſe, after the prieſt John Knowls had diſmiſſed the people with what is called the bleſſing, ſpoke to him, and ſaid, 'this is the word 'of the Lord to thee: I warn thee to repent, and to mind the 'light of Chriſt in thy conſcience.' And when the people, by order of the magiſtrates then preſent, violently aſſaulted her, giving her many blows with ſtaves and cudgels, ſhe cried out, 'the mighty day of the Lord is at hand, wherein he will ſtrike 'terror on the wicked.' Some time before ſhe ſpoke alſo in the ſteeple-houſe, to the prieſt Ralph Farmer, after he had ended his ſermon and prayer, and ſaid, this is the word of the Lord to thee, 'Wo, wo, wo from the Lord to them who take the word of 'the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never ſent them.'

J. Worring, Eliz. Marſhal, and others impriſoned.

A good while after this, the magiſtrates gave out the following warrant:

City of Briſtol.

To all the conſtables within this city, and to every of them.

Warrant againſt J. Camm and J. Audland.

FORASMUCH as information hath been given us, that John Camm, and John Audland, two ſtrangers, who were commanded to depart this city, have, in contempt of authority, come into this city again, to the diſturbance of the publick peace: theſe are therefore to will and require you, forthwith to apprehend them, and bring them before us to be examined, according to law. Given this 22d of January 1654, ſigned,

William Cann,	Richard Vickirs, dept. mayor.
Joſeph Jackſon,	Henry Gibs,
Gabriel Sherman.	John Lock,

Camm and Audland were departed the town before this time, having never been commanded (as the warrant ſaid) to depart the city, either by the magiſtrates themſelves, or by any other at their command; though F. Howgil and E. Burrough had been required to do ſo. So this warrant proving ineffectual, the magiſtrates cauſed another to be formed in theſe words:

City

City of Briſtol. 1654.

To the conſtables of the peace of the ward of——and to every of them.

Warrant againſt J. Camm, J. Audland, G. Fox, J. Nayler, F. Howgil, E. Burrough, &c.

FORASMUCH as information hath been given us upon oath, that certain perſons of the Franciſcan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together ſeveral multitudes of people in London; and whereas certain ſtrangers, going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgil, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately reſorted to this city, and in like manner, under the notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of people after them, and occaſioned very great diſturbances amongſt us: and foraſmuch as by the ſaid information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be ſuſpected, that the ſaid perſons ſo lately come hither, are ſome of thoſe that came from Rome, as aforeſaid: theſe are therefore in the name of his highneſs the lord protector, to will and require you to make diligent ſearch through your ward for the aforeſaid ſtrangers, or any of them, and all other ſuſpected perſons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or ſome of us, to be examined and dealt with according to law: hereof fail you not. Given the 25th of Jan. 1654. Signed,

John Gunning, mayor,
Gabriel Sherman,
Henry Gibs,
George Hellier,
Gabriel Sherman,
William Cann,
Joſeph Jackſon,
John Lock,
Richard Vickris.

Hereunto theſe magiſtrates affixed their ſeals; and that alderman Sherman might be ſure his name was down, he wrote it twice. How frivolous this pretence of perſons of the Franciſcan order was, even a child might perceive; for the Quakers were by this time ſo multiplied in the north of England, that they could no more be looked upon as an unknown people. And as for G. Fox, and James Nayler, they had not yet been at Briſtol, and therefore it ſeemed abſurd to ſeek for them there. But it was thought expedient to brand the Quakers with odious names, that ſo, under the cloak thereof, they might be perſecuted as diſturbers of the publick peace; as appeared when one Thomas Robertſon, and Joſiah Cole being at Nicholas ſteeple-houſe, and ſtanding both ſtill, without ſpeaking a word, until the prieſt Hazzard had ended, and diſmiſſed the people, were very rudely treated; for Thomas then lifting up his voice, was preſently, even when the word was yet in his mouth, ſtruck on the head by many, as was alſo his companion, though he did not attempt to ſpeak. But Thomas, after being a little recovered of a heavy blow, began to ſpeak again, and ſaid to the people, 'Tremble before the Lord, and the 'word of his holineſs.' But this ſo kindled their anger, that they were both hurried out of the ſteeple-houſe, and with great rage driven to the mayor's, who commanded them both to Newgate priſon.

T. Robertſon and J. Cole committed to Newgate in Briſtol, for attempting to ſpeak in a ſteeple-houſe.

Not long after one Jeremy Hignel, being in his ſhop attending his calling, was ſent for by the mayor and aldermen, to come

1654. J. Hignel brought from his ſhop, and ſent to priſon without a mittimus, for being a Quaker.

before them; which he preſently doing, the mayor aſked him, 'whether he knew where he was?' He anſwered, 'he did.' Then the mayor aſked, 'Where?' He replied, 'In the preſence of the 'Lord.' 'Are you not,' ſaid the mayor, 'in the preſence of the 'Lord's juſtices?' His anſwer was, 'If you be the Lord's juſtices, 'I am.' Whereupon one of the aldermen ſaid, without any more words paſſing at that time, 'We ſee what he is; take him away 'to Newgate.' For ſince he did not take off his hat, it was concluded he was a Quaker, and this was counted cauſe enough to ſend him to priſon; and ſo he was immediately brought thither, where the keeper received him without a mittimus, and kept him cloſe priſoner nineteen days, permitting none to come to him but his wife.

D. Waſtfield in like manner kept cloſe priſoner thirty-three days, and not ſuffered to ſee his dying child.

No better was the treatment of Daniel Waſtfield, who being ſent for by the mayor, appeared before him, and alderman Vickris; then the mayor ſaid to him, 'Waſtfield come hither;' and he thereupon drawing near, the mayor aſked him three ſeveral times, 'What art thou?' though he knew him well enough, having called him by his name, as aboveſaid. Waſtfield anſwered, 'I am 'a man.' 'But what's thy name?' ſaid the mayor. 'My name 'is Daniel Waſtfield,' anſwered he. Then ſaid the mayor to one of his officers, 'Take him and carry him to Newgate;' further adding, 'that he came thither to contemn juſtice:' to which Waſtfield replied, 'No, I came hither in obedience to thy order;' for the mayor had ſent for him, as hath been ſaid. Thus he was carried away without a mittimus, the mayor ſaying his word was a mittimus; and he was kept a cloſe priſoner thirty-three days, and none ſuffered to come to him but his ſervants, notwithſtanding he was a widower, and muſt now leave his houſe to their management; and a child of his died in the mean-while, and was buried, and he kept from ſeeing it.

The mayor's word a mittimus.

C. Birkhead and others ſent to priſon chiefly at the inſtigation of prieſt Farmer.

The magiſtrates having thus begun perſecution, became from time to time more vigorous in it, inſomuch, that ſeveral others were impriſoned, and among theſe, Chriſtopher Birkhead, who ſtanding ſtill in Nicholas ſteeple-houſe, with his hat on, and being aſked by the prieſt Ralph Farmer, 'what he ſtood there for;' anſwered, 'I ſtand in obedience to the righteous law of God 'in my conſcience: I have neither offended the law of God, nor 'of the nation. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in 'the land'——More he would have ſpoken, but was ſtopt with beating and thruſting, and ſo carried to priſon.

Now the magiſtrates were not a little incited to perſecution by the ſaid Farmer; and there being ſeveral that were very bold, they did not ſtick to write ſharp letters to him; and his indecent carriage was alſo told him to his face, by word of mouth, in the ſteeple-houſe after ſermon; and thoſe who did ſo, were ſent to priſon. At length theſe priſoners were brought to trial; and ſince it could not be proved that they had tranſgreſſed any law, ſome of the magiſtrates ſeemed inclined to ſet them at liberty, if they would have declared, 'that they were ſorry for what they had 'done.' Among them was alſo one William Foord, and nothing material being found againſt him, but that he was one of thoſe

called

called Quakers, he was accuſed of having kept a ſtranger at work; which he however eſteemed to be lawful, ſince his trade of wool-combing did not belong to the company of milliners, who complained of him. Yet he was aſked, 'whether he was ſorry 'for what he had done?' which denying, as well as thoſe who had reproved the prieſts, he that was not guilty, was ſent to priſon again, as well as thoſe that were pretended to be ſo. Among theſe laſt was alſo Sarah Goldſmith, who, from a well-meant zeal to teſtify againſt pride, having a coat of ſackcloth, and her hair diſhevelled, with earth or duſt ſtrewed on her head, had gone through the city without receiving any conſiderable harm from the people, becauſe ſome looked upon her to be crack-brained. There was alſo one Temperance Hignel, who, having ſaid in the ſteeple-houſe to the prieſt, after he had ended his ſermon, 'Wo 'from the Lord God to thee Jacob Brint,' was preſently ſtruck down, and ſo violently abuſed, that blood ran down her face, and ſhe being committed to priſon, fell ſick; and when they ſaw her life was in danger, ſhe was carried out in a baſket, and died three days after. The reaſon ſhe gave when in priſon, why ſhe ſpoke in that manner to the prieſt, was, 'that he had ſcarce any hear-'ers, but what were ſwearers, drunkards, ſtrikers, fighters, and 'railers, &c. And that therefore his miniſtry was in vain, ſince 'he preached for gain; whereas he himſelf ought to have brought 'forth good fruits.'

1654.

Tem. Hignel abuſed and impriſoned,

Her death.

How long the others were kept in priſon, I don't know certainly; however it was a pretty long time; for George Biſhop, and Dennis Holliſter, who formerly had been a member of the parliament, and three others, put all theſe tranſactions in writing at large, and ſent it to the magiſtrates, in hopes that thereby they might ſee the evil of perſecution; but this proving in vain, they gave it out in print five months after, that ſo every one might know how the Briſtolers treated their inhabitants, which was to that degree, that an author ſaid, 'Was ſuch a tyrannical iniquity 'and cruelty ever heard of in this nation? or would the miniſters 'under king Charles have ventured to do ſo? was not Stafford but 'a mean tranſgreſſor in compariſon of theſe?' and though archbiſhop Laud was beheaded, yet it could not be proved, that the Epiſcopalians had perſecuted ſo fiercely, as theſe pretended aſſertors of liberty of conſcience had done, who being got into poſſeſſion of the power, did oppreſs more than thoſe they had driven out. This made the perſecuted, ſome of which formerly had alſo fought for the common liberty, the more in earneſt againſt thoſe that were now in authority.

Theſe proceedings afterwards printed,

Being more oppreſſive than under Epiſcopacy.

But I'll turn away from Briſtol towards Norwich, whither Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead were gone. Here it happened, that R. Hubberthorn, having ſpoken ſomething to a prieſt in a ſteeple-houſe-yard, and not having taken off his hat before the magiſtrates, was impriſoned in the caſtle, where he was kept great part of the following year, and in the mean-while writ ſeveral epiſtles of exhortation to his friends; and his companion G. Whitehead's preaching had ſuch effect, that a meeting of their friends was ſettled in that city.

R. Hubberthorn, and G. Whitehead's ſucceſs at Norwich.

But

1654.

R. Hubberthorn from being an officer in the army, becomes an edifying preacher.

But before I go on, it will be convenient to give ſome account of the quality of theſe two perſons. R. Hubberthorn was born in the north of Lancaſhire, and deſcended from very honeſt parents: his father was a yeoman of good reputation among men, and Richard was his only ſon, and from a youth inclined to piety. Being come to man's eſtate, he became an officer in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for godlineſs, preached ſometimes to his ſoldiers. But entering afterwards into the ſociety of the Quakers ſo called, he left his military employment, and teſtified publickly againſt it; for he was now become a ſoldier under another banner, viz. that of Chriſt Jeſus, prince of peace; not fighting as formerly, with the outward ſword, but with the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. In his miniſtry he had an excellent gift, and though not ſo loud in voice as ſome others, yet he was a man of a quick underſtanding, and very edifying in his preaching.

G. Whitehead diſliking the common practice of ſinging pſalms and diſagreeable lives of prieſts, ſeparates from the national church, afterwards in 1652 is convinced, and comes to be an able miniſter of the goſpel.

G. Whitehead, (who whilſt I write this is yet alive) was trained up to learning, and though but a youth, inſtructed others in literature, and continued in that calling ſome time after he came to be convinced of that truth which was preached by the profeſſors of the light; and he ſtrove to bring up children in the fear of the Lord. But before this change, he was a diligent hearer of the world's teachers, and uſually frequented the ſteeple-houſe at Orton in Weſtmoreland: yet the ſinging of David's pſalms became ſo burdenſome to him, that ſometimes he could not join therewith; for he ſaw that David's conditions were not generally ſuitable to the ſtates of a mixt multitude; and he found himſelf to be ſhort of what they ſung. This conſideration brought him into ſuch a ſtrait, that often he durſt not ſing thoſe pſalms the prieſts gave their hearers to ſing, leſt he ſhould have told lies unto God. Now alſo he began to ſee that the prieſts lives and practices did not agree with their doctrine; for they themſelves ſpoke againſt pride and covetouſneſs, and yet lived in them. This likewiſe made him go to hear ſome that were ſeparated from the national church, and got into a more ſpecious form of godlineſs: but he ſoon ſaw, that though there was a difference in the ceremonial part, and that theſe had a more true form of words than the prieſts, yet they were ſuch as ran before they were ſent by God, ſpeaking peace to that nature in him, wherein he felt no true peace. And when he was about ſeventeen years of age, which was in the year 1652, he firſt heard the doctrine of truth preached by thoſe that were reproachfully called Quakers; and their teſtimony wrought ſo powerfully on his mind, that he received it, and ſo entered into their communion. Now he found, that to grow up in the true wiſdom, and to become wiſe in the living knowledge of God, he muſt become a fool to that wiſdom, wherein he had been feeding upon the tree of knowledge, having in that ſtate no right to the tree of life; and he continuing in faithfulneſs, it pleaſed the Lord to ordain him a miniſter of the goſpel; in which ſervice he acquitted himſelf well, to the convincing of others, and the edification of the church.

But now leaving him, let us go and ſee what happened at Oxford in

in the year 1654. At the latter end of the month called June, there came two women, named Elizabeth Heavens, and Elizabeth Fletcher: theſe ſpoke in the ſtreets, to the people, and in the college they exhorted the ſcholars, who wickedly requiting their zeal, violently puſhed Elizabeth Fletcher againſt a grave-ſtone, and then threw her into the grave; and their malice grew to that pitch, that they tied theſe two women together, and drove them under the pump; and after their being exceedingly wetted with pumping water upon them, they threw them into a miry ditch, through which they dragged Elizabeth Fletcher, who was a young woman, and ſo cruelly abuſed her, that ſhe was in a painful condition till her death, which fell out not long after. Some ſhort time after this rude encounter, ſhe and her companion, on a firſt-day of the week, went into the ſteeple-houſe at Oxford, and when the prieſt had ended, they began to admoniſh the people to godlineſs: but two juſtices there preſent, commanded them to be taken into cuſtody and carried to the priſon called Bocardo, where none but felons were uſed to be lodged. The juſtices deſiring the magiſtrates to meet on this account, the mayor would not meddle with it; but ſaid, 'Let thoſe who have committed them, deal with 'them according to law, if they have tranſgreſſed any;' adding, 'that he had nothing to ſay againſt them; but that he would 'provide them with victuals, clothes, or money, if they wanted 'any.' Yet he came into the aſſembly where theſe women were examined, and whither the vice-chancellor of the univerſity was alſo required to come, who charged them, 'that they blaſphemed 'the name of God, and did abuſe the ſpirit of God, and diſho-'noured the grace of Chriſt,' and aſking them, 'whether they 'did read the ſcriptures?' they anſwered, 'Yea they did.' Then they were aſked, 'whether they were not to be obedient to the 'power of the magiſtrate?' to which their anſwer was, 'they 'were obedient to the power of God, and to the power that was 'of God they were ſubject for conſcience-ſake.' 'Well,' ſaid the vice-chancellor, 'you profane the Word of God, and I fear you 'know not God, though you ſo much ſpeak of him.' Then the women being made to withdraw, it was concluded that there was matter enough for their commitment and puniſhment, and agreed that a paper ſhould be drawn up for their being whipped out of the city. When this was done, it was preſented to the mayor to ſet his hand to it; but he refuſed, and ſaid, 'he was not willing 'to do ſo.' Then one of the juſtices ſaid, 'That it was the pri-'vilege of the city, that if any vagrant was taken within the 'franchiſes and liberties thereof, a paper muſt be drawn up, that 'ſuch a one, mayor, had committed ſuch and ſuch perſons; and 'that then it was to be ſealed with the office-ſeal.' But the mayor refuſed this as well as the other. Which made ſome ſay, 'that if he would not, it ſhould be done by them.' And then it was agreed upon, 'that they ſhould be whipped ſoundly;' which was performed the next morning, though with much unwillingneſs in the executioner; and the mayor had no hand in it.

1654.

Barbarous and cruel uſage of Eliz. Heavens, and Eliz. Fletcher at Oxford, the laſt of which died not long after.

The mayor refuſes his conſent to the proceedings of the other magiſtrates.

Dr. Owen charges them unjuſtly.

But leaving theſe, I'll turn to another, one Barbara Blaugdon, of whom mention hath already been made, that ſhe was one of

1654. A remarkable account of Barbara Blaugdon, and ſome of her many ſufferings.

thoſe that received the truth by the miniſtry of John Audland and John Camm. She was from her youth inclined to godlineſs, and her employment was to inſtruct children. But being entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, ſhe became plain, both in ſpeech and habit, and thereupon the children ſhe taught, were taken from her; and going ſometimes into ſteeple-houſes, to bear teſtimony againſt their formalities, ſhe was put in priſon, and kept there a quarter of a year at a time. Afterwards ſhe led a very ſevere life, and abſtained from all fleſh, wine, and beer, drinking only water for the ſpace of a whole year. In the meanwhile ſhe grew up and proſpered in true piety. Once it happened, that coming from a meeting that was at George Biſhop's houſe at Briſtol, a rude fellow ran a knife, or ſome ſharp inſtrument thro' all her clothes into the ſide of her belly, which if it had gone but a little farther, might have killed her. Then ſhe went to Marlborough, where, in the ſteeple-houſe and other places exhorting people to fear God, ſhe was put into priſon for the ſpace of ſix weeks, and there ſhe faſted ſeveral days and nights. When ſhe was releaſed ſhe went to Iſaac Burges, the man that committed her, and diſcourſing with him, he was really convinced of the truth, but could not reſolve to take up the croſs; yet he was afterwards very loving to her friends, and ſtood by them upon all occaſions, never more perſecuting any of them: and coming ſome time after to Briſtol, he went to her houſe and confeſſed, 'that he 'knew her doctrine was truth, but that he could not take up the 'croſs to walk in that way.' A while after ſhe went into Devonſhire to Molton, Barnſtable, and Bediford, in all which places a priſon was her lot. She went alſo to him that after was earl of Bath, where being acquainted, ſhe had formerly vainly ſpent much time, but now ſhe was moved to call this family to leave off their vanity. And ſhe aſked to ſpeak with the lady: but one of the ſervants that knew her, bid her go to the back-door, and their lady would come forth that way, to go into the garden. Barbara being come thither, a great maſtiff dog was ſet looſe upon her; and he running fiercely, as if to devour her, turned ſuddenly, and went away crying and halting, whereby ſhe clearly ſaw the hand of the Lord in it, to preſerve her from this danger. The lady then came and ſtood ſtill, hearing what Barbara ſpoke, and gave her thanks for her exhortation, yet did not invite her to come in, though ſhe often had been lodged there, and had eaten and drank at her table.

A maſtiff dog ſet at her, turns away.

Then Barbara went to Great-Torrington, and going into the ſteeple-houſe, ſpoke ſomewhat to the people by way of exhortation, but not having ſufficient opportunity to clear herſelf, went to her lodging, and ſat to writing. After noon the conſtables came to her, and took away what ſhe had written, and commanded her to go along with them to their worſhip. To which ſhe anſwered, 'that they would not ſuffer her to ſpeak there, and that ſhe 'knew no law that could compel her to go thither twice in a 'day; and that they all knew ſhe was there in the morning.' Being thus unwilling to go, the next day the mayor ſent for her; when come, ſhe found him moderate, and loth to ſend her

to

to priſon: but the prieſt being preſent, was very eager, and ſaid, 'She ought to be whipped as a vagabond.' She then bid him 'prove 'where ever ſhe aſked any one for a bit of bread:' but he ſaid, 'ſhe 'had broken the law by ſpeaking in their church:' and he ſo preſſed the mayor, that at length he made him write a mittimus, and ſend her to Exeter priſon, which was twenty miles diſtant: there ſhe remained for ſome time, until the aſſizes came, but was not brought forth to a trial. And after the ſeſſions were over, ſhe was put to lodge one night among a great company of gypſies, that were there in priſon; and the next day the ſheriff, came with a beadle, who brought her into a room, where he whipped her till the blood ran down her back, and ſhe never ſtartled at a blow; but ſang aloud and was made to rejoice that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of the Lord; which made the beadle ſay, 'Do ye ſing? I'll make you cry by and by;' and with that he laid on ſo hard, that one Ann Speed ſeeing this, began to weep; but Barbara was ſtrengthened by an uncommon, and more than human power, ſo that ſhe afterwards declared, if ſhe had been whipped to death, in the ſtate ſhe then was, ſhe ſhould not have been terrified or diſmayed. And the ſheriff ſeeing that all the wrath of man could not move her, bid the fellow leave off ſtriking; and then Ann Speed was ſuffered to dreſs her ſtripes. The next day ſhe was turned out with all the gypſies, and the beadle followed her two miles out of the town: but as ſoon as he left her, ſhe returned back, and went into the priſon to ſee her friends that were priſoners there, and having viſited them, ſhe went home to Briſtol.

1654. Mayor of Torrington unwilling to ſend her to priſon, 'till eagerly urged by a cruel minded prieſt.

She rejoices while ſevereley whipped.

And next day is turned out of town with gypſies, but ſhe returns to viſit the priſoners.

But by the way coming to Bediford, ſhe was taken up, and put into the town-hall, and ſearched to ſee whether ſhe had either knife or ſciſſars about her. Next day ſhe was brought before the mayor, who diſcourſing much with her, had a ſenſe of what ſhe ſpoke to him; and at laſt he ſet open two doors, one right againſt the other, and ſaid, 'he would give her a choice, which ſhe 'would go out at; whether ſhe would go forth to priſon again, 'or go home.' And ſhe told him, 'that ſhe would chooſe liberty 'rather than bonds.' So ſhe went homeward, and then he took his horſe and followed; and overtaking her, would have had her ride behind him; but when any whom he knew, met them, he would ſlacken his pace; and as ſoon as they were paſt, he came up again to her; which ſhe perceiving, refuſed to ride behind him; yet he rode three or four miles with her, and diſcourſed all the way: and when they parted, ſhe kneeled down and prayed for him, all which time he was very ſerious, and afterwards grew very ſolid and ſober: ſhe writ once to him, but not long after, he died.

Being come home, ſhe was moved to go to Baſing-Stoke, to endeavour to obtain liberty for two of her friends, viz. Thomas Robinſon, and Ambroſe Rigg, who were taken up at the firſt meeting that their friends had had there. But when ſhe came thither the entrance of the priſon was denied her. And ſhe having a letter from John Camm to them, put it in at the chink of the door, and then ſhe went to the mayor to deſire their liberty; he told her, 'that if he ſaw the letter which ſhe brought them,

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1654. 'they ſhould have their liberty.' She then ſaid, 'he ſhould ſee it;' and ſo went and fetched it; which he having read, told her, 'that ſhe ſhould have her brethren out; but that he could not let 'them out preſently.' Yet it was not long before her friends had their liberty.

M. Halhead, J. Lancaſter, and M. Bateman go to Ireland.

Now leaving Barbara for ſome time, we return to Miles Halhead. In the firſt month of this preſent year, he was moved to go to Ireland, and declare the word of the Lord there; and ſpeaking of this to James Lancaſter, and Miles Bateman, they quickly reſolved to keep him company, and ſo they went for Ireland; where they proclaimed the truth in cities, towns, villages, and before magiſtrates, as occaſion offered, and their teſtimony was received by many. After they had diſcharged themſelves, they returned to England, where Miles ſoon found himſelf moved to go to Scotland: in his way thither, he met his friend James Lancaſter, who was very free to go with him; and ſo they went into Scotland; but were not the firſt of thoſe called Quakers in that country; for Chriſtopher Fell, George Wilſon, and John Grave, had been there before; ſo that a little church of thoſe of their communion, was already planted in that kingdom, before Halhead went thither: and one Alexander Hamilton had, a year before ever any Quakers appeared in Scotland, erected a meeting at Drumbowy, and alſo at Heads, and he received their teſtimony when they came there, as alſo his wife Joan, James Gray, James Miller, and others. I find alſo that Scotland was early viſited by Catherine Evans, and Sarah Chivers, two eminent women, of whom ſomething extraordinary is to be related in its due time.

M. Halhead and J. Lancaſter travel into Scotland. Some friends there before.

Scotland early viſited by C. Evans and S. Chivers.

But I return to J. Lancaſter, and Miles Halhead, who being come to Dumfries, went on a firſt-day of the week into the ſteeple-houſe in that town, where ſeeing many people gathered together, howling and crying, and making great lamentation, as if they had been touched with a ſenſe of their ſins, Miles was ſilent until their worſhip was done: but then being grieved with their deceit and hypocriſy, ſpoke as he was moved, but met with great oppoſition, many of the people being in ſuch a rage, that they drove him and his companion out of the town, near to the ſide of a great river; and it was intended that the women of the town ſhould ſtone them; but they prevented this by wading through the river.

M. Halhead and J. Lancaſter in danger of being ſtoned;

Then go to Edinburgh and Leith, where the officers of the army receive their reproofs tenderly.

Being thus ſafely paſt the water, they went to Edinburgh and Leith, where they ſtaid about ten days. During that time, Miles ſpoke to the people when occaſion offered, as alſo to the garriſons, and to the captains and officers of the army, who were much affected, and confeſſed that the Lord had been very good unto them; for Miles's meſſage was, 'that the anger of the Lord 'was kindled againſt them, becauſe they had not performed their 'promiſes, which they made to him in the day of their diſtreſs, 'when their enemies encompaſſed them on every ſide; for then 'the Lord delivered them, and gave them victory; but they had 'returned Him evil for good, and committed violence againſt 'thoſe He ſent to declare his word amongſt them.' This being told them at large by Miles, he went to Glaſgow and Sterling, where he alſo ſpoke as he was moved; and ſo returned to England.

So to Glaſgow and Sterling, and return to England.

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Several meetings ſettled in Scotland.

But before I leave Scotland, I may ſay, that as the firſt meetings were kept at Drumbowy, and Heads, ſo it was not long ere meetings were ſettled alſo at Garſhore, at Edinburgh, and alſo at Aberdeen. The firſt Scotch preachers of thoſe called Quakers, I find to have been William Oſborne, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton, already mentioned. Of the ſaid Hamilton, I may mention a ſingular inſtance: after he and his wife, with her and his ſiſter, had ſeparated themſelves from the ſociety of the Independents, it happened that Thomas Charters, a teacher of that ſect, at Kilbride, not far from Drumbowy, ſeeing that he could not draw Hamilton, and thoſe of his family back again, threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for it, giving notice thereof to Hamilton ſome days beforehand. Hamilton warned him to forbear, or elſe the anger of God would ſeize on him. But he anſwered, 'It is but Alexander Hamilton that ſaith 'ſo.' To which Hamilton returned in the preſence of many witneſſes, 'that it was not only he, but what he had ſaid was of the 'Lord.' But Charters perſiſting in what he intended, and walking two days before the appointed time in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, where his horſe was feeding, ſtept to him to ſtroke him; but the horſe growing wanton, gave Charters ſuch a violent kick on his ſide, that he died about the ſame hour which was appointed by him for the excommunication. Whether this caſe happened in the year I now deſcribe, I am not certain; but however, it was either in, or near it.

The firſt preachers in Scotland.

A remarkable judgment.

M. Halhead viſits the mayor of Berwick with a meſſage from the Lord;

This year Miles Halhead came to Berwick in Northumberland, and went to the mayor of that town, and ſpoke to him in his ſhop thus: 'Friend, hear what the ſervant of the Lord hath to 'ſay unto thee. Give over perſecuting the Lord's ſervants, whom 'he doth ſend in love to this town of Berwick, to ſhew you the 'way that leads to life eternal. I charge thee, O man, touch not 'the Lord's anointed, nor do his prophets any harm, leſt thou 'procure the anger of the living eternal God againſt thee.' This bold language ſo offended the mayor, that he ſent Miles to priſon, where he was about ten weeks, and then was brought to the ſeſſions, where a bill, drawn up againſt him, was read in open court: but he denied the contents thereof, yet ſaid, 'But what I ſaid to 'the mayor of this town, I will not deny.' And then he related the aforeſaid words he ſpoke to the mayor. Whereupon the recorder ſaid, 'Sirs, as I underſtand by his own words, if he cannot 'prove the mayor of this town a perſecutor, in my judgment 'he hath wronged him.' To this Miles anſwered, 'If the mayor 'of this town of Berwick, dare ſay in the preſence of the Lord, 'whoſe preſence is here, that he is no perſecutor, but the perſecuting nature is ſlain in him, I will be willing to abide the judg'ment of the court.' Then the clerk of the court ſaid, 'Mr. 'mayor, if you will ſay that you are no perſecutor, but the per'ſecuting nature is ſlain in you, he is willing to abide the judg'ment of the court.' To this the mayor anſwered, 'I know 'not what to do; I would I had never ſeen him: I pray you, 'let him go, and let us be no more troubled with him.' Then Miles ſaid, 'that he would prove this mayor of Berwick the

But is ſent to priſon by the ſaid mayor, and brought to the ſeſſions, where there happens ſome very memorable occurrences.

1654. 'greateſt perſecutor in town or country. I was once [thus he 'went on] committed to priſon in this town before, by ſome of 'the juſtices that are now in this court; but thou, O man, 'haſt exceeded them all; thou haſt committed me, and kept me 'in cloſe priſon for about ten weeks, for ſpeaking to thy own 'perſon, in thy own ſhop. Now I make my appeal to the record-'er of this town of Berwick, as I am a free-born Engliſhman, 'whether my impriſonment be legal, according to the law of 'this nation, or not?' Then the recorder of the town ſtood up and ſaid, 'It is not very legal for any miniſter of the law, to im-'priſon any man in his own cauſe.' Then the court cried, 'Take 'him away.' The chief prieſt of the town then ſtood, and deſired the court that he might aſk Miles one queſtion? To this Miles ſaid, 'The Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this preſent 'has revealed thy thoughts to his ſervant; and therefore now I 'know thy heart alſo, thou high prieſt, and the queſtion thou 'wouldſt aſk me: and if thou wilt promiſe me before the court, 'that if I tell thee the queſtion thou wouldſt aſk me, thou wilt 'deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query, but I 'will anſwer it.' Then the prieſt ſaid, 'he would.' Then Miles proceeded: 'Thy queſtion is this; thou wouldſt know whether I 'own that Chriſt that died at Jeruſalem, or not?' To this the prieſt wondering, ſaid, 'Truly that is the queſtion.' Then Miles ſaid, 'According to my promiſe, I will anſwer it before this court: in 'the preſence of the Lord God of heaven, I own no other Chriſt 'than Him that died at Jeruſalem, and made a good confeſſion 'before Pontius Pilate, to be the light and way that leads fallen man 'out of ſin and evil, up to God eternal, bleſſed for evermore.' More queſtions were not aſked him, but the gaoler was commanded to take him away. Yet within a ſhort time, the court gave order to releaſe him. Then going to Newcaſtle, he returned to his wife and children at Mount-joy, where we will leave him for ſome time, and in the mean-while return again to

He is releaſed.

G. Fox travels up and down in Yorkſhire.

G. Fox, whom we left at Synder-hill-green, from hence travelled up and down in Yorkſhire, as far as Holderneſs, viſiting his friends, and finding the churches in a flouriſhing ſtate. To relate all his occurrences there, would be beyond my pale.

Goes into Lincolnſhire: the ſheriff and others convinced.

Paſſing then through the countries, he went to Lincolnſhire, and to the meeting where he was, came the ſheriff of Lincoln, who made great contention for a time; but at length the power of the Lord ſo reached him, that he was convinced of the truth, as were ſeveral others alſo that did oppoſe.

Alſo ſir R. Wrey's brother, his wife and others.

Whilſt G. Fox was in this country, the church of his friends increaſed, and many received the doctrine preached by him, and amongſt theſe, was one ſir Richard Wrey, with his brother, and the brother's wife, who both continued ſtedfaſt 'till they died; but ſir Richard found this way ſo narrow, that he afterwards ran out; for perſecution in time fell ſo faſt on thoſe called Quakers, that none could abide in their ſociety, but ſuch as were willing to hazard all.

G. Fox now went to Derbyſhire, and the aboveſaid ſheriff of Lincoln travelling with him, they came into Nottinghamſhire, and

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ſo into the peak-country, where, having a meeting at Thomas Hammerſly's, ſeveral Ranters came and oppoſed him; and when he reproved them for ſwearing, they ſaid, Abraham, Jacob, and Joſeph ſwore. But though G. Fox did not deny this, yet he ſaid, 'Chriſt, (who ſaid *before Abraham was, I am,*) ſaith, *ſwear not at all.* 'And Chriſt ends the prophets, as alſo the old prieſthood, and the 'diſpenſation of Moſes; and he reigns over the houſe of Jacob, 'and of Joſeph, and ſaith, *ſwear not at all.* And God when he 'bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world, ſaith, *Let all the 'angels of God worſhip him,* to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſaith, *ſwear 'not at all.* And as for the plea that men make for ſwearing to 'end their ſtrife, Chriſt, who ſaith, *ſwear not at all,* deſtroys the 'devil and his works, who is the author of ſtrife; for that is one 'of his works. And God ſaid, *This is my beloved ſon in whom I 'am well pleaſed, hear ye him.* So the Son is to be heard, who 'forbids ſwearing: and the apoſtle James, who did hear the 'Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbids alſo all 'oaths.' Thus G. Fox prevailed, and many were convinced that day. It is remarkable, that Thomas Hammerſly being ſummoned upon a jury, was admitted to ſerve without an oath; and when he being foreman brought in the verdict, the judge did declare, 'that he 'had been a judge ſo many years, but never heard a more upright 'verdict than that the Quaker had then brought in.'

In the peak-country is oppoſed by Ranters, who maintained ſwearing lawful, which he oppoſes cloſely.

T. Hammerſly without an oath, foreman of a jury; his verdict commended.

G. Fox travelling on, came to Swanington in Leiceſterſhire, where there was a general meeting, to which many of his friends came from ſeveral parts, and among theſe, J. Audland, and F. Howgil from Briſtol; and E. Burrough from London. After this, G. Fox came to Twy-Croſs, and ſome Ranters there ſang and danced before him; but he reproved them ſo earneſtly, that ſome of them were reached, and became modeſt and ſober.

A general meeting at Swanington.

Then he went to Drayton, his birth-place, to viſit his relations; where Nathaniel Stevens the prieſt, having gotten another prieſt, ſent for him. G. Fox having been three years abroad, knew nothing of their deſign, but yet at laſt he went to the ſteeple-houſe-yard, where the two prieſts had gathered a number of people: and they would have had him gone into the ſteeple-houſe: but he aſked them, 'what he ſhould do there?' and it was anſwered him, 'Mr. Stevens could not bear the cold.' At which G. Fox ſaid, 'He may bear it as well as I.' At laſt they went into a great hall, R. Farnſworth being with him, where they entered into a diſpute with the prieſts, concerning their practice, how contrary it was to Chriſt and his apoſtles. The prieſts aſked, 'where tithes were for-'bidden, or ended?' Whereupon G. Fox, ſhewed them out of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, chap. vii. 'That not only tithes, but the 'prieſthood that took tithes, was ended; and that the law was ended 'and diſannulled, by which the prieſthood was made, and tithes 'were commanded to be paid.' Moreover, he knowing Stevens's condition, laid open his manner of preaching, ſhewing, 'that he, like the 'reſt of the prieſts, did apply the promiſes to the firſt-birth, which 'muſt die; whereas the promiſes were to the ſeed, not to many 'ſeeds, but to the one ſeed, Chriſt, who was one in male and fe-'male: for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the

G. Fox at Drayton, his birth-place; has a diſpute with prieſt Stevens, &c. before many people.

'kingdom

1654. 'kingdom of God.' Then Stevens ſaid, 'that he muſt not 'judge ſo.' But G. Fox told him, 'he that was ſpiritual, judged 'all things.' Stevens confeſſed, 'that this was a full ſcripture: 'but neighbours,' ſaid he, 'this is the buſineſs; G. Fox is come 'to the light of the ſun, and now he thinks to put out my ſtar-'light.' To this G. Fox returned, 'that he would not quench 'the leaſt meaſure of God in any, much leſs put out his ſtar-'light, if it were true ſtar-light, light from the Morning-ſtar: but 'that if he had any thing from Chriſt, or God, he ought to 'ſpeak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preach-'ing; ſeeing Chriſt commanded his miniſters to give freely, as 'they had received freely.' But Stevens ſaid, 'he would not 'yield to that.'

The diſpute reſumed by eight prieſts,

This diſpute being broke off for that time, was taken up again a week after by eight prieſts, in the preſence of many people: and when they ſaw that G. Fox remained unſhaken, they fawningly ſaid, 'What might he have been, if it had not been for the 'Quakers!' Afterwards the diſpute was reſumed in the ſteeple-

And afterwards a third time in the ſteeple-houſe-yard;

houſe-yard, where G. Fox ſhewed, by abundance of ſcriptures, 'that they who preached for wages, were falſe prophets and hire-'lings: and that ſuch who would not preach without wages, or 'tithes, did not ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies.' This he treated on ſo largely, that a profeſſor ſaid, 'George, what! 'wilt thou never have done?' To this his anſwer was, 'that he 'ſhould have done ſhortly.' And when he broke off, one of the prieſts ſaid, 'they would read the ſcriptures he had quoted.' 'With all my heart,' ſaid he: then they began to read Jer. xxiii. and when they had read a verſe or two, George ſaid, 'Take 'notice people.' But the prieſts cried, 'Hold thy tongue, George.' He then bid them read the whole chapter throughout; but they ſtopping, aſked him a queſtion: and he told them, 'that if the 'matter he charged them with, was firſt granted, then he would 'anſwer their queſtion:' for his charge had been, 'that they were 'falſe prophets, and falſe teachers, ſuch as the true prophets, 'Chriſt, and his apoſtles, cried againſt.' 'Nay,' ſaid a profeſſor to that: but he ſaid 'Yes; for you leaving the matter, and go-'ing to another thing, ſeem to conſent to the proof of the former 'charge.' Now their queſtion was, 'ſeeing thoſe falſe prophets were 'adulterated, whether he did judge prieſt Stevens an adulterer.' To this he anſwered, 'That he was adulterated from God in his 'practice, like thoſe falſe prophets.'

Then they broke up the meeting, and Stevens deſired, that G. Fox, with his father and mother, might go aſide with him, that he might ſpeak to him in private. George, though his relations yielded to it, was very loth to do ſo; yet, that it might not be ſaid he was diſobedient to his parents, he went: but many of the people being willing to hear, drew cloſe to them. Then Stevens ſaid, 'if he was out of the way, George ſhould pray for

And then more privately concerning prayer.

'him: and if George was out of the way, he would pray for him:' moreover, 'that he would give to George a form of words 'to pray by.' To this G. Fox replied, 'It ſeems thou doſt not 'know, whether thou art in the right way, or no; but I know,

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'that I am in the everlaſting way, Chriſt Jeſus, which thou art out 'of: and thou wouldſt give me a form of words to pray by, and 'yet thou denieſt the Common-prayer-book to pray by, as well 'as I. If thou wouldſt have me pray for thee by a form of words, 'is not this to deny the apoſtles doctrine and practice of praying 'by the ſpirit as it gave words and utterance?' Here, though ſome of the people fell a laughing, yet others that were grave and ſober, were convinced of the truth, and the prieſts were greatly ſhaken; inſomuch, that George's father, though he was a hearer and follower of the prieſt, was ſo well ſatisfied, that, ſtriking his cane upon the ground, he ſaid, 'Truly I ſee, he that will but 'ſtand to the truth, it will carry him out.'

Goes from Drayton, to Leiceſter, and ſo to Whetſtone, where he is taken and brought before colonel Hacker,

G. Fox did not ſtay long at Drayton, but went to Leiceſter, and from thence to Whetſtone, where a meeting was to be kept; but before it began, there came about ſeventeen troopers, of colonel Hacker's regiment, who taking him up brought him to the ſaid colonel, where there were alſo his major and captains. Here he entered into a long diſcourſe with them, about the prieſts, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noiſe of a plot againſt Cromwell: and he ſpoke alſo much concerning the *light of Chriſt, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.* The colonel hearing him ſpeak thus, aſked, 'whether it was the light 'of Chriſt, that made Judas betray his maſter, and afterwards 'led him to hang himſelf?' G. Fox told him, 'No; that was the 'ſpirit of darkneſs which hated Chriſt, and his light.' Then the colonel ſaid to George, 'he might go home, and keep at home, 'and not go abroad to meetings.' But he told him, 'he was an 'innocent man, free from plots, and he denied all ſuch works.' Then the colonel's ſon Needham, ſaid, 'Father, this man hath 'reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off.' G. Fox aſked him, 'For what? what have I done, or whom have I wronged 'from a child? and who can accuſe me of any evil?' Then the colonel aſked him, 'if he would go home, and ſtay there.' To which G. Fox anſwered, 'that if he ſhould promiſe him ſo, it 'would imply, that he was guilty of ſomething to go home, and 'make his home a priſon to himſelf: and if he went to meetings, 'they would ſay, he broke their order. But that he ſhould go to 'meetings, as the Lord ſhould order him; and that therefore he 'could not ſubmit to their requirings:' and having farther added, 'that he and his friends were a peaceable people;' the colonel ſaid, 'Well then, I will ſend you to-morrow morning by ſix o'clock to 'my lord Protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard.' The next morning about the appointed time, he was delivered to captain Drury. Then G. Fox deſired, he would let him ſpeak with the colonel, before he went; and ſo the captain brought him to the colonel's bed-ſide, who again bad him, 'go home, 'and keep no more meetings.' But G. Fox told him, 'he could 'not ſubmit to that; but muſt have his liberty to ſerve God, and 'go to meetings.' 'Then,' ſaid the colonel, 'you muſt go before 'the Protector.' Whereupon G. Fox kneeled on his bed-ſide, and prayed the Lord, 'to forgive him:' ſince according to his judgment he was as Pilate, though he would waſh his hands; (for he was

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Whom he cautions of what might befal him.

ſtirred up and ſet on by the prieſts) and therefore George bad him, 'when the day of his miſery and trial ſhould come upon 'him, then to remember what he had ſaid to him.' Far was it now from Needham, who would have had G. Fox cut off, to think that one time this would befal his father in an ignominious manner at Tyburn. But what afterwards happened, when he was condemned as one of the judges of king Charles the firſt, will be related in its due place.

Yet he ſends him priſoner by capt. Drury to the Protector at London;

G. Fox then having left col. Hacker, was carried priſoner by captain Drury to London; where the captain went to give the Protector an account of him; and coming again, he told G. Fox, 'the Protector did require, that he ſhould promiſe, not to take up 'a carnal ſword or weapon againſt him, or the government, as it 'then was; and that he ſhould write this in what words he ſaw 'good, and ſet his hand to it.' G. Fox conſidering this, next morning writ a paper to the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein he did in the preſence of God declare, 'that 'he denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal ſword, or any 'outward weapon, againſt him, or any man: and that he was 'ſent of God to ſtand a witneſs againſt all violence, and againſt 'the works of darkneſs; and to turn people from darkneſs to the 'light, and to bring them from the occaſion of war and fighting, 'to the peaceable goſpel; and from being evil-doers, which the 'magiſtrates ſword ſhould be a terror to.' Having writ this, he ſet his name to it, and gave it to captain Drury, who delivered it to Oliver Cromwell; and after ſome time returning to the Mermaid near Charing-Croſs, where G. Fox was lodged, he carried him to Whitehall, and brought him before the Protector, who was not yet dreſſed, it being pretty early in the morning. G. Fox coming in, ſaid, 'Peace be in this houſe,' and bid the Protector,

With whom he has a long conference.

'keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wiſdom from 'him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order 'all things under his hands to God's glory.' He had alſo much diſcourſe with him concerning religion, wherein Cromwell carried himſelf very moderately, but ſaid, 'that G. Fox and his friends 'quarrelled with the miniſters,' meaning his teachers. G. Fox told him, 'he did not quarrel with them; but they quarrelled with him, 'and his friends. But, (thus continued he) if we own the pro-'phets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, we cannot uphold ſuch teachers, 'prophets, and ſhepherds, as the prophets, Chriſt, and the apo-'ſtles declared againſt; but we muſt declare againſt them by the 'ſame power and ſpirit.' Moreover, he ſhewed, 'that the pro-'phets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles preached freely, and declared 'againſt them that did not declare freely, but preached for filthy 'lucre, and divined for money, or preached for hire, being 'covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could never have 'enough: and that they that had the ſame ſpirit, which Chriſt, 'the prophets, and the apoſtles had, could not but declare againſt 'all ſuch now, as they did then.' He alſo ſaid, 'that all Chriſt-'endom (ſo called) had the ſcriptures, but they wanted the power 'and ſpirit, which they had who gave them forth; and that was 'the reaſon, they were not in fellowſhip with the Son, nor with

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'the Father, nor with the ſcriptures, nor one with another.' Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, Cromwell ſeveral times ſaid, 'it was 'very good, and it was truth.' G. Fox had many more words with him; but ſeeing people come in, he drew a little back: and as he was turning, Cromwell catched him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, ſaid, 'Come again to my houſe; for if thou 'and I were but an hour of a day together, we ſhould be nearer 'one to another;' adding, 'that he wiſhed him no more ill, than 'he did to his own ſoul.' To this G. Fox returned, 'that if he did, 'he wronged his own ſoul;' and bid him, 'hearken to God's voice, 'that he might ſtand in his counſel, and obey it; and if he 'did ſo, that would keep him from hardneſs of heart; but if he 'did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened.' This ſo reached the Protector, that he ſaid, 'it was true.' 1654.

Then G. Fox went out; and captain Drury following, told him, 'that the lord Protector ſaid, he was at liberty, and might 'go whither he would:' yet he was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and he aſked, 'what they did bring him thither for?' they told him, 'It was 'by the Protector's order, that he might dine with them.' But George bid them tell the Protector, 'he would not eat a bit of his 'bread, nor drink a ſup of his drink.' When Cromwell heard this, he ſaid, 'Now I ſee, there's a people riſen, and come up, 'that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; 'but all other ſects and people, I can.' But it was told him again, 'that the Quakers had forſook their own, and were not like to 'look for ſuch things from him.'

And with much tenderneſs is diſcharged.

But refuſes his entertainment.

It was very remarkable that captain Drury, who, while G. Fox was under his cuſtody, would often ſcoff at him, becauſe of the nick-name of Quakers, which the Independents had firſt given to the profeſſors of the light, afterwards came to him, and told him, 'that as he was lying on his bed to reſt himſelf in the day-time, 'a ſudden trembling ſeized on him, that his joints knocked to-'gether, and his body ſhook ſo, that he could not riſe from his 'bed; he was ſo ſhaken, that he had not ſtrength enough left to 'riſe. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he 'tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and ſaid, he would 'never ſpeak againſt the Quakers more, viz. ſuch as trembled at 'the word of God.'

What befel capt. Drury, who had reproached G. Fox with the name of Quaker, given firſt by the Independents.

The particular occurrences that befel G. Fox, when he was at liberty in London, I paſs by. He had great meetings there, and the throngs of people were ſuch, that he could hardly get to and from the meetings, becauſe of the croud. In the mean-while the number of his friends increaſed exceedingly, and ſome belonging to Cromwell's court were alſo convinced of the truth preached by him. He wrote about that time ſeveral papers, one of which was againſt pride, gaudy apparel, and the world's faſhions.

G. Fox writes againſt pride, gaudy apparel and faſhions.

I don't find that about this time there was at London any perſecution from the magiſtrates, but in other places there was: and it was in this year that Ann, the wife of John Audland, coming into a ſteeple-houſe at Banbury, ſaid, after the prieſt had ended, 'that thoſe who were without the doctrine of Chriſt, tho'

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1654. ‘ they ſaid *the Lord liveth*, yet ſpoke falſely,’ according to Jer. v. 2. For this ſhe was impriſoned as guilty of blaſphemy, and two boys ſwore againſt her, that ſhe had ſaid, ‘ that the Lord did not ‘ live.’ Thus falſe accuſations prevailed, and at this rate perſecution was cloaked.

Ann Audland impriſoned.

Publick tranſactions.

The year drew now to an end, and Cromwell concluded a peace with the united Netherlands: to get things the more clear at home, it ſeems he endeavoured to remove troubles abroad. And there being a rumour ſpread of a plot, as hath been hinted already, to be the more aſſured of the parliament, he cauſed a guard to be ſet upon the door of the houſe, to keep out thoſe members that refuſed to ſign a paper, whereby they promiſed, ‘ To be faithful to the ‘ lord Protector, and to make no alteration in the government, ‘ ſo as it was ſettled, on a ſingle perſon and a parliament.’ But ſeveral of the members would not ſign this paper, ſaying, that it was a violation of the privileges of the parliament, and depriving them of their liberty ; and therefore they were kept out ; but others who ſubſcribed the ſaid paper, were admitted. Yet this aſſembly not acting to the ſatisfaction of Cromwell, he diſſolved them after a ſeſſion of five months. The young king Charles, who lived in exile, had left France, and was come to Cologn on the Rhine, where he ſtaid for ſome time.

Cromwell diſſolves the parliament.

But I return to London, where we left G. Fox. He was in that city continually at work, diſcharging his duty every where, both with mouth and pen, ſuffering no time to be loſt. There being commiſſioners appointed for the trying of miniſters, he writ a paper to them, wherein he adviſed them, ‘ to ſee whether they were not ‘ ſuch whom the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles diſapproved ; ‘ and who would admire mens *perſons becauſe of advantage*,’ &c. He ſtaid at London till the year 1655 ; and after having cleared himſelf, he went to Bedfordſhire, and came to the houſe of John Crook, a juſtice of peace, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced of the truth he declared, of which number John Crook alſo was one ; but for this he was ſoon turned out from being a juſtice. Whilſt G. Fox was in Bedfordſhire, there was alſo Alexander Parker, one of the early miniſters among thoſe called Quakers. But leaving them there, I now intend to ſpeak of

G. Fox comes to juſ. Crook's in Befordſh. who is convinced, and turned out of commiſſion.

A. Parker an early miniſter.

William Caton, who, as hath been ſaid already, was one of the family of judge Fell. When he was about fourteen years of age his father procured leave for him to dwell in the ſaid family ; and his behaviour was ſo pleaſing, that he was allowed the judge's ſon as a companion night and day ; he eat as he did, and went with him a hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing, partaking of the ſame pleaſure with him in every thing, and living in eaſe and plenty ; ſo that he had cauſe of joy, that providence had caſt his lot into ſuch a noted family ; for not only judge Fell, but alſo his wife Margaret, and their daughters, were well qualified. W. Caton converſing with ſuch choice company, grew up in piety, and was very zealous in performing his private devotions, ſtaying often in the bed-chamber, till the judge's ſon, his bed-fellow, was gone down, that ſo he might the more freely pour out his heart before God in prayer. Having attained to the age of fifteen years, he

Hiſtorical account of W. Caton, who is religiouſly educated in the family of judge Fell, to whoſe ſon he was companion.

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1654.

was very diligent, when he had been at a lecture, to write down the chief heads thereof; for ſuch of the family as could make repetitions of ſermons, and paraphraſe thereupon, were held in eſteem. But William Caton found that what he reaped thereby, could not ſatisfy the hunger and thirſt of his immortal ſoul.

After he, and the judge's ſon, had for ſome time learned Latin together in the family, where there was a prieſt that inſtructed them, they were removed to a ſchool at Hauxhead: but here he found company which he diſliked more than that in the judge's family.

It was in the year 1652, about midſummer, that G. Fox, (as hath been ſaid in its proper place) firſt came to the houſe of judge Fell at Swarthmore. His non-conformity to the ordinary ſalutations, W. Caton not a little wondered at; but yet it did not hinder him from giving due attention to the doctrine G. Fox preached, which in ſubſtance was, 'To give heed to the light, 'which Chriſt Jeſus had enlightened us withal, and which ſhining 'in our hearts, convinceth us of ſin and evil.' This ſo reached W. Caton, that in due time he began to be ſubject to this inward convincement, by which he came to be much reſtrained in his carriage, and could not allow himſelf ſo great liberty as he was wont to do; for though he was no ways extravagant, yet now he ſaw that a true chriſtian muſt be weaned from all vanity; and that the common diverſions of youth diſpleaſed God. This he clearly perceived, for the witneſs of God had awakened and reproved him of that which was contrary to true gravity, and ſobriety of mind. He had not yet left the ſchool: but (though he was pretty much advanced in his learning) the making of Latin verſes became a burden to him, becauſe he could not give his thoughts that liberty for invention as others did; neither could he well any longer give to the maſter of the ſchool the compliment of the hat, as he was uſed to do; this I had from his own mouth. One may eaſily gueſs that hereby he was brought into a ſtrait: but Margaret Fell, ſeeing that he longed to be freed from the ſchool, cauſed him to ſtay at home, where he was employed by her in writing, and teaching her children. And when he was about ſeventeen years of age, he became more and more ſtrengthened in the ſpiritual warfare, and his heart was often filled with joy, becauſe of the mercy and loving kindneſs of the Lord to him.

Wonders at G. Fox's non-conformity to cuſtomary ſalutations.

Sees that the common diverſions of youth diſpleaſe God.

Thus advancing in godlineſs, he was frequently moved to go to the places of publick worſhip, and alſo to markets, to warn people to repentance; but then beating and buffeting was his ſhare, and becauſe of his youth he was deſpiſed by many; yet he fainted not: and eſteeming it his duty now to labour in the miniſtry of the goſpel, he deſired to be diſcharged of his ſervice. Judge Fell was very unwilling to part with him; but Margaret his wife, tho' ſhe could not well give him up before, yet believing that the Lord required his ſervice, not only freely reſigned him, but alſo prevailed with her huſband to let him go: for he did not deſire his liberty to ſerve other men, but to enter into the ſervice of the Lord, and to proclaim the everlaſting goſpel. About the end of the year 1654, being eighteen years of age, he took his leave of that

Is moved to viſit places of publick-worſhip, and markets, where he warns to repent; but is buffeted and beaten;

And entering on the miniſtry, leaves judge Fell's family, and then goes into many parts of England, and ſo to London,

1654. family, which was not done without mutual ſhedding of tears at parting.

He then went to viſit his friends in Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, Derbyſhire, and Warwickſhire; from thence to Norwich, and ſo to Wellingborough in Northamptonſhire; where he found an opportunity to declare the truth of God in the ſteeple-houſe. After that he travelled to Cambridge, viſiting his friends there; and then returned to Norwich, where he viſited his friends in priſon, and had great meetings in that city. Then he went to London, where he was very kindly received by thoſe of the houſhold of faith. And on a firſt-day of the week was at two ſteeple-houſes, at one of which he had large liberty to ſpeak, being indeed perſuaſive in ſpeech; and in the afternoon, at a meeting of Diſſenters from the publick worſhip, he had liberty to publiſh truth without oppoſition, or contradiction from any; and many were added to the faith.

Travels with J. Stubs to Dover; they viſit the ſteeple-houſe, and Baptiſt, and Independent places of worſhip, where they have good ſervice;

At that time there were twelve miniſtring brethren, moſt of them, come out of the north of England, among whom was John Stubs, already mentioned, with whom he travelled into Kent, and coming to Dover where they were altogether ſtrangers, not knowing any body in the town, they took their lodging at an inn. J. Stubs went on the firſt-day of the week to a meeting of the Baptiſts, and W. Caton to the ſteeple-houſe, where he had but little liberty; but in the yard he had more opportunity to clear his conſcience to the people. In the afternoon he went up to the caſtle, where the Independents performed their worſhip. Shortly after, he and J. Stubs went into the Baptiſts meeting, unto which much people reſorted, and many began to be affected with their teſtimony, and adhered to it.

But being forbid entertainment by the magiſtrates, are received and protected by L. Howard a ſhoemaker, who then joins with them in profeſſion, and lets his houſe be their meeting-place.

This made ſuch a ſtir, that they were haled before the magiſtrates, who examined them, and ordered that none ſhould entertain them on a certain penalty; whereupon they were turned out of their lodging. But one Luke Howard, a ſhoemaker, who had already heard W. Caton at London, and afterwards at Dover, in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, though he little regarded him at London, but ſaid to his companion, 'I know more than he can tell me, or 'more than either I or he is able to live up to;' yet now he became ſo affected with W. Caton's teſtimony, that he invited him and J. Stubs to his houſe, where he entertained them; and not long after they had a meeting there; and he heard the teſtimony of his gueſts with no leſs ſatisfaction, than Agrippa of old, did the ſpeech of the apoſtle Paul, when he ſaid to him, *Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a chriſtian:* for Luke Howard was not yet come ſo far, that he could reſolve to conform himſelf with the Quakers, ſo called; but yet, ſuch was his love to them, that when the mayor of the town ſent four conſtables to his houſe, with an order to deliver them up, that ſo they might be carried out of the town, he refuſed to do ſo, relying on his right as a freeman of the corporation; and the doors being ſhut, kept the conſtables out of his houſe, and told them from the ſhop-window, 'that the 'mayor had no lawful authority to have theſe men haled out of 'his houſe, and ſent out of town, there being no hue and cry

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'come after them.' They ſtaid yet ſome days in his houſe, and he became ſo ſtrengthened by their miniſtry, that he joined with them in profeſſion, and alſo gave up his houſe to be a meeting-place for their friends.

They proceed to Foulſtone, Hide, Rumney, and Lydd, where S. Fiſher is convinced.

Then W. Caton and J. Stubs departed the town, and went to Foulſtone, and from thence to Hide, in both which places they found opportunity to preach the truth. After ſome ſtay, they went to Rumney, and ſo to Lydd. Here it was, that Samuel Fiſher, both by their miniſtry, and by that of Ambroſe Rigg, and Thomas Robinſon, (who now were alſo gone forth in the ſervice of the goſpel) was convinced, and brought over to their ſociety.

Some account of him.

He was trained up to literature, and had ſtudied diligently in the univerſity; and though but young then, yet was of a pious converſation, and diſliked many ceremonies and cuſtoms uſual in the ſchools. When he had finiſhed his courſe there, he was ordained a prieſt of the church; and a certain great man took him to be his chaplain; and afterwards he got a living at Lydd, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But after having been thus employed ſome time, he came to ſee that infant-baptiſm was an human inſtitution, and to preach for wages unlawful. To this may be added, that Luke Howard, ſome time before he knew the Quakers, ſo called, not being ſatisfied concerning the ſinging of David's pſalms at the publick worſhip, ſo troubled his maſter that he had been apprentice with, that he got Samuel Fiſher, as a learned miniſter, to come and diſcourſe with him, and to try to convince him: and S. Fiſher talking with him, L. Howard told him, 'that *God was a ſpirit, and muſt be worſhipped in ſpirit and* 'truth, of all thoſe that would worſhip him acceptably.' And alſo, 'that it was contrary to truth, for a proud man to ſing, that he 'was not *puffed up* in mind, he had no *ſcornful* eye, and he did not 'exerciſe *himſelf in things that were too high*; when he lived in 'pride, wherein God beheld him *afar off*.' And farther, 'that it 'was very unbecoming ſuch an one to ſing, *Rivers of tears run* 'down *mine eyes, becauſe other men keep not thy laws*, when he ne-'ver knew, a true ſorrow and repentance for his own ſins.' This reaſon of Howard's, againſt the cuſtomary ſinging in their worſhip, had ſo much influence upon S. Fiſher, that from that time he was ſtopped from any more giving David's conditions to the people to ſing: and becoming in time more and more uneaſy to go on in acting what was burdenſome to his conſcience, he reſolved to deſiſt from his miniſtry, and ſo went to the biſhop, and delivered up the commiſſion that he had received from him to preach: and caſting himſelf upon God's providence, he took a farm and turned grazier, by which means he maintained his wife and children much better to his content than before.

He quits his former miniſtry, and turns grazier.

Departing thus from the Epiſcopalian church, he went over to the Baptiſts, and became a zealous teacher among them. It was about this time, that W. Caton, and J. Stubs came to Lydd, whom S. Fiſher received into his houſe, remembering that ſcripture exhortation, *Be not forgetful to entertain ſtrangers, for many thereby have entertained angels unawares.* W. Caton went to the meeting of the Independents, and Stubs to that of the Baptiſts,

1654. tiſts, where S. Fiſher then preached: and J. Stubs having got opportunity to ſpeak, declared truth ſo plainly, that S. Fiſher being very much affected with it, began to paraphraſe upon it with excellency of ſpeech. W. Caton and J. Stubs departing this place, went to another town in this country, but not long after returning to Lydd, they found S. Fiſher in fellowſhip with themſelves; for it happened that his fellow teacher, George Hammond, in his ſermon ſo violently inveighed againſt thoſe called Quakers, that S. Fiſher could not be ſatisfied until he ſtood up in the ſaid meeting, and bore a publick teſtimony againſt the revilings of Hammond, ſaying to him, 'Dear brother, you are very dear 'and near to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer: it is the 'everlaſting truth and goſpel which they hold forth.' And ſpeaking more words to that effect, he openly defended the doctrine of the reviled Quakers. This ſo vexed Hammond, that falling into a greater rage, he ſaid, 'Our brother Fiſher is alſo bewitched.' But Fiſher rendered not reviling for reviling, but continued with patience in the faith. This was he who afterwards writ a book, called 'Ruſticus ad Academicos,' wherein he often encountered the prieſts with their own weapons; for he was very dexterous at that, and ſo well verſed in the ancient poets, that he now and then with their words, gave home-blows to his adverſaries, allowing himſelf ſometimes the freedom of the prophet Elijah againſt the prophets of Baal. He writ alſo a paper in Hebrew to the Jews, in which language he was well ſkilled. But before I ſay more of him,

Oppoſes his fellow teacher, and defends the Quakers doctrine.

Afterwards writes 'Ruſticus ad academicos,' and a paper in Hebrew to the Jews.

I return to W. Caton and J. Stubs. They went from Lydd to Aſhford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurſt, where they found an open and tender-hearted people, who embraced their doctrine, and ſome would have given them money, nay, even have forced it upon them, yet they would not take any; but as they freely had received, ſo they freely gave: telling people, 'it was not theirs, 'but them, which they ſought.' Thence they travelled to Maidſtone, where J. Stubs went to the publick place of worſhip, and W. Caton to the meeting of the Independents. J. Stubs was taken at the ſteeple-houſe, and W. Caton the day following, from his inn, and were both ſent to the houſe of correction, where they were ſearched, and their money, inkhorns, bibles, &c. taken from them. Afterwards they were ſtripped, and their necks and arms put in the ſtocks, and in that condition were deſperately whipped. A hard encounter indeed, eſpecially for ſuch a young man as W. Caton was: but they were ſupported by an inviſible hand. Afterwards means were uſed to compel them to work; and it was told them, *He that would not work, ſhould not eat.* But they were not free to conſent thereto, becauſe they eſteemed this demand unjuſt, not being guilty of the breach of any law. Thus they were kept without victuals for ſome days, only a little water once a day was allowed them. In the mean-while, the malefactors that were there, would have given them of their bread; yea, the women of the houſe being moved with compaſſion, would have given them ſomething privately; but they were not free to accept of either. Now the report of this cruelty being ſpread in the town, many

Caton and Stubs continue in their travels, but at Maidſtone are ſent to the houſe of correction, rifled, ſtripped, ſet in the ſtocks, and ſo whipped deſperately, &c. and at laſt ſent out of town.

began

began to be offended at it; ſo that an officer was ſent to make reſtitution of ſome of their things, which had been taken from them, and then they bought victuals with their own money. Not long after, they were parted, and with officers conveyed out of the town, one at the one end of it, and t'other at the other. 1654.

At length W. Caton came to London, where he found his companion J. Stubs; but being there, it came upon them to return to the town from whence they came, which was no ſmall trial to them; but yet they reſigned, and gave up to what they believed to be the will of the Lord. Now Providence ſo ordered it, that none meddled with them, though they to be more fully ſeen, went on a firſt-day of the week to the ſteeple-houſe. They went alſo to Canterbury, where, at the meetings of the Baptiſts and Independents, they had pretty good liberty to declare the truth amongſt them; and ſome being convinced, received their teſtimony. They were likewiſe at Sandwich, where W. Caton had ſome ſervice among the Dutch people at their ſteeple-houſe.

Afterward meet again at London, and return to Maidſtone, where none moleſt them. Then viſit the Baptiſts, and Independents at Canterbury, and the Dutch congregation at Sandwich.

It was now nigh Midſummer, when he felt a motion to go over to Calais in France; for that end he went to Dover, and ſo to Calais, where coming to their high place of worſhip, his ſpirit was very much grieved and burdened, with the great idolatry in vogue there; for he ſaw how ſome were worſhipping before their dumb idols, and he could not well eaſe his ſpirit for want of the language. Having ſome time walked about in the town, he came to be known to ſome of the chief of the city, who deſiring to ſpeak with him, ſome of them came down in perſon to the Key, to look for him; and underſtanding he was aboard, he was called aſhore, and conveyed to a large houſe, where ſeveral of the great ones were come to ſee and hear him; ſo that he had a very good opportunity to declare the truth among them, there being a Scotch lord who interpreted for him. And after he had cleared his conſcience, they ſuffered him to depart quietly.

Afterward W. Caton goes to Dover, and thence to Calais, where, having cleared his conſcience, he is ſuffered to depart quietly.

Soon after he returned for England, and found his companion, J. Stubs at Dover; and it being upon him to go for Holland, W. Caton was made free to accompany him. With this intent they went together to Yarmouth, but could not find paſſage there for Holland, and ſo they paſſed farther to the north; and coming to Swarthmore, W. Caton found his friends very glad to ſee him, eſpecially Margaret Fell, who had been as a nurſing mother to him. After ſome ſtay there, having been abundantly refreſhed, they went to Shields, where they heard of a ſhip bound for Flanders; but having little inclination to go thither, came ſoon after to Yarmouth, where they found a ſhip intended for Fluſhing, in Zealand. With this veſſel they went over, and arrived ſafely at the ſaid town. And on the firſt-day of the week, they went to the congregation of the Engliſh and Scotch, where many wondered at them becauſe of their non-conformity; and after they began to ſpeak, there aroſe a great ſtir, ſo that they were ſoon hurried out. The ſame day they went to Middleburgh, whither being come before the afternoon's worſhip was ended, one of them began to ſpeak after the prieſt had done: but he ſtopped him preſently, thinking at firſt they were ſuch as came thither begging; but perceiving

He and J. Stubs intending for Holland, but finding no paſſage, come to Swarthmore, afterward to Yarmouth, and thence go to Fluſhing, and there viſit the Engliſh and Scotch congregation, but are ſoon hurried out.

Then go to Middleburgh but are ſlightly entertained.

1654.

ceiving the contrary, he and others were the more violent. After that, he ſent for them to his houſe, and reaſoned awhile with them; but he being of a lofty mind, they found but ſlight entertainment there. After a ſhort ſtay in town, they embarked themſelves for Rotterdam in Holland, where being come, when they had been ſome few days in the city, they got a meeting at an Engliſh merchant's houſe: but he that interpreted for them, not rendering their words truly, it ſeemed not to ſatisfy the hearers. After ſome time they returned for Zealand, and from thence again to England, where being arrived,

Thence to Rotterdam, where they had not deſired ſucceſs for want of a good interpreter, and ſoon return to England.

W. Caton journied to Swarthmore, and was received there with joy; and having ſome drawings to Scotland, he went to Biſhopprick, where he found his companion J. Stubs again, with whom he travelled towards Scotland. It was about the beginning of the month called December, when they came to Berwick upon Tweed, where W. Caton went into the great publick aſſembly, and when the prieſt had done, ſtept upon a ſeat, and beginning to ſpeak, none ſeemed to make ſuch haſte to get away, as the prieſt; in the mean-while W. Caton ſpoke with great boldneſs, and had pretty good liberty to declare the truth. But when he had done, he was taken hold of, and brought before the magiſtrates, who ordered that he ſhould be turned out of the town; which was done.

W. Caton declares truth in a great aſſembly at Berwick, but is turned out of town.

J. Stubs has ſome ſervice in a Baptiſt meeting there;

J. Stubs was that day in a meeting of the Baptiſts, and had ſome ſervice there. Not long after, W. Caton, who wandering up and down, could not well get any lodging for his money, returned, and came into the town again, the guard ſuffering him very freely to paſs.

Then both go to Edinburgh and regulate ſome diſorders.

Then they both travelled to Edinburgh in Scotland, where they found things ſomewhat out of order, through the unfaithfulneſs of ſome that were convinced of the truth: but their miniſtry was ſo effectual among them, that they were brought into better order again; and ſo they edified the church according to their ability, the meeting being kept at the houſe of William Oſborn, who had been a lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards became a zealous miniſter among the flock there. Whilſt W. Caton was there, he went once to the chief ſteeple-houſe, where, after the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to the people; but the multitude combining, he was not ſuffered to ſay much, but was carried out, and coming into the ſtreet, there was a guard of ſoldiers, who conducted him with drawn ſwords to the places where he deſired to be. He was about that time alſo with general Monk, who behaved himſelf moderately, and heard him. J. Stubs now returning to England, W. Caton went to Sterling, where being carried to the governor, he was at firſt high, but when W. Caton, who was a man of a meek behaviour, had ſpoke a little to him, he became cool and ſedate. He then went to the Engliſh chaplain's houſe, who was kind to him. From Edinburgh he went to Glaſgow, where, going into the great cathedral, after the ſervice was done, he had ſome liberty to ſpeak to the multitude in the yard, the rude people being kept under by the Engliſh ſoldiers, who were moderate, ſo that he had very good ſervice there. He alſo went to Douglas, where his ſervice was no leſs, both in the ſteeple-houſe and elſe-

1655.

W. Oſborn formerly a lieutenant-colonel, now a preacher among friends. Caton is with general Monk who hears him with moderation.

Goes to Sterling, then to Glaſgow, where he has ſervice in the yard of the cathedral, by the favour of the Engliſh ſoldiers.

Then to Douglas, and ſo to England.

where:

where: ſo that having cleared himſelf in Scotland, he returned to England, and came again to Swarthmore, where he was received as formerly in very great love. 1655.

Leaving him there, I turn again to G. Fox, whom we left in Bedfordſhire. From thence he went by London to Kent, and came to Romney, not long after W. Caton and J. Stubs had been there. Here he had a very large meeting, whither Samuel Fiſher alſo came, and there was a great convincement that day, ſo that many were turned to the light of Chriſt: and after the meeting, S. Fiſher's wife ſaid, 'Now we may diſcern betwixt fleſh and 'ſpirit, and diſtinguiſh ſpiritual teaching from fleſhly.' G. Fox has a large meeting at Romney, where S. Fiſher and his wife were alſo;

From hence G. Fox went to Dover and Canterbury, and farther into Suſſex, and ſo to Reading, where they had a great meeting, and many were convinced that day. There came alſo George Biſhop of Briſtol, who being a captain, then wore a ſword, tho' in time he entirely left it off. G. Fox going from hence, paſſed up to London, where leaving him for ſome time, we will go and behold the life and occurrences of And another at Reading, where capt. G. Biſhop was preſent.

James Parnel, who was born at Retford in Nottinghamſhire, and trained up in the ſchools of literature. He laboured very early in the miniſtry of the goſpel, having been convinced by G. Fox, when not quite ſixteen years of age; and then embraced the truth, though for that reaſon deſpiſed and rejected by his relations. He was (though of low ſtature) endued with great ability, and did not fear, where-ever he came, to call people to repentance. Being impriſoned at Cambridge for his zealous teſtimony, and afterward turned out of the town like a vagabond, he ſoon came back, and diſputed with the ſcholars of the univerſity; but met with rude and bad entertainment from them. In the beginning of this year he came into Eſſex, being then about eighteen years of age, and preached the goſpel in ſeveral parts of that county, as Felſted, Stebben, Witham, Cogſhall, Halſted, and other places; and many received the word by his miniſtry. About the middle of the ſummer he came to Colcheſter, and there preached the goſpel on a firſt-day of the week in a ſteeple-houſe, after the ſermon; then in a great meeting appointed on purpoſe, and after that diſputed with the town-lecturer, and another prieſt, in the French ſchool, all in one day; ſo that many were convinced of the truth preached by him; and among theſe alſo Stephen Criſp, of whom more will be ſaid hereafter. J. Parnel ſpent that week in the ſaid town, in preaching, exhorting, and diſputing, to the convincing of many; though others were enraged, inſomuch, that his godly zeal was often rewarded with blows; as once coming out of Nicholas ſteeple-houſe, he was ſtruck by one with a great ſtaff, who ſaid, 'There, take that for Chriſt's ſake.' To which he meekly anſwered, 'Friend, I do receive it for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake.' Many other grievous affronts he bore, without ſhewing any heat or anger; ſo that he was a real pattern of patience and meekneſs. A ſhort hiſtory of the labours, cruel ſufferings and death of J. Parnel; By whom Step. Criſp is convinced.

Having laboured in the goſpel about ten days at Colcheſter, he went to Cogſhall, where a faſt was proclaimed, to be held upon the 12th of the month called July, to pray againſt the errors of the people called Quakers. J. Parnel being come thither,

went

1655. went into the ſteeple-houſe, where he ſtood ſtill, till the prieſt was coming out of the pulpit. Now ſince this prieſt —— Sammes, who was an Independent, had cried out fiercely againſt the Quakers, as deceivers, J. Parnel eſteemed it his duty to ſay ſomething to that; and the firſt words he ſpoke were, *This is the order of the true church, that all may ſpeak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that ſtands by, let the firſt hold his peace.* Then he ſpoke on in the behalf of thoſe called Quakers: but the prieſt interrupting, aſked, 'what he would object againſt him?' To which J. Parnel anſwered, 'In that he reviled the peo-'ple called Quakers, and ſaid, they were built upon a ſandy foun-'dation, and ſo called them Shakers.' 'But,' ſaid he, 'I'll prove 'their foundation not to be ſandy, and thee to be a falſe prophet.' After ſome more words ſpoken by him, ſome accuſed him, 'that 'he owned no church:' to which he ſaid, 'it was falſe.' Then it was aſked him, 'what church he owned?' And he anſwered, 'The church in God.' Then prieſt Willis ſtood up, and ſaid, 'he ſpoke nothing but nonſenſe.' Parnel bad him, 'name one 'word which he had ſpoken that was nonſenſe.' At which Willis ſaid, 'To ſay, the church in God.' Then Parnel took out his bible, and read 1 Theſ. i. 1. where the apoſtle writes to *the church which is in God the Father.* The prieſt now was at a loſs, and Parnel told him, 'that he blaſphemed, in ſaying, the church in 'God was nonſenſe.' Then prieſt Stellum ſtood up, and accuſed Parnel with lies and ſlanders, and not ſuffering him to clear himſelf from thoſe accuſations, he got up into the pulpit, and began to pray: but Parnel not taking off his hat, the magiſtrates called to him, 'to put it off.' To which he returned, 'Order the prieſt to 'put off his cap;' and farther ſaid, 'before he ſhould be ſubject 'to their wills, he would rather paſs out of the meeting-place;' and ſo he went out.

Not long after, juſtice Dionyſius Wakering followed him, and ſtruck him with his hand upon his back, ſaying, 'he arreſted him 'in the name of the lord Protector.' Parnel not knowing him to be a magiſtrate, aſked him, 'where his writ was.' Wakering ſaid, 'he had one;' but ſhewed none. Then Parnel was hurried into an houſe, and ſome of his friends engaged, that he ſhould be forth-coming when their worſhip was done. And accordingly he appeared where four juſtices, and ſix or ſeven prieſts were met together. Then juſtice Wakering pulled his hat off his head, and threw it away; and they queſtioned him concerning many things; all which he anſwered, with many frivolous queſtions aſked to enſnare him. At laſt he was committed to the common gaol at Colcheſter, where none of his friends were ſuffered to come to him. The time of the ſeſſions at Chelmsford being come, he, with ſeveral felons and murderers was faſtened to a chain, and thus led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day.

Parnel examined before four juſtices, and ſix or ſeven prieſts, and ſent to Colcheſter gaol. Led chained with felons, &c. to the ſeſſions, about eighteen miles, and kept chained night and day.

Being brought into the court before judge Hills, the gaoler took off his hat, and caſt it upon the floor. Then the clerk read his indictment, and aſked him, 'if he was guilty?' To which he ſaid, 'that he denied all guilt;' and he called for his accuſers. The

judge

judge ſaid, 'he might ſee them;' and that he ought to ſay, 'guilty, 1655.
'or not guilty.' On which Parnel told him, 'he was not guilty.' Then a jury of twelve men was called, whoſe foreman was a drunkard: prieſt Willis was alſo called, who ſwore againſt him, and ſo did two juſtices; one of their men ſwearing, that 'they would 'ſpeak nothing againſt him but the truth.' The accuſations were, 'That in a riotous manner he did enter into the pariſh church at His accuſation, 'Great Cogſhall; that he there did ſtand up, and told the mi- 'niſter, he blaſphemed, and ſpoke falſely, uſing many other re- 'proachful words againſt him: and that he could not give a good 'account where he was laſt ſettled, or of his life and converſation, 'appearing to be an idle perſon.' He was alſo accuſed 'with 'contempt of the magiſtracy and of the miniſtry.' To this he And anſwer. anſwered, 'that he no ways in a riotous manner entered the ſtee- 'ple-houſe, but came thither quietly, and alone: for being fol- 'lowed by ſeveral boys that would have come in after him, he 'bad them go in before, rather than to go in diſorderly, whereby 'to occaſion any diſturbance. That he had ſaid to prieſt Willis, 'he blaſphemed, by ſaying, the church in God was nonſenſe, he 'denied not; but did not own himſelf to be a vagabond and idle 'perſon. And he did not think it indecent, to call an unjuſt 'judge, unrighteous; a perſecutor, perſecutor; and a deceiver, 'deceiver.' Thus Parnel pleaded his cauſe. Yet the judge ſaid to the jury, 'that if they did not find him guilty, the ſin would lie 'upon their heads;' thus condemning the priſoner before the jury had conſidered the caſe. Then J. Parnel began to ſpeak, to inform them concerning his cauſe, but the judge would not ſuffer him, though one of the jury deſired it. After conſultation, the jury had nothing to lay to his charge, but a paper in which he had anſwered the mittimus, though he had already owned this paper to be his writing. But in that they were at a loſs, becauſe in the indictment he was accuſed of a riot: yet the judge and the clerk ſtrove to draw ſome words from the foreman, which the other jurymen did not conſent to, and he himſelf was unwilling to anſwer fully to their queſtions. Then J. Parnel was made to with- Fined about £.40 and to be kept in priſon till paid. draw: and being called in again, the judge fined him to the value of about forty pounds, 'for contempt of the magiſtracy and 'miniſtry;' for he ſaid, 'the lord Protector had charged him to 'puniſh ſuch perſons, as ſhould contemn either magiſtracy or miniſtry.' Thereupon J. Parnel was carried back again to the priſon, being an old ruinous caſtle, built, as 'tis reported, in the time of the ancient Romans: here he was to be kept until the fine ſhould be paid: and the gaoler was commanded, not to let any giddy- 'headed people,' (by which denomination they meant his friends) 'come at him.'

The gaoler was willing enough to comply with this order, ſuffering none to come to him, but ſuch as abuſed him; and his wife, who was a wicked ſhrew, did not only ſet her man to beat him, but ſeveral times herſelf laid violent hands on him, and ſwore 'ſhe 'would have his blood:' ſhe alſo ſet other priſoners to take away the victuals brought to him by his friends; and would not let him have a trundle bed, which they would have brought him to lie on,

1655. Lies on cold and damp ſtones.

ſo that he was forced to lie on the cold and damp ſtones. Afterwards he was put into the hole in the wall, a room much like to a baker's oven; for the walls of that building, which is indeed a direful neſt, are of an exceſſive thickneſs, as I have ſeen myſelf, having been in the hole where this pious young man ended his days, as will be ſaid by and by. Being confined in the ſaid hole, which was, as I remember, about twelve feet high from the ground, and the ladder too ſhort by ſix feet: he muſt climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall, which he was forced to do to fetch his victuals, or for other neceſſities: for though his friends would have given him a cord and a baſket to draw up his victuals in, yet ſuch was the malice of his keepers, that they would not ſuffer it.

Continuing in this moiſt hole, his limbs grew benumbed, and thus it once happened, that as he was climbing up the ladder, with his victuals in one hand, and come to the top thereof, catching at the rope with his other, he miſſed the ſame, and fell down upon the ſtones, whereby he was exceedingly wounded in his head, and his body ſo bruiſed, that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other; for there were two rows of ſuch vaulted holes in the wall. This hole was called the oven, and ſo little that ſome bakers ovens were bigger, tho' not ſo high. Here, the door being ſhut, was ſcarcely any air, there being no window or hole. And after he was a little recovered from his fall, they would not ſuffer him to take the air, tho' he was almoſt ſpent for want of breath: and tho' ſome of his friends, viz. William Talcot, and Edward Grant, did offer their bond of forty pounds to the juſtice Henry Barrington, and another, whoſe name was Thomas Shortland, to lie body for body, that Parnel might but have liberty to come to W. Talcot's houſe, and return when recovered; yet this was denied; nay, ſo immoveable were they ſet againſt him, that when it was deſired that he might only walk a little ſometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means: and once the door of the hole being open, and he coming forth, and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, ſo incenſed the gaoler, that he locked up the hole, and ſhut him out in the yard all night, being in the coldeſt time of the winter. This hard impriſonment did ſo weaken him, that after ten or eleven months he fell ſick, and died. At his departure there were with him Thomas Shortland, and Ann Langley: and it was one of theſe (that came often to him) who long after brought me into this hole where he died.

Cruel juſtices

And a barbarous gaoler.

J. P. after 10 or 11 months confinement dies in a hole in the priſon.

Several things which are related here, I had from the mouth of eye-witneſſes, who lived in that town. When death approached, he ſaid, 'Here I die innocently.' A little after he was heard to ſay, 'Now I muſt go:' and turning his head to Thomas, he ſaid, 'This death muſt I die; Thomas, I have ſeen great things: don't 'hold me, but let me go.' Then he ſaid again, 'Will you hold 'me?' to which Ann anſwered, 'No, dear heart, we will not hold 'thee.' He had often ſaid, 'that one hour's ſleep would cure him 'of all:' and the laſt words he was heard to ſay, were, 'Now I go;' and then ſtretched out himſelf, and ſlept about an hour, and breathed his laſt. Thus this valiant ſoldier of the Lamb conquered

quered through ſufferings: and ſo great was the malice and envy of his perſecutors, that to cover their guilt and ſhame, they ſpread among the people, that by immoderate faſting, and afterwards with too greedy eating, he had ſhortened his days. But this was a wicked lie; for though it be true that he had no appetite to eat ſome days before he fell ſick, yet when he began to eat again, he took nothing but a little milk, as was declared by credible witneſſes. During his impriſonment he writ ſeveral edifying epiſtles to his friends.

1655. His perſecutors raiſe a lie about the cauſe of his death.

By continuing this relation without breaking off, I am advanced ſomewhat as to time; but going back a little, let us ſee the tranſactions of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil. It was in the year 1655, that they went together to Ireland, where they came in the ſummer, and ſtaid more than ſix months, having ſpent at Dublin about three months, without being diſturbed, though they omitted no opportunity to declare the doctrine of truth. Henry Cromwell, ſon of the protector, was at that time lord deputy of Ireland; and it was in his name that they were carried from Cork, (whither they were gone) to Dublin; for ſince ſeveral received their teſtimony, and adhered to the doctrine they preached, it was reſolved upon, not to let them ſtay any longer in Ireland. Here it was, as I have been told, that William Ames, by their miniſtry, was brought over into the ſociety of the Quakers, ſo called. He was a Baptiſt teacher, and alſo a military officer, who being of a ſtrict life himſelf, kept his ſoldiers under a ſevere diſcipline. I remember how he uſed to tell us, that when any ſoldier under his colours had been guilty of any immorality on a firſt-day of the week, he preſently had him bound neck and heels. But being now entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers, and in proceſs of time becoming a miniſter among them, it was not long before he was caſt into priſon; of whom more may be ſaid hereafter.

E. Burrough and F. Howgil ſtay more than 6 months in Ireland, and are taken up in the name of H. Cromwell then lord deputy.

W. Ames a Baptiſt teacher, and ſtrict military officer, convinced, becomes a miniſter among friends, and is caſt into priſon.

Now E. Burrough and F. Howgil were baniſhed out of Ireland; but on the ſame day that they were ſent away, Barbara Blaugdon arrived there. She went from England in a veſſel bound for Cork, but by foul weather was carried to Dublin. When the tempeſt was high, the ſeamen ſaid that ſhe being a Quaker was the cauſe of it, and they conſpired to caſt her overboard. Aware of this plot, ſhe told the maſter what his men deſigned to do, and ſaid, 'that if he did ſuffer this, her blood would be required at 'his hands.' So he charged them not to meddle with her. The ſtorm continuing, and it being on a firſt-day of the week, ſhe went upon the deck, feeling herſelf moved to ſpeak to the ſeamen by way of exhortation, and to pray for them; for their prieſt, afraid like the reſt, could not ſay any thing among them. Having ſpoke what was upon her, ſhe concluded with a prayer; and all the ſhip's crew were very quiet and ſedate, ſaying, 'they were 'more beholden to her than to their prieſt, becauſe ſhe prayed for 'them; and he for fear could not open his mouth to ſpeak.' At length they arrived ſafe at Dublin, without damage, which indeed was ſtrange, and made the maſter ſay, that he was never in ſuch a ſtorm without receiving any loſs.

E. Burrough and F. Howgil baniſhed Ireland, and the day they left it, B. Blaugdon arrives there ſafe after a dreadful ſtorm at ſea.

Barbara

1655. Barbara going aſhore, went to the houſe of the deputy; but the people told her, 'there was for her no ſpeaking with him; 'for ſhe might know that he had baniſhed two of her friends out 'of the nation the day before.' Then ſhe met with the ſecretary, and deſired him 'to help her to ſpeak with the deputy.' He anſwered, 'that he did not think he could.' Then ſhe told him, that 'if he would be ſo civil, as to go up and tell the deputy, 'that there was a woman below that would ſpeak with him; if 'he refuſed, ſhe was anſwered.' So the ſecretary went up; and there came a man to fetch her into the with-drawing room; and after ſhe had been there a while, a perſon came out of the deputy's chamber, and all that accompanied him ſtood bare-headed (for they knew ſhe never ſaw the deputy) but ſhe had a ſenſe it was a prieſt, who ſhewed himſelf covered to deceive her: and the room being almoſt full of people, they aſked her, 'why ſhe 'did not do her meſſage to their lord.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'When I ſee your lord, then I ſhall do my meſſage to him.' A little after the deputy came forth, and ſat down on a couch: ſhe then ſtood up, and ſpeaking to him what was upon her mind, bad him, 'beware that he was not found fighting againſt God, in op-'poſing the truth, and perſecuting the innocent: but, like wiſe 'Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God it would 'ſtand; but if of man, it would fall. Farther, that the enmity 'did not lie ſo much in himſelf, but he was ſtirred up to it by 'evil magiſtrates, and bad prieſts; and that God's people were as 'dear to him now, as ever; and they that touched them touched 'the apple of his eye. In the mean-while, in his name, and by 'his power, there was much hurt done to the people of God, all 'over the nation, and it would at laſt lie heavy upon him. More-'over, that the teachers of the people did cauſe them to err, and 'that he knew the prieſts condition.' She touching upon that, the deputy ſaid to the prieſt that ſtood by, 'There's for you Mr Har-'riſon:' and ſhe ſpoke with ſuch power, that it made the deputy much concerned: and when ſhe had done, he aſked the prieſt, 'what he had to ſay to that which ſhe ſpoke?' And he ſaid, 'It 'was all very true, and very good, and he had nothing to ſay 'againſt it, if ſhe did ſpeak as ſhe meant.' Then ſhe told the prieſt, that 'the ſpirit of God was true, and did ſpeak as it 'meant, and meant as it ſpoke; but that men of corrupt minds 'did pervert the ſcriptures, by putting their own imaginations 'and conceivings upon it, and ſo did deceive the people: but the 'holy men of God wrote, and gave forth the ſcriptures, as they 'were inſpired of the Holy Ghoſt; and that they were of no 'private interpretation; and could not be underſtood but by the 'ſame ſpirit that gave them forth.'

Barbara, after an attempt to impoſe on her, ſpeaks with the deputy, who is very much affected with her meſſage.

Prieſt Harriſon aſſents to the truth of her teſtimony to whom ſhe ſpeaks alſo.

After having thus ſpoken, ſhe went away, and returned to her lodging, which was at one captain Rich's houſe, who coming home, ſaid, 'that the deputy was ſo ſad and melancholy, after 'ſhe had been with him, that he could not go to bowls, or any 'other paſtime.'

Barbara having now performed her ſervice at Dublin, went to Cork, where ſhe had ſome relations and acquaintance; but great

great were her ſufferings thereabout; for ſhe was impriſoned almoſt where-ever ſhe came, being moved to follow thoſe of her acquaintance, into ſeveral ſteeple-houſes; yet where-ever her mouth was opened, there were ſome that received her teſtimony. Once ſhe was made to ſpeak in a market-place, where a butcher ſwore, 'he would cleave her head;' and having lifted up his cleaver to do it, there came a woman behind him, and catching his arms, ſtopped him, till the ſoldiers came and reſcued Barbara. Many of her acquaintance, with whom ſhe formerly had been very converſant, were now afraid of her; for ſometimes ſhe ſpoke ſo awfully to them in their houſes, that it made them tremble, and ſome ſaid, 'ſhe was a witch;' and running away, their ſervants turned her out of doors. After having been there ſome time, ſhe returned home to Briſtol; but it was not very long ere ſhe was moved to go to Ireland again; and being come near Dungarvan, the ſhip foundered near the ſhore: the maſter and paſſengers got into the boat, ſave one man and a woman, who were caſt away; and Barbara, who was ſtill in the cabin, was almoſt ſtifled by waves that beat in upon her; yet at length ſhe got upon the deck. The maſter in the mean-while being come aſhore, called to her, 'that if ſhe would leap down, he and ano-'ther would venture to come into the water to ſave her.' Accordingly they came up to their necks, and ſhe leaping down, they caught her; but being entangled in the ropes in leaping down, ſhe was drawn from them again: but preſently a wave came rolling, and beat the ſhip outward, which was their preſervation; for if it had beaten inward, it might have killed them all three; ſhe was thus caught again and drawn to ſhore. Then ſhe went to Dublin, where coming into the court of juſtice, ſhe ſpoke to the judges, and exhorted them to righteouſneſs. But this was taken ſo ill, that ſhe was put into priſon, where ſhe lay upon ſtraw on the ground; and when it rained, the wet and filth of the houſe of office ran in under her. Being arraigned at the bar, ſhe was required to plead, 'guilty,' or 'not guilty.' She anſwered, 'that there was no guilt upon any one's conſcience 'for what was done in obedience to the Lord God.' But ſhe not anſwering in that form of words they bid her, was ſent back to priſon again, where ſhe ſuffered much. In the mean-while, there happened a ſingular inſtance, which I can't paſs by with ſilence.

1655. Goes then to Cork, is impriſoned in ſeveral places; many former acquaintance afraid of her; is turned out of doors, and goes home to Briſtol.

Returns for Ireland, in a ſhip which foundered near Dungarvan, but ſhe is wonderfully preſerved.

Comes to Dublin, exhorts the judges in court, for which ſhe ſuffers ſevere impriſonment.

At that time there was in priſon an inn-keeper, with his family, being accuſed of a murder: now the brother of him that was either murdered, or loſt, could not enjoy ſome land, except he could prove that his brother was dead: and in order thereto, he brought a fellow into the priſon, who ſaid, 'he would prove that 'the man was killed at ſuch an inn, and buried under a wall:' and he accuſed the inn-keeper and his wife, their man and maid, and a ſmith, to be guilty of this murder; they being already in priſon. Barbara having heard of this, found means to go to this deſperate fellow, and aſked him, 'how he could conceal this 'murder ſo long, when he was, according to law, as guilty of it 'as any of them, if what he ſaid was true.' At this queſtion he trembled ſo exceedingly, that his knees ſtruck one againſt another,

A ſtrange account of a murder.

1655. and he confeſſed, 'that he never before ſaw the ſaid people 'with his eyes, nor ever was at the place in his life, nor knew 'any thing of it, but only he was drawn in by the man that 'was to have the land, and was perſuaded to witneſs the fact.' Other priſoners heard this confeſſion alſo, and Barbara ſent to the deputy, deſiring him to ſend down his prieſt, that he might hear the ſaid confeſſion. The prieſt came, and the fellow confeſſed the ſame to him as he had done to Barbara; and he once alſo confeſſed the ſame before the judge. But afterwards he eat his words; for the man that had induced him, came every day, and made him drink plentifully, and alſo cauſed the gaoler to lock up Barbara, that ſhe might not come to him. Then ſhe wrote to the inn-keeper, and his wife, and man, and alſo to judge Pepes, and told him, 'the day of his death did draw nigh, wherein he muſt 'give an account of his actions; and that therefore he ought to 'take heed, that he did not condemn innocent people, having but 'one witneſs, in whoſe mouth ſo many lies were found, the others 'all ſaying, they were innocent.' For all that, the judge went on, and condemned all the accuſed, and the accuſer alſo, as conſcious to the crime. Hereupon a prieſt came to ſpeak with the maid that was condemned, and was in the ſame priſon with Barbara, but ſhe would not ſee him, ſaying, 'Nay, he can do me no 'good; I have done with man for ever: but God, thou knoweſt 'that I am innocent of what they lay to my charge.' But however they were all hanged, and the witneſs firſt, probably for fear he ſhould have made another confeſſion, after he had ſeen the others hanged.

Judge Pepes condemns the innocent, contrary to Barbara's caution, and dies ſoon after.

Now ſome friends of Barbara, viz. ſir William King, colonel Fare, and the lady Brown, hearing ſhe was in priſon, came to ſee her, and afterward went to the afore-mentioned judge, to get her releaſed: but when they came to him, he told them, 'that he was 'afraid of his life.' At which they laughed, and ſaid, 'they had 'known her from a child, and there was no harm in her at all.' And being all very earneſt to get her liberty, they at laſt obtained it. Then ſhe went to the ſteeple-houſe where this judge was, and cleared herſelf of him. He being come home, went to bed, and died that night. The noiſe of which ſudden death being ſpread, it made people ſay, 'that Barbara had been a true pro-'pheteſs unto him.'

Barbara comes to Limerick, is impriſoned and releaſed; and in her return to England, is robbed by a privateer.

She now went to Limerick, where ſhe was put into priſon, but after a while being releaſed, ſhe took ſhipping for England again; and at ſea was robbed of all that ſhe had, by a privateer, who coming on board, took the maſter away, until he ſhould pay a ſum of money for the ſhip and goods; but ſhe came ſafe to England. She travelled at her own charge, paying for what ſhe had.

M. Halhead goes to London; thence with T. Salthouſe to Briſtol, ſo to Exeter and Plymouth, where he is impriſoned.

But leaving her I'll return to Miles Halhead, who, as he was following the plough, in the beginning of this year, felt a motion to go to London; taking York and Hull in his way, and paſſing thence through Lincolnſhire and Leiceſterſhire, he came to the city of London, from whence, after ſome ſtay, he went to Briſtol with Thomas Salthouſe, and ſo to Exeter and Plymouth, where he ſuffered much perſecution, and was impriſoned. He writ about

that

that time a letter to his wife, which I think worth the while to insert here, and was as followeth: 1655.

ANN HALHEAD,

MY dear heart, my dear love in the bowels of love, in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes thee and my children. My soul, my soul is poured forth in love to thee daily, and the breathings of my soul to my Father is for thee, that thou mayst be kept in the fear of the Lord, and in his counsel daily, that so thou mayst come to rest and peace, that is laid up for all that fear him, and walk in obedience to the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal. So my dear heart, I declare to thee, in the presence of the living God, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and before men and angels, there is no other way that leads to peace, and eternal rest, but walking in obedience to the light that comes from Jesus Christ; and of this light thou hast received a measure. Therefore my dear heart, be faithful to the Lord in what is made known unto thee, that thou mayst come to witness true peace and rest, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what is laid up for all them that fear him. So, my dear heart, as I have found peace and eternal rest to my soul from the Lord, so I am moved of the Lord in love to thy soul, to shew thee the way that leads to peace and eternal rest, which way is Christ, who is the light, and the way that leads to the Father, from whence all light comes; and of this light which comes from Christ, I bear record thou hast received a measure. Therefore in dear love I exhort thee to walk in obedience to thy measure, which thou hast received from the Lord. So in the presence of the Lord God do I declare, that walking in obedience to this light that comes from Christ, is the way that leads to eternal rest and peace. Therefore as thou tendereſt the eternal good of thy soul, be faithful to the light that comes from Christ, which light beareth witness against lying, and swearing, and vain talking, and all manner of evil. So, my dear wife, in bowels of dear love to thy soul, which is more precious than all the world, have I shewed thee the way; if thou wilt walk in it, it will lead thee into the eternal covenant of life and peace. So, my dear wife, in love, in love I have cleared my conscience to thee, in the presence of the living God, as a true and faithful husband to thee, desiring thy eternal good and welfare as my own, the Lord God is my witness. Dear wife, remember my dear love to all my friends and countrymen, according to the flesh; for I desire the eternal good and welfare of you all, and that you all may come to believe in the light in your own consciences, which Jesus Christ hath enlightened you with; which light bears witness against lying, and swearing, and all manner of evil. This is the light of Christ, and walking in obedience to this light, is the way that leads out of sin and evil, up to God eternal, blessed for evermore: and he that acts contrary to this light in his own conscience, it is his condemnation. Now, dear friends, while you have time, prize it.

Writes to his wife.

Thy husband, and a lover of thy soul,

MILES HALHEAD.

Wiltshire, the 7th of the 3d month, 1655.

This

1655. This year alſo he writ the following epiſtle to his fellow-believers:

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

And to his friends.

IN the north of England, even to the ſouth, the land of our nativity, whom the Lord God of heaven and earth hath called and choſen in this the day of his eternal everlaſting love, to ſerve him in truth, and in righteouſneſs, who have received the Lord's truth in the love of it, not only to believe in his name, but to ſuffer bonds and impriſonments, and hard ſentences for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and the word of God. Dear friends and beloved brethren, my prayers to the Lord God of heaven and earth, and my ſoul's deſire is for you all, that you may all dwell together as children of one father, in the eternal bond of love, and oneneſs of the ſpirit; that you may all grow in the eternal living truth of God, to be eſtabliſhed upon the rock and ſure foundation, that the gates of hell and death cannot prevail againſt you; that under the ſhadow of the wings of the Almighty, you may all be kept and preſerved in peace and reſt, now in the day of trial, and hour of darkneſs, when hell hath opened her mouth, and the raging ſea caſt out her proud waves, even like to overflow the banks: glory, glory, and eternal living praiſes be given to the Lord God, and to the Lamb for evermore, of all the children of the light, who hath found a reſting-place for all his dear ones, lambs, and babes, and children of light to flee into, in the needful time of trouble, where none can make them afraid, nor take away their peace, as they abide faithful to him, who is our way, our light, our life, our ſtrength, and eternal portion for ever. My dear friends and brethren, I beſeech you, in the bowels of dear and tender love, that you walk as dear children, faithful to him who hath called you with an honourable calling, and loved you from the beginning with an everlaſting love, that all your friends and neighbours, and men of this world, that ſee your life coupled with fear, may be made to confeſs and acknowledge, to the honour and glory of the living Lord, that the God whom ye ſerve and fear, is the only true God of Iſrael: and herein you become a precious ſavour unto the living eternal God, and a ſweet ſmelling ſavour unto all the children of light, and no good thing will the Lord God with-hold from you; the mouth of the Lord God of Hoſts hath ſpoken it, whoſe promiſes are yea and amen to his own ſeed for evermore.

Given forth the 14th of the 6th month, 1655, when I was a priſoner at the priſon-houſe in the city of Exeter, in Devonſhire, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and the word of God.

MILES HALHEAD.

The cauſe of his impriſonment, and of T. Salthouſe his fellow traveller.

A chief cauſe why he was impriſoned there, was, that Thomas Salthouſe, with whom he travelled, having heard that one George Brooks, a prieſt belonging to the Nightingale Frigate, ſaid, after the declarations of M. Halhead, and T. Salthouſe at Plymouth, 'that it was the eternal truth which they had ſpoken,' with many other words in vindication of what they ſaid, told Brooks, 'that 'he had ſpoken many good words, and fair ſpeeches;' but aſked him, 'whether he lived the life of what he ſpoke?' Farther, 'He

'*that*

1655.

'*that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up ſome other way*, is, 'as Chriſt ſaid, *a thief and a robber*.' For T. Salthouſe thought, and that not without reaſon, as will be ſhewn by and by, that he did not want the praiſes of this prieſt, that were not better than thoſe of the damſel poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination, which ſhe ſpoke concerning Paul and Silas, viz. *Theſe men are the ſervants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of ſalvation.* Now what T. Salthouſe had ſpoken to the prieſt, was called provoking language; the rather, becauſe when the prieſt was ſpeaking of the trinity, T. Salthouſe had aſked him, 'where that word was 'to be found in the ſcriptures?' Saying farther, 'I know no 'ſuch ſcripture that ſpeaks of the three perſons in the trini-'ty; but the three that the ſcripture ſpeaks of, the Father, the 'Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one.' From hence T. Salthouſe, and M. Halhead, were accuſed as ſuch as denied the 'holy three that are one.' But becauſe about this accuſation, they were at a loſs in the court, ſomething elſe was thought of to enſnare them, viz. they were required to take the 'oath of ab-'juration of the pope.' This oath the mayor of Plymouth had already tendered them, when they were firſt apprehended; and they refuſing to ſwear, were ſent to Exeter priſon: and now being brought to trial, and the ſaid oath required of them, they anſwered thus:

'In the preſence of the eternal God, and before all this people, 'we do deny, with as much deteſtation as any of you do, the 'pope, and his ſupremacy, and the purgatory, and all that is in 'the form of the oath mentioned, we declare freely againſt: and 'we do not deny to ſwear becauſe of any guilt that is upon us, 'but in obedience to the command of Chriſt, who ſaith, *Swear 'not at all*: and we will not come under the condemnation of an 'oath, for the liberty of the outward man.'

Thus refuſing to ſwear, merely that they might not offend againſt the command of our Saviour, they were ſent back to priſon again, as ſuch that clandeſtinely adhered to the pope: and uſe hath been made of this ſnare during the ſpace of many years, to vex the Quakers, ſo called. The next day the priſoners were brought again before the bench, and were aſked:

'Will ye confeſs that you wronged G. Brooks in calling him 'thief, and be ſorry for it, and make him ſatisfaction?'

To this Miles anſwered:

'One of us did not ſpeak one word to him, and therefore I 'deny to make him ſatisfaction, or to be ſorry for it: and what 'was ſpoken was no ſuch thing; therefore we will not lie for our li-'berty, nor confeſs that we are ſorry for that which we never ſpoke.'

They are fined and ſent to Bridewell.

Then the court fined them five pounds a-piece; and they were to go to the houſe of correction till payment, and to find ſureties for their good behaviour: and for refuſing to take the oath, the court threatened to ſend into the north to ſeize on their eſtates. So they were returned to priſon; and what follows was entered as the record of their proceedings.

1655. 'July 10, 1655. Thomas Salthouſe, and Miles Halhead, for 'provoking words againſt G. Brooks, clerk, who refuſed to be 'tried by the country, fined £.5 a-piece, committed to Bride-'well till payment, and finding ſureties for their good behaviour.'

What is ſaid here of refuſing to be tried by the country, was a notorious untruth; and as to finding ſureties, that ſeemed of little moment; for though the giving of ſecurity had been offered before, when they were taken priſoners, yet that was not accepted of; and the mayor John Page had the boldneſs to aſſert, that they refuſed to give ſecurity, as will appear by the warrant by which he ſent them to the common gaol in Exeter, whereof the following is a true copy:

Warrant for their firſt commitment.

DEVON,

JOHN PAGE, merchant, mayor of the borough of Plymouth, in the county aforeſaid, and one of his highneſs's juſtices of the peace within the ſaid borough: to the keeper of his highneſs's gaol at Exon Caſtle, or to his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting: I ſend you herewithal by the bearer hereof, the bodies of Thomas Salthouſe, late of Dragglibeck, in the county of Lancaſter, huſbandman; and Miles Halhead, late of Kendal, in the county of Weſtmoreland, lately apprehended here, as diſturbers of the publick peace, and for divers other high miſdemeanors againſt a late proclamation, prohibiting the diſturbing of miniſters and other chriſtians in their aſſemblies and meetings, and againſt an ordinance of his ſaid highneſs the lord Protector, and his council, lately made againſt duels, challenges, and all provocations thereto, who have refuſed to give ſufficient ſecurity for their perſonal appearance at the next general ſeſſions of the peace, to be held for the county of Devon; and in the mean time to be of good behaviour towards his highneſs the lord Protector, and all his liege people. Theſe are therefore in his ſaid highneſs's name, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the ſaid Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead ſhall be unto you brought, you them ſafely detain, and keep them, until by due courſe of law they ſhall be thence delivered: hereof fail not at your peril. Given under my hand and ſeal of Plymouth aforeſaid, the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1655.

John Page, *mayor*.

Pretences for their impriſonment groundleſs.

By this may be ſeen under what frivolous pretences thoſe called Quakers were impriſoned, viz. becauſe of an ordinance made againſt duels, &c. and as for their having refuſed to give ſecurity, how untrue this was, as well as other accuſations, may appear from the following certificate:

WE, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do teſtify, that the ſeveral particulars in an anſwer made by our friends, are true, to wit, that they did not at all diſturb the publick peace, nor were they at any other meeting (but that which was appointed by us) to diſturb any miniſters, or other chriſtians in their aſſemblies and meetings: nor were they guilty of any challenges, duels, and provocations thereunto in the leaſt meaſure whilſt they were

were amongſt us. And as for their refuſal to give ſecurity, two of us, whoſe names are Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton, had given ſecurity to the mayor, by entering into recogniſance for their appearance at the next ſeſſions, the day before their ſending to priſon, but that the town clerk made it void the next day, pretending it could not be according to law. 1655.

Ralph Fogg,	Thomas Faulkener,
Arthur Cotton,	Nicholas Cole,
Robert Cary,	John Martindale,
Richard Smith,	Richard Lepincote,
Anthony Todde,	John Harris, ſen.
John Harris, jun.	

Now to what a height of confidence the aforeſaid mayor Page was come, in ſaying, that Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead had refuſed to give bail, nay, that this was the cauſe of their confinement, may alſo appear from the following letter he writ to general Deſborough, to excuſe his proceedings againſt them.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Plymouth, June 1, 1655.

CAPTAIN Hatſell hath communicated to me what you wrote him in reference to thoſe two men, Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead, of whom, and of their impriſonment, your honour had heard ſomething from ſome perſons of this place, and received a copy of a letter which they ſent me. By the incloſed copies of their examinations, your honour will ſee ſome part of the cauſe of their confinement, which was on their refuſal to give bail for their appearance the next general ſeſſions, to be held for the county of Devon, they being, as I conceive, offenders within the late ordinance of his highneſs the lord Protector and council, made againſt duels, challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and alſo his highneſs's late proclamation againſt Quakers; and they ſtill refuſing to give bail for their appearance as aforeſaid, went from hence to the gaol at Exon on Tueſday laſt. Indeed, ſir, their carriage here was not becoming men, much leſs chriſtians; and beſides their contempt of authority, all the while they were in priſon, they never ſought God by prayer at any time, nor deſired a bleſſing on any creature they received, or gave thanks for them. And theſe very men were about two months paſt taken up by colonel Cuppleſton high ſheriff of our county, and after fourteen days reſtraint, were ſent away by him for Taunton, from tithing to tithing, as by their own examination; and they ſhew no occaſion they have to come to theſe parts. They are by profeſſion Quakers, but huſbandmen by their calling: one of them is a Lancaſhire man, the other of Weſtmoreland; and they left their families, relations, and callings about three months ſince, as they ſay, and do not work, nor employ themſelves in their calling, to procure themſelves a livelihood, but wander up and down in all parts, to vent their wicked opinions, and diſcover their irregular practices in the breach of peace, and diſturbance of good people. Indeed, ſir, they hold many ſad opinions, deſtructive to the true religion, and the power of godlineſs. I have hereby, according

Page's letter to general Deſborough, in excuſe for his proceedings.

to

1655. to my duty, given your honour an account of what paſſed here in reference to theſe men. I could ſay much more in reference to their examination and diſcourſe with them; but I fear I have already treſpaſſed upon your honour's patience in the peruſal of theſe lines, and humbly deſiring your excuſe for giving you this trouble, do moſt thankfully acknowledge your honour's continued favours to this place, for which we ſtand very much obliged, deſiring your honour ſtill to retain ſuch an opinion of us, as thoſe that deſire to do nothing unbecoming chriſtians, and perſons that deſire the welfare and peace of this common-wealth and government, and ſhall ever labour to appear

Your honour's very humble ſervant,

(for myſelf and my brethren,)

John Page, *mayor*.

Deſborough ſuppoſed little ſatisfied therewith.

That general Deſborough was but little ſatisfied with this letter, ſeems not improbable, becauſe enquiring into the matter, he let others have a copy of it, ſo that Thomas and Miles wrote an anſwer to it; and it was alſo ſome time after given out in publick print at London, by Giles Calvert, with other writings relating thereunto. Now as to what is ſaid in this letter of 'his highneſs's 'proclamation againſt Quakers,' it was a groſs untruth; for in the proclamation the Quakers were not named; but it was againſt the diſturbing of chriſtians in their aſſemblies; and beſides, the Quakers, ſo called, judged that their publick worſhip was permitted them by the 37th article of the inſtrument of government, which ſaid, 'That all that profeſs faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, 'ſhall not be reſtrained from, but be protected in the profeſſion of 'the faith, and exerciſe of their religion,' &c. As concerning their contempt of authority the mayor charged them with, it was nothing elſe, but that for conſcience-ſake they could not take off their hats to the magiſtrates; neither did they give that honour to any other but God alone. And as to what was ſaid, 'that all the while they were in priſon they never ſought God by 'prayer,' &c. this was no other matter, than that they did not follow the formal way of prayers; for they were indeed religious men, who often prayed to God, and gave him thanks, though they were repreſented in the letter as very wicked men, and vagabonds that had left their calling, and wandered up and down the country; although it was well known that they were honeſt men, that travelled on horſe-back, lying at the beſt inns on the road, and paying for what they received there. And therefore, after they had got a copy of the ſaid letter, they writ a large letter to the mayor Page, and ſhewed him his abominable untruths, and told him, that 'they had been moved ſeveral times in priſon, as 'well as out of priſon, to go to prayers, and to give thanks for 'the bleſſings of God which they received.' And in the concluſion of their letter, they ſignified, 'that they would not render railing 'for railing; but (ſaid they) in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs 'we exhort you all to repent, and fear to offend the Lord,' &c.

Anſwer to ſaid letter printed.

Now as concerning the 'provoking words againſt George 'Brooks,'

'Brooks,' for which they had been fined, it hath been ſaid already what they were; but this Brooks was of a diſſolute life, and a debauched fellow, having for his drunkenneſs not only been turned out of the frigates in which he had ſerved, but alſo once in the ſhip Nightingale, ignominiouſly expoſed with a quarter can about his neck, as appears by the following teſtimonies: 1655. Salthouſe and Halhead fined on account of prieſt Brooks.

'I having been formerly deſired to relate upon what account 'twas that mr. George Brooks, chaplain of the frigate under my 'command was put on ſhore: Firſt, becauſe he was a buſy body, 'and diſturbed the whole ſhip's company. Secondly, being on 'ſhore, it was his common practice to abuſe the creature in ſuch 'ſort, that he was drunken, void of good reaſon, that he would 'abuſe any one that came in his company, by ill language, beſides 'the abuſe of himſelf and the good creature, daily complaints 'coming unto me both a board and on ſhore. Therefore knowing 'him to be a deboiſt fellow, and not fit for that employment, I 'put him on ſhore, and I dare own it, whoever ſhall call me to 'queſtion. Witneſs my hand, Robert Veſſay.

'Mr. Brooks being formerly with me in the Nightingale, I found 'him to be very idle, and continually drunk, which once made 'me to put a quarter can about his neck; whereunto I ſubſcribe 'John Jeffery, *captain of the Nantwich.*'

'The perſon above-mentioned I have ſeen drunk on ſhore, in 'teſtimony whereof I have ſet my hand, Richard Potter, '*captain of the Conſtant Warwick frigate.*'

From ſuch evidences as theſe it appears, that it was not without reaſon that he and the like prieſts ſometimes were treated a little roughly. But to return to Miles Halhead; he continued priſoner many months before he was releaſed.

In the mean-while it happened that George Whitehead, Richard Clayton, and John Harwood, coming on the 30th of the month called July to Bures in Suffolk, were impriſoned on this occaſion: R. Clayton had ſet up a paper on the ſteeple-houſe door, containing theſe queries. G. Whitehead, Rich. Clayton, and J. Harwood come to Bures in Suffolk, and are impriſoned.

'Whether by ſetting up ſuch miniſters as ſeek for their gain 'from their quarters, ſuch as the prophet diſapproves, Iſaiah lvi. '11. ſuch as the prophet Jeremiah diſapproves, Jer. v. and of 'whom mention is made alſo Ezek. xxxiv. and Mic. iii. ſuch as 'are called of men, maſters, loving the chief places in the aſſem-'blies; ſuch as Chriſt diſapproved, Matth. xxiii. ſuch as the 'apoſtle Peter diſapproves, 2. Pet. ii. and which the apoſtle Paul 'diſapproved alſo, Phil. iii. Or when ſuch were ſet up that would 'not ſuffer another to ſpeak that ſtands by, when any thing is 'revealed, but ſend him to priſon; whether this was not the 'ſetting up a perſecuting ſpirit, limiting the ſpirit of God, and 'deſpiſing prophecies, not daring to try all things? Whether it 'was expedient to give to ſcoffers, ſcorners, drunkards, ſwearers, 'and perſecutors, David's conditions to ſing? And if ſuch were 'ſet up that took tithes, though the apoſtle ſaid that the prieſt-'hood was changed, and the law alſo, Heb. vii. whether by

1655. 'the ſetting up of ſuch, they did not ſet up ſuch as did not 'labour in the Lord's vineyard?'

This paper being ſet up, people came to read it: G. Whitehead being there, and laying hold of this opportunity, ſpoke a few words to the people, and exhorted them 'to turn to the Lord from 'the vanities and wickedneſs they lived in.' And when G. Whitehead and his fellow-travellers were paſſing away, there came a conſtable who ſtaid them, and carried them before Harbert Pelham, juſtice of peace. He aſking ſeveral vain queſtions, and behaving himſelf rudely, G. Whitehead began to ſpeak to him concerning his rage: but Pelham ſaid, 'he did not ſend for him to preach.' And not being able to lay the tranſgreſſion of any law to their charge, he ſent them, by the conſtable, to Thomas Walgrave, juſtice of peace at Smalbridge in Suffolk. Being come into his houſe, Richard Clayton was firſt examined, of his name, and country, and where he had been. The ſame and ſome other frivolous queſtions were aſked of G. Whitehead. Then Walgrave aſked John Harwood, 'if he would anſwer him all the queſtions 'he ſhould demand of him:' but J. Harwood refuſed to be limited thus to his will. Juſtice Pelham now being come thither alſo, J. Harwood told juſtice Walgrave, that Pelham, who had before examined him, had his examination in writing. Then the two juſtices conſulted together what to do in the caſe; and not long after Thomas Walgrave aſked G. Whitehead, 'if he would work 'at hay?' But he denied to be bound to ſuch taſk-maſters, as being in that calling whereunto God had called him, and wherein he was chargeable to no man. The concluſion of their conſultation was, that they cauſed R. Clayton to be whipped, under pretence of having faſtened a ſeditious paper to the ſteeple-houſe door; and the other two were impriſoned.

Are had before juſ. Pelham, who ſends them to juſ. Walgrave at Smalbridge, and comes thither alſo.

Clayton is whipped, and Whitehead and Harwood ſent to priſon.

It was about this time that William Dewſbury, and ſeveral other of his friends were put into priſon at Northampton. It happened that he being at Wellingborough, and going along the ſtreets, the prieſt Thomas Andrews called to him in theſe words, 'Give 'over deceiving the people, leſt the plagues of God fall on thee.' To this Dewſbury returned, 'Doſt thou ſay I deceive the people? 'Make it manifeſt wherein I deceive them.' Then Andrews ſaid, 'Thou ſayſt there is not any original ſin.' To this Dewſbury replied, 'Didſt thou hear me ſay ſo?' But the prieſt unwilling to anſwer that queſtion, went away. Afterwards Dewſbury went into the ſteeple-houſe in the ſaid town, and after the ſermon was done, he demanded of the prieſt that he would prove there before the people, what he had openly accuſed him of, viz. 'that he 'had ſaid there was no original ſin.' Yet the prieſt would not anſwer, but went away. There was alſo information given, that Dewſbury had ſaid, '*The prieſts preach for hire, and the people love* '*to have it ſo: but what will ye do in the end thereof?*' But that this was really ſo, I don't find.

W. Dewſbury at Wellingborough, reproached by prieſt Andrews, whom he viſits at the ſteeple-houſe, is kept in priſon half a year then brought to his trial at Northampton with others before judge Atkins.

Dewſbury then being committed to priſon, and kept there above half a year, was at laſt brought to his trial at Northampton, with other priſoners, his friends; and being ſet to the bar, the judge — Atkins ſaid to the gaoler, 'Do you uſe to bring priſoners be-

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'fore the court in this manner? You deſerve to be fined ten 'pounds for bringing them before the court covered.' The gaoler anſwered, 'If you command me, I will take off their hats.' To which the judge gave command, and the gaoler's man took them off. Then the judge ſaid to Dewſbury, 'What art thou here for?' Dewſbury anſwered, 'The mittimus will expreſs what I was com-'mitted for; but a copy of it I am denied by the keeper of the 'gaol.' The next query of the judge was, 'What is thy name?' And the anſwer was, 'Unknown to the world.' 'Let us hear,' ſaid the judge, 'what that name is that the world knows not.' 'It is,' quoth Dewſbury, 'known in the light, and none can 'know it, but he that hath it; but the name the world knows 'me by, is William Dewſbury.' Then ſaid the judge, 'What 'countryman art thou?' Dewſbury anſwered, 'Of the land of Ca-'naan.' 'That's far off,' replied the judge. 'Nay,' ſaid Dewſbu-ry; 'for all that dwell in God, are in the holy city, new Jeruſa-'lem, which comes down from heaven, where the ſoul is in reſt, 'and enjoys the love of God in Jeſus Chriſt, in whom the union 'is with the Father of light.' To this the judge returned, 'That 'is true, but are you aſhamed of your country? Is it a diſparage-'ment for you to be born in England?' 'Nay,' ſaid Dewſbury, 'I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkſhire, 'nine miles from York, towards Hull.' Then the judge ſaid, 'You pretend to be extraordinary men, and to have an extraor-'dinary knowledge of God.' To which Dewſbury replied, 'We 'witneſs the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, 'wrought in us by the ſpirit of God.' 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'the apoſtles wrought with their hands in their callings.' 'They 'had,' anſwered Dewſbury, 'callings in the world, ſome were 'fiſhermen, Paul a tentmaker; but when they were called to the 'miniſtry of Chriſt, they left their callings, to follow Chriſt, whi-'ther he led them by his ſpirit, to preach the word: and I had a 'calling in the world, as they had, and in it did abide, until the 'Father revealed his Son in me, and called me from my calling I 'had in the world, to preach the eternal word he had made known 'to me in the great work of regeneration.' 'Why,' queried the judge, 'didſt thou not abide in thy own country, and teach 'people in them parts?' 'There I did ſtay,' returned Dewſbury, 'until I was called from thence to go where I was led by the 'ſpirit of the Lord: and as many as are led by the ſpirit of God, 'are the ſons and daughters of God; and they that have not the 'ſpirit of Chriſt are none of his.' To this the judge ſaid, 'You 'ſay well; for we muſt in charity conclude, that every one in 'this place hath the ſpirit of God in him: but how do you know 'that you are guided by the ſpirit of God?' 'They that have the 'ſpirit of God,' replied Dewſbury, 'are known by their fruits; 'and he that believeth in Jeſus Chriſt, and is guided by his 'ſpirit, hath the witneſs in himſelf.' 'That is true,' ſaid the judge, 'yet notwithſtanding, I ſee by your carriage, that what 'my brother Hale did at the laſt aſſizes, in requiring bond for 'your good behaviour, he might juſtly do it; for you are againſt 'magiſtrates and miniſters.' But Dewſbury returned, 'Make 'that manifeſt wherein we are againſt them.' Then

Some very remarkable paſſages between judge Atkins, and W. Dewſbury.

1655.

Then ſaid the judge to the clerk, Robert Guy, 'What have you 'againſt theſe men?' And he gave relation of what Dewſbury had ſaid to prieſt Andrews in the ſteeple-houſe. Dewſbury then giving an account of the matter of fact, and how the thing happened; and that it was not any breach of the law of the nation; the judge reſumed, 'But in that you are found wandering in the 'country, you break the law; for there is an old law, that if any 'did go from their dwellings to travel in the country without a 'certificate from ſome juſtice, they were to be taken as wandering 'perſons.' To this Dewſbury ſaid, 'If there be any ſuch law, 'read it to us; and if there be ſuch a law, thou knoweſt in thy 'conſcience it is contrary to the ſcripture; for the apoſtles and 'miniſters of Chriſt went to and fro in the country, preaching the 'word of eternal life; and there were added to the church daily 'ſuch as ſhould be ſaved; and the number of the ſaints and bre-'thren was daily increaſed: and the law that is in force in this 'nation, doth allow all that profeſs faith in Jeſus Chriſt, to have 'free liberty to walk in the faith, which is according to ſcripture.' To this the judge ſaid, 'Thou haſt an eloquent tongue, and thou 'art proud of it.' 'Pride I deny,' replied Dewſbury, 'but the 'truth I witneſs, which will judge pride, and torment all that 'live in it, until it be deſtroyed.' The judge then ſpoke to the other priſoners; and though he behaved himſelf moderately, yet he could not reſolve to ſet them at liberty; but they were continued in priſon, though they had been kept there above twenty-nine weeks.

The judge, though he behaved himſelf moderately, continues them in priſon.

And among others J. Huchin,

One of theſe priſoners was John Huchin, whom they had nothing elſe to charge with, but that being come into the ſteeple-houſe at Wellingborough, he ſtood there peaceably in ſilence, but before half the ſermon was over, prieſt Andrews commanded to have him taken away; which was done by the church-warden, Henry Henſnan, who carried him to an ale-houſe, where it was told him by the conſtable, 'that if he would not come into the 'church in the afternoon, he ſhould be ſet free.' But he refuſing to make ſuch a promiſe, though they let him alone then, yet ſome days after a conſtable came to his maſter's ſhop, where he was working, and took him away without ſhewing any warrant.

M. Pattiſon,

Another of the priſoners was Michael Pattiſon, who having been in the ſame ſteeple-houſe, and ſtood peaceably in ſilence until prieſt Andrews had done, and the people were going away, ſaid to him, 'Friend, canſt thou witneſs this to be the word of the 'Lord, that thou haſt ſpoken here before the people?' But this ſo offended the prieſt, that he commanded the officers to take Michael away, which the conſtable John Brown did.

And Thomas Goodyar.

Thomas Goodyar, who alſo was one of the priſoners, being come to Northampton to viſit his friends in priſon there, it was denied him by the gaoler; and he meeting the mayor and ſome aldermen in the ſtreets, ſpoke to them about perſecution; but one of the aldermen ſtruck off his hat, and ſaid, 'he would teach 'him better manners, than to ſtand and talk before the may-'or with his hat on.' Then they required ſureties for his good behaviour, and he told them, 'that he was bound to good beha-

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'viour by the righteous law of God: and refuſing to find ſure-'ties, he was taken up in the ſtreet, and ſent to priſon without mittimus, or farther examination. But I won't detain my reader any longer with theſe priſoners; for if I ſhould relate all occurrences of this nature that are come to my knowledge, and under what unreaſonable pretences, even ſuch that were as yet not fully entered into the communion of thoſe called Quakers, were committed to priſon, I muſt write much more than I might be able to do, though my life ſhould yet be lengthened conſiderably.

I find among my papers of this time, the names of about an hundred perſons, who, for not paying tithes to the prieſts, and refuſing to ſwear, ſuffered either by ſeizure of their cattle and goods, or impriſonment. Thomas Aldam for not paying tithes to the prieſt Thomas Rookby of Warnſworth, was impriſoned at York, in the year 1652, where he was kept above two years and a half, and beſides had thirteen beeves and two horſes taken from him.

T. Aldam's ſufferings by prieſt Rookby of Warnſworth.

But paſſing by a multitude of the like caſes, I return again to G. Fox, whom I left at London. He having had there ſeveral large meetings, went from thence to Colcheſter, where, with difficulty, he viſited James Parnel in priſon. From Colcheſter he went to Ipſwich, and ſo on to Norwich, and Yarmouth, finding ſervice every where.

G. Fox viſits J. Parnel at Colcheſter, thence goes to Ipſwich, &c.

Travelling farther in company with R. Hubberthorn towards Lynn, and by the way being in bed at an inn, a conſtable and officers came thither, being ſent with an hue and cry from a juſtice of peace, to ſearch for two horſe-men that rid upon gray horſes, and in gray clothes; a houſe being broken up at night, as was reported. Now, tho' they ſaid they were honeſt and innocent men, yet a guard with halberts and pikes was ſet upon them that night, and in the morning they were carried before a juſtice of peace about five miles off. The juſtice grew angry, becauſe they did not put off their hats to him: but G. Fox told him, 'he had 'been before the Protector, and he was not offended at his hat; 'why then ſhould he be offended at it, who was but one of his 'ſervants?' The juſtice having examined them, ſaid, 'he believed 'they were not the men that had broken open the houſe; but he 'was ſorry that he had no more againſt them.' But G. Fox told him, 'he ought not to be ſorry for not having evil againſt them; 'but rather to be glad.' The juſtice, tho' ſtirred up by the conſtable to ſend them to priſon, yet let them go. G. Fox being thus ſet at liberty, travelled on to Lynn, from whence he went to Sutton, where he had a great meeting, many people from other places being come thither, and alſo the mayor's wife of Cambridge, and many hundreds were convinced of the truth he preached. From thence he paſſed to Cambridge, and tho' the ſcholars were exceeding rude, yet he got ſafe into an inn. In the dark of the evening, the mayor of the town came, and fetched him to his houſe, whither ſome friendly people were ſent for, and he had a meeting there. Next morning he departed the town, and returned to London, where he ſtaid ſome time.

In the way toward Lynn, is ſeized, together with R. Hubberthorn by hue and cry, on ſuſpicion of robbery, but let go.

Comes to Lynn, thence goes to Sutton, where many hundreds are convinced; ſo toCambridge, and then to London.

In this year came out the oath of abjuration againſt king Charles, whereupon he wrote to the Protector, acquainting him,

Writes to the protector about the oath of abjuration.

1655. 'that many of his friends, who could not ſwear for conſcience-
'ſake, ſuffered much on this account.'

Goes to Leiceſterſh. has a great meeting at Whetſtone, col. Hacker's wife, marſhal, &c. are convinced; meets J. Nayler at London, and has fear concerning him.

From London he went to Leiceſterſhire, and coming to Whetſtone, where formerly he had been taken by colonel Hacker, he now had a great meeting, to which Hacker's wife, and his marſhal came, and they, beſides many more, were convinced by G. Fox's miniſtry, who going from thence after having paſſed thro' many places, came again to London, where meeting James Nayler, and caſting his eyes upon him, he was ſtruck with a fear concerning him, being, as it were, under a ſenſe of ſome great diſaſter that was like to befal him.

E. Burrough writes boldly to the protector.

In this year Edward Burrough writ a letter to the Protector, wherein he told him, 'that the Lord's controverſy was againſt 'him, becauſe he had not been faithful in God's work; but that 'he had taken his reſt and eaſe upon a lofty mountain of pride 'and vain glory, having ſet up himſelf to be worſhipped, and 'exalting his own horn, without giving glory and honour to 'God.' Moreover, 'that he had not performed his vows made to 'the Lord in the day of diſtreſs; and that now he ſuffered griev-'ous oppreſſion, cruelty, and tyranny to be acted in his name, by 'unjuſt impriſonments, and perſecution of the Lord's people. 'That therefore the Lord would bring his judgments upon him, 'except he did repent.' How boldly ſoever Burrough wrote in this letter to Cromwell, yet I do not find that he ſhewed himſelf angry becauſe of it: but yet he hearkened too much to the flatteries of thoſe teachers, who being now entered into the poſſeſſions of the Epiſcopalians, exalted him as their idol, by their applauſe. And he revering them as ſuch who could ſtrengthen his authority with the people, winked at the grievous perſecution, by their inſtigation carried on againſt the Quakers ſo called.

Publick tranſactions.

In the mean-while there were many malecontents, who could not bear that Cromwell ſhould force the members of parliament to conſent to make no change in the government then eſtabliſhed, and would not ſuffer any one to ſit in the houſe, without having promiſed by writing, not to oppoſe, or give his conſent there, to the change of the ſaid government. This gave occaſion, that even ſome of thoſe who had been his eminent friends, now did not ſtick to reprove him ſharply.

Some memorable paſſages concerning J. Lilburn;

Among theſe, was lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, who being an extraordinary bold man, very ſtiff and inflexible, had more than once ſhewed himſelf a publick aſſertor of the people's liberties and freedoms; for which he had been proſecuted at law, viz. once in the year 1645, when he was impriſoned as guilty of treaſon, but was diſcharged; and afterwards, in the year 1649, when, having publiſhed ſeveral books, to expoſe to the publick the arbitrary power he thought was exerciſed in the government, he was confined in the tower: and after having been priſoner above ſeven months, was impeached of high treaſon. But he ſo vigorouſly defended his cauſe, that tho' ſtrong perſuaſions had been uſed to move the jury to bring him in guilty, yet he ſo far prevailed, that at length he was ſet at liberty again; though I find that once he was whipped for a crime laid to his charge, of which he gloried publickly.

publickly. And when Cromwell had uſurped the ſupreme power, Lilburn made bold to charge him, both by word of mouth, and by writing, with falſeneſs and tyranny; and he went on at that rate, that Cromwell foreſeeing, that if this man continued thus to expoſe his doings, he ſhould not be able to maintain his credit and authority, ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, and impeached of high treaſon. When Lilburn, thus accuſed, appeared at the bar, he behaved himſelf with that undauntedneſs, and ſo defended his cauſe, that he ſeemed leſs to plead for his life, than for the freedom of his country: and boldly anſwering what was objected to him, ſaid, 'that what he had done, was not only no 'high treaſon, but the government was ſuch, that no high treaſon 'could be committed againſt it; and that therefore all true Eng-'liſhmen were obliged to oppoſe the tyranny that was exerciſed.' He alſo ſaid, 'that having been once in favour with Cromwell, 'he might have attained to great preferment, if he would have 'been quiet; but that he having thought this unlawful, it was 'now reſolved to have his life taken away; which he did not fear, 'becauſe he aſſerted a good cauſe.' Thus vigorouſly Lilburn pleaded, and he defended his cauſe with ſuch ſtrong arguments, that the jury brought him in not guilty, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary. 1655.

Now, though according to law, he muſt have been ſet at liberty, yet Cromwell would not conſent to it, but kept him priſoner; and becauſe he indeed feared him, as one that would weaken his government, he ordered him to be carried from one priſon to another, till at length he came to be confined in the caſtle of Dover, in which town lived Luke Howard, mentioned before; who thereby having occaſion to ſpeak with Lilburn concerning religion, gave him ſuch convincing reaſons for his profeſſion, as prevailed upon Lilburn to receive the truth; as he himſelf ſignified in a letter he writ to his wife; who having viſited him in priſon, afterwards writ to him this following exhortation:

Who, while priſoner in Dover Caſtle, comes to be acquainted with L. Howard, and partly convinced.

MY DEAR,

RETAIN a ſober patient ſpirit within thee, which I am confident thou ſhalt ſee ſhall be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen mettle hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as ſhall make us ſtudy ourſelves more than we have done.

Hereupon his wife writes to him.

Theſe words were ſo acceptable to Lilburn, that repeating them in his letter to her, he anſwered thus, after many other paſſages:

O, my dear love!

I AM deeply already entered into my part of it: the mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and alſo to go through thine, and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along hand in hand with me, which abundantly would render thee more amiable, lovely, and pleaſant in mine eyes, although thou wert then clothed in rags, than thou couldſt be to me in thy drawing back, or ſtanding ſtill where thou waſt when I laſt ſaw thee, tho' therein thou wert clothed all over with rich and outwardly glitter-

His anſwer.

ing

1655. ing earthly diamonds, and in the greateſt of earthly proſperity. I am ſorry that thou art ſo ſtraitly put to it for money; but to live upon God by faith, in the depth of ſtraits, is the lively condition of a chriſtian. O that thy ſpirit could attain unto this! according to thy deſire in thy letter, and my own preſent frame of ſpirit.——I now can contentedly feed ſavourily upon bread and cheeſe, and ſmall-beer alone, for ſaving of money. And for my liberty, about which thou ſo wearieſt and ſpendeſt thyſelf, as thy letter acquaints me thou doſt, I can ſay to thee, that I am in my preſent temper of ſpirit, ready really with Peter, at the ſight of the glorious transfiguration of Chriſt, to ſay, *It is good being here.* For here in Dover Caſtle, through the loving kindneſs of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God, and myſelf, and his gracious out-goings to my ſoul, than ever I had in all my life-time, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the biſhops.——And now ſubmiſſively and heartily I can ſay, the will of my heavenly Father be done in me, by me and for me; in whoſe will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and reſt

Thine in the ſtrength of

Renewedneſs of true love,

JOHN LILBURN.

From Dover Caſtle, the place of the preſent enjoyed delightful diſpenſations of the eternal, everlaſting love of God unto my ſoul. The 4th of the 10th month, 1655.

Cromwell ſeems willing to releaſe Lilburn conditionally, but he refuſes.

Whilſt Lilburn was priſoner here, Cromwell, as it ſeemed, would have releaſed him, if he would have ſigned a declaration that he would never draw a ſword againſt his government. But Lilburn as yet not being fully convinced, that to refrain the uſe of the carnal ſword, was the duty of a true chriſtian, refuſed, thinking, that though G. Fox had ſigned ſuch a declaration, yet this did not become him, becauſe he did not perfectly approve that point of ſelf-denial. But however, continuing in faithfulneſs, to perſevere in reſpect of that knowledge he had already attained to, he became, in proceſs of time, ſuch an aſſertor of the true chriſtian life, that in a paper, which at his deſire was given out in print, he expreſſed himſelf thus:

Very remarkable expreſſions of the inward experiences of J. Lilburn, and his confeſſion to the truth of the Quakers principles.

I HAVE now the faithful and true witneſs in my own ſoul, that the Lord himſelf is become within me, the teacher of my ſoul, and enabler of me to walk in a meaſure of his pure ways and paths; yea, and ſo clear a teacher within me is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward teacher ſhall never now more be removed into a corner; but is, and ſhall be, as a continual voice ſpeaking in my ears, *This is the way, walk in it:* by which divine teaching, I am now daily taught to die to ſin, and led up by it into living power, to be raiſed up, and enabled to live in a pure meaſure of righteouſneſs, and by which inward ſpiritual teachings, I am, I ſay again, led up into power in Chriſt, by which I particularly can, and do hereby witneſs, that I am already dead, or crucified to the very occaſions, and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal ſword-fightings, and fleſhly buſtlings and conteſts; and that therefore

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therefore confidently I now believe, I ſhall never hereafter be an uſer of a temporal ſword more, nor a joiner with thoſe that ſo do. And this I do here ſolemnly declare, not in the leaſt to avoid perſecution, or for any politick ends of my own, or in the leaſt for the ſatisfaction of the fleſhly wills of any of my great adverſaries, or for ſatisfying the carnal will of my poor weak afflicted wife: but by the ſpecial movings and compulſions of God now upon my ſoul, am I in truth and righteouſneſs compelled thus to declare; that ſo I may take away from my adverſaries, all their fig-leaf covers, or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjuſt bonds. And that thereby, if yet I muſt be an impriſoned ſufferer, it may from this day forward, be for the truth as it is in Jeſus; which truth I witneſs to be truly profeſſed and practiſed by the favourieſt of people called Quakers.

And to this my preſent declaration, which I exceedingly long and earneſtly deſire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully and aſſuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witneſs the truth of it, I ſubſcribe my name,

From my innocent, and every way cauſeleſs captivity, in Dover-Caſtle, the place of my ſoul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have réally and ſubſtantially found that which my ſoul many years hath ſought diligently after, and with unſatisfied longingneſs thirſted to enjoy: this preſent firſt-day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d month, 1655.

JOHN LILBURN.

It ſufficiently appears by this, that Lilburn did not think that this declaration would procure his liberty; and he gueſſed not wrong; for before he was releaſed, Cromwell died. Lilburn being then diſcharged from his confinement, continued ſtedfaſt to the doctrine of the truth he had embraced, and died at London in the year 1660. But being advanced in the time, I go therefore back a little, and intend in the ſequel to give a more circumſtantial deſcription of Cromwell's death.

In the publick profeſſion whereof he died at London 1660. Some time after he was diſcharged from his impriſonment.

And thus I conclude this book with the year 1655, in which year there was a plot of the Royaliſts againſt Cromwell; and in Nottinghamſhire they had already ſurpriſed ſome places; and towards the weſt the city of Saliſbury. The young king Charles was now come from Cologn into Zealand, to be the nearer if the attempt ſucceeded. But his time of ruling was not yet come; for the Cavaliers were ſoon forced to give way to the power of Cromwell: and the deſign being thus quaſhed, king Charles returned to Cologn. In the mean-while Cromwell, to raiſe his eſteem abroad, ſent a fleet under admiral Penn to the Weſt-Indies, and another under the command of admiral Blake towards the Mediterranean ſea.

Plot of the Royaliſts againſt Cromwell defeated,

Who ſends out two fleets under his admirals, Penn and Blake.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

NEAR the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox went from London to Surry, Chicheſter, Portſmouth, and Pool, where William Baily, a Baptiſt teacher, and ſome others, were

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G. Fox goes to Surry, &c. and to Pool, where W. Baily a Baptiſt, is convinced, and comes to have a publick teſtimony. Thence to Southampton and Dorcheſter, where he diſcourſes with the Baptiſts, and many ſubſtantial people are convinced.

convinced by G. Fox's miniſtry, and entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, among whom, Baily afterwards became an eminent miniſter. From Pool G. Fox went to Southampton and Dorcheſter, where he deſired of the Baptiſts to have their meeting-houſe to meet in: but they refuſing, he ſent them word, 'that 'they might come to his inn, if they pleaſed.' Many of them came, with their teacher, and they fell into a diſcourſe about water-baptiſm. G. Fox aſked them, 'whether they could ſay 'they were ſent of God to baptize people, as John was? And 'whether they had the ſame ſpirit and power, that the apoſtles 'had?' They ſaid, 'they had not.' Then he aſked them, 'how 'many powers there are? Whether there are any more than the 'power of God, and the power of the Devil?' And they ſaid, 'there was not any power but thoſe two.' Then ſaid G. Fox, 'if you have not the power of God, that the apoſtles had, then 'you act by the power of the Devil.' And his ſpeaking was of ſuch effect, that many ſubſtantial people were convinced that night. Next morning when he was paſſing away, the Baptiſts began to ſhake the duſt from off their feet after him. 'What,' ſaid he, 'in the power of darkneſs! We who are in the power of 'God, ſhake off the duſt of our feet againſt you.'

Then to Weymouth, where at a prieſt's houſe many receive his teſtimony, and alſo a captain remarkable for laughter.

Leaving Dorcheſter he came to Weymouth, where inquiring after the ſober people, about fourſcore of them gathered together at a prieſt's houſe; and moſt of them were turned to Chriſt Jeſus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they were reproved of their ſins. There was at that time a captain of horſe in the town, who rode about ſeven miles out of town with G. Fox: this captain was of ſuch a merry temper, and ſo exceedingly given to laughter, that G. Fox ſeveral times ſpoke very ſeriouſly to him about it; but it was become ſo cuſtomary to him, that he would laugh almoſt at any thing he ſaw. But G. Fox ſtill admoniſhed him to gravity, and the fear of the Lord; and of this he ſpoke to him again when they parted. The next time G. Fox ſaw him, the captain told him, 'that when he ſpoke to him at 'parting, the power of the Lord ſo ſtruck him, that before he 'got home, he was ſerious enough, and had left his laughing.' He indeed became a ſerious and good man; and being convinced of the truth, died in the real profeſſion thereof.

Has good ſervice at Kingſbridge:

For brevity's-ſake, I don't intend to mention all the places G. Fox paſt through, much leſs all his occurrences. At Kingſbridge he had good ſervice; and returning in the evening to his inn, and there being many people drinking, he was moved to go amongſt them, and to direct them 'to the light which Chriſt, the heavenly man, 'had enlightened them withal; by which light they might ſee all 'their evil ways, words, and deeds: and by the ſame light they 'might alſo ſee Chriſt Jeſus their Saviour.' But this diſcourſe did not pleaſe the inn-keeper, ſeeing it hindered his gueſts from drinking: and hearing G. Fox ſpeak ſo much of the light, he ſnatched away the candle, and ſaid, 'Come, here is light for you to go into 'your chamber.'

The next day G. Fox went to Plymouth, and from thence to Cornwal; and travelling through the country he came to Market-

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Goes to Market-Jew, where he meets with trouble; and more in company with E. Pyot and W. Salt, from major Ceely.

Jew. Being there at an inn, he met with ſome trouble from the magiſtrates; and he writ a paper to ſhew, that 'the Lord was 'come to teach his people himſelf, by Jeſus Chriſt,' &c. This paper came accidentally to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and alſo a juſtice of peace at Ives, whither G. Fox came. Here Edward Pyot and William Salt, who were G. Fox's fellow-travellers, were haled before the ſaid major, whilſt G. Fox was walking down to the ſea-ſide: but he hearing this, followed them, and came alſo into the juſtice's houſe, where the aforeſaid paper being produced, it was aſked him, 'whether he would own it?' And he ſaid, 'Yes.' Then the major tendered them the oath of abjuration. G. Fox thereupon putting his hand in his pocket, drew forth the anſwer to it, which had been given to the protector. A prieſt being preſent there, found fault with his hair, which then was pretty long, and aſked to have it cut: but G. Fox told him, 'he 'had no pride in it.' It happened alſo at other times, that becauſe of his long hair he was ſpoken to, as I have ſeen myſelf; but of this I am fully perſuaded, that he had not the leaſt pride in it; but it ſeems to me not improbable, that he ſeeing how ſome would make it a kind of holineſs to wear ſhort hair, did the contrary, to ſhew that in ſome things there was a chriſtian liberty, for which we ought not to judge one another. But to proceed, G. Fox and his companions were taken into cuſtody, and with a guard of horſe ſent to priſon with this mittimus.

The ſuppoſed reaſon of G. Fox's wearing his hair ſo long.

Peter Ceely, one of the juſtices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of his highneſs's gaol at Launceſton, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting:

Warrant for commitment of Pyot, Fox and Salt.

I SEND you herewithal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot of Briſtol, and George Fox of Drayton and Clay, in Leiceſterſhire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themſelves to be ſuch; who have ſpread ſeveral papers, tending to the diſturbance of the publick peace, and cannot render any lawful cauſe of coming into theſe parts, being perſons altogether unknown, and having no paſs for their travelling up and down the country, and refuſing to give ſureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuſe to take the oath of abjuration, &c. Theſe are therefore, in the name of his highneſs the lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the ſaid Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, ſhall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highneſs's priſon aforeſaid you ſafely keep them, until by due courſe of law they ſhall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and ſeal, at St. Ives the eighteenth day of January, 1656. P. CEELY.

By this mittimus it appears under what odd pretences the Quakers, ſo called, were committed to priſon; for ſuch reaſons as are mentioned therein, might be found and picked up at any time. Thus G. Fox and his companions were carried through Redruth,

1656. Redruth, Falmouth, and Bodmin, to Launceſton. By the way they ſuffered great inſolences, both from the ſoldiers that conducted them, and from others, by the connivance of captain Keat; but I won't detain my reader with all thoſe particulars. Being come to Launceſton, Keat delivered the priſoners to the gaoler. And though many were greatly enraged againſt them, and expected that theſe priſoners, who *thou'd* and *thee'd* all, and did not put off their hats to any man, ſhould at the aſſizes be condemned to be hanged, if they did not pay that reſpect to the bench; yet there were many friendly people, out of ſeveral parts of the country, that came to viſit them; for it was about nine weeks from the time of their commitment to the aſſizes; by reaſon of which ſeveral got opportunity to ſpeak with them, which had that good effect, that many were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

They are had priſoners to Launceſton, and ſuffer great abuſes from captain Keat's ſoldiers, &c. but many are convinced.

At the time of the aſſizes abundance of people came from far and near, to hear the trial of the Quakers; who being guarded by the ſoldiers, and the ſheriff's men to the court, had much ado to get through the multitude that filled the ſtreets; beſides the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon them. Being brought into the court, G. Fox, after all was quiet, ſaid, 'Peace be amongſt you.' The judge Glyn, who was then chief juſtice of England, ſaid to the gaoler, 'What be theſe you 'have brought here into the court?' 'Priſoners my lord,' ſaid he, 'Why do you not put off your hats?' ſaid the judge to them. They ſaying nothing; 'Put off your hats,' ſaid the judge again: and they ſtill continuing ſilent, the judge ſaid, 'The court com-'mands you to put off your hats.' Then G. Fox began to ſpeak, and ſaid, 'Where did ever any magiſtrate, king, or judge, from 'Moſes to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they 'came before them in their courts, either amongſt the Jews, (the 'people of God) or amongſt the Heathen? And if the law of 'England doth command any ſuch thing, ſhew me that law, ei-'ther written or printed.' The judge then growing angry, ſaid, 'I do not carry my law-books on my back.' 'But,' ſaid G. Fox, 'where is it printed in any ſtatute-book, that I may read it?' At this the judge ſaid, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk 'him.' Then the priſoners were taken away, and put among the thieves. But preſently after the judge called to the gaoler, 'Bring 'them up again.' This being done, 'Come,' ſaid he, 'where 'had they hats from Moſes to Daniel? Come anſwer me; I have 'you faſt now.' To this G. Fox replied, 'Thou mayſt read in 'the third of Daniel, that the three children were caſt into the fiery 'furnace, by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their 'hoſe, and their hats on.' This plain inſtance ſtopped him; ſo that not having any thing elſe to ſay, he cried again, 'Take them 'away gaoler.' Accordingly they were taken away, and being thruſt among the thieves, they were kept there a great while, and at length carried again to priſon: but in the afternoon they were brought up again into the court.

Being brought into court at the aſſizes, are examined by judge Glyn, with whom G. Fox has a long diſcourſe about hat honour.

G. Fox ſeeing the jurymen there, gave them a paper which he had written againſt ſwearing. This paper paſſing from the jury

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to the juſtices, they preſented it to the judge; and he bid the clerk give G. Fox that paper, and then aſked him, 'whether that 'ſeditious paper was his?' To which he ſaid, 'if they would read 'it in open court that he might hear it, if it was his, he would 'own it, and ſtand by it.' The judge would have had G. Fox to take it, and look upon it in his own hand. But he deſired again, 'that it might be read, that all in the court might hear it, 'and judge whether there was any ſedition in it, or no; for if 'there was, he was willing to ſuffer for it.' At length the clerk of the aſſizes read it with an audible voice; and when he had done, G. Fox ſaid, 'it was his paper, and he would own it; and 'ſo might they too, except they would deny the ſcripture: for was 'it not ſcripture language, and the words and commands of Chriſt 'and the apoſtles, which all true chriſtians ought to obey?' Then they let fall that ſubject, and the judge ſpeaking again about the hats of the priſoners, bid the gaoler, 'take them off.' Then they aſked, 'what they had lain in priſon for theſe nine weeks, ſeeing 'now nothing was objected againſt them, but what concerned their 'hats?' 'And,' ſaid G. Fox, 'as for putting off our hats, that 'was the honour which God would lay in the duſt, though they 'made ſo much ado about it: the honour which is of men, and 'which men ſeek one of another, is the mark of unbelievers: *For* '*how can ye believe*, ſaith Chriſt, *who receive honour one of another*, '*and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God only?* And Chriſt 'ſaith alſo, *I receive not honour from men.* And all true chriſtians 'ſhould be of his mind.' Then the judge made a ſpeech, 'how 'he repreſented the lord Protector's perſon; and how he had made 'him lord chief juſtice of England, and ſent him to come that 'circuit,' &c. Thereupon the priſoners deſired him, 'that he 'would do them juſtice for their falſe impriſonment, which they 'had ſuffered nine weeks.'

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But inſtead thereof, an indictment was read againſt them, but ſo full of untruths, that G. Fox thought it had been againſt ſome of the thieves; for it contained, 'that they came by force and 'arms, and in an hoſtile manner into the court;' whereas they were brought there as priſoners, which made him ſay, 'it was all 'falſe.' And ſtill they cried for juſtice for their falſe impriſonment, being taken up in their journey without cauſe, by major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely, who as a juſtice of peace, ſat alſo on the bench, ſaid to the judge, 'May it pleaſe you, my lord, 'this man,' (pointing to G. Fox) 'went aſide with me, and told 'me how ſerviceable I might be for his deſign; that he could raiſe 'forty thouſand men at an hour's warning, and involve the nati-'on in blood, and ſo bring in king Charles: and I would have 'aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it 'pleaſe you, my lord, I have a witneſs to ſwear it.' And ſo he called upon his witneſs, who, without queſtion, was one that was bribed. But the judge, perceiving this palpable lie, was not forward to examine the witneſs. Then G. Fox deſired the judge, 'that he would be pleaſed to let his mittimus be read, in which 'the pretended crime was ſignified, for which he was committed 'to priſon.' But the judge ſaid, 'it ſhould not be read.' G. Fox

Then proceed upon the indictment.

The fooliſh malice of major Ceely, makes him more guilty than the accuſed.

1656. ſtill inſiſting to have it read, ſaid, 'It ought to be: for if I have 'done any thing worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the coun-'try know it.' Seeing then they would not read it, he ſaid to one of his fellow-priſoners, 'Thou haſt a copy of it, read it up.' 'It 'ſhall not be read.' ſaid the judge; 'gaoler take him away; I'll 'ſee whether he or I ſhall be maſter.'

Then G. Fox was taken away, and a while after called for again. He ſtill cried to have the mittimus read; and the people being eager to hear it, he bid his fellow-priſoner to read it up; which being done, and read according to the copy already mentioned, G. Fox ſaid to the judge and juſtices, 'Thou that ſayſt, thou art 'chief juſtice of England, and you that be juſtices, ye know, 'that if I had put in ſureties, I might have gone whither I pleaſ-'ed, and have carried on the deſign, if I had had one, which major 'Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had ſpoken thoſe words 'to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether 'bail or mainprize could have been taken in that caſe.' Then directing his ſpeech to major Ceely, he ſaid, 'When, or where 'did I take thee aſide? Was not thy houſe full of rude people, 'and thou as rude as any of them at our examination, ſo that I 'aſked for a conſtable, or other officer to keep the people civil? 'But if thou art my accuſer, why fitteſt thou on the bench? That 'is not a place for thee to ſit in; for accuſers do not uſe to ſit with 'the judges: thou oughteſt to come down, and ſtand by me, and 'look me in the face. Beſides, I would aſk the judge and juſtices 'this queſtion, whether or no major Ceely is not guilty of this 'treaſon, which he charges againſt me, in concealing it ſo long 'as he hath done? Doth he underſtand his place, either as a ſol-'dier, or a juſtice of the peace? For he tells you here, "That I "went aſide with him, and told him what a deſign I had in hand; "and how ſerviceable he might be for it: that I could raiſe forty "thouſand men in an hour's time, and bring in king Charles, "and involve the nation in blood." Moreover, "that he would "have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and "therefore he committed me to priſon for want of ſureties for my "good behaviour, as the mittimus declares." Now do not ye ſee 'plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treaſon that he 'talks of, and hath made himſelf a party to it, by deſiring me to 'go out of the country, and demanding bail of me; and not charg-'ing me with this pretended treaſon till now, nor diſcovering it? But 'I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his deviliſh deſign.'

G. Fox's defence.

George Fox charged with being in a plot to raiſe 40,000 men to bring in king Charles.

The judge by this ſeeing clearly that Ceely, inſtead of enſnaring Fox, had enſnared himſelf, let fall that buſineſs. But then Ceely got up again, and ſaid to the judge, 'If it pleaſe you, my lord, 'to hear me: this man ſtruck me, and gave me ſuch a blow, as 'I never had in my life.' G. Fox ſmiling at this ſaid, 'Major 'Ceely, art thou a juſtice of peace, and a major of a troop of 'horſe, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and coun-'try, that I, who am a priſoner, ſtruck thee; and gave thee ſuch 'a blow, as thou never hadſt the like in thy life? What! art 'thou not aſhamed? Prithee, major Ceely, where did I ſtrike 'thee? and who is thy witneſs for that? who was by?' To

this

this Ceely ſaid, 'It was in the caſtle-green, and that captain 'Bradden was ſtanding by when G. Fox ſtruck him.' Who then deſired the judge to let him produce his witneſs for that: and he called again upon Ceely, 'to come down from off the bench;' telling him, 'it was not fit that the accuſer ſhould ſit as judge 'over the accuſed.' Ceely then ſaid, 'captain Bradden was his 'witneſs:' which made G. Fox ſay to captain Bradden, who was preſent there, 'Didſt thou ſee me give him ſuch a blow, and 'ſtrike him as he ſaith?' Bradden made no anſwer, but bowed his head. G. Fox then deſired him to 'ſpeak up, if he knew any 'ſuch thing.' But he only bowed his head again. 'Nay,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ſpeak up, and let the court and country hear, and let 'not bowing of the head ſerve the turn. If I have done ſo, let 'the law be inflicted on me: I fear not ſufferings, nor death 'itſelf; for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But Bradden would not teſtify to it. And the judge finding thoſe ſnares would not hold, cried, 'Take him away gaoler;' and fined the priſoners twenty marks a-piece, for not putting off their hats, and to be kept in priſon till they paid the fine: and ſo they were taken back to gaol again.

1656. Ceely calls capt. Bradden for evidence, which he modeſtly refuſes.

The priſoners fined twenty marks a-piece for not putting off their hats, and re-committed.

At night captain Bradden came with ſeven or eight juſtices to ſee them; and they being very civil, ſaid, 'they did not believe 'that either the judge, or any in the court, believed thoſe charges 'which major Ceely had made upon G. Fox.' And Bradden ſaid, 'major Ceely had an intent to have taken away G. Fox's life, if 'he could have got another witneſs.' 'But,' ſaid G. Fox, 'Cap-'tain Bradden, why didſt not thou witneſs for me, or againſt me, 'ſeeing major Ceely produced thee for a witneſs, that thou ſaweſt 'me ſtrike him? and when I deſired thee to ſpeak either for me, or 'againſt me, according to what thou ſaweſt or kneweſt, thou wouldſt 'not ſpeak.' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'when major Ceely and I came by 'you, as you were walking in the caſtle-green, he put off his hat 'to you, and ſaid, "How do you, Mr. Fox? Your ſervant, ſir:" 'then you ſaid to him, "Major Ceely, take heed of hypocriſy, "and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy maſter, or "thou my ſervant? Do ſervants uſe to caſt their maſters into pri-"ſon?" This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' G. Fox hearing this, called to mind, that they walking by, Ceely had ſpoken the aforeſaid words, and that he himſelf indeed made ſuch an anſwer as is mentioned; and he thought he ſaid nothing amiſs, ſince Ceely ſo openly had manifeſted his hypocriſy and rotten-heartedneſs, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and would have made all believe, that G. Fox gave him a ſtroke outwardly with his hand. A report of this trial being ſpread abroad, divers people, of whom ſome were of account in the world, came far and near to ſee him and his friends in priſon, which tended to the convincement of ſome.

Being ſettled in priſon upon ſuch a commitment, that they were not likely to be ſoon releaſed, they forbore giving the gaoler ſeven ſhillings a week a-piece for themſelves, and as much for their horſes, which he had in a manner extorted from them: but upon this he grew ſo very wicked, that he turned them down into a naſty

The gaoler's inhuman behaviour to them.

ſtinking

1656. ſtinking place, where they uſed to put perſons condemned for witchcraft and murder. This place was ſo noiſome, that it was obſerved, few who went into it, did ever come out again in health: for there was no houſe of office in it, and the excrements of the priſoners, that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out for many years; ſo that it was all like mire, and in ſome places to the top of the ſhoes in water and piſs; and the gaoler would not ſuffer them to cleanſe it, nor let them have beds or ſtraw to lie on. At night ſome friendly people of the town brought them a candle and a little ſtraw; of which they were about to burn a little to take away the ſtink. The thieves lay over their heads, and the head-gaoler in a room by them over their heads alſo. But it ſeems the ſmoke went up into the room where he lay, which put him into ſuch a rage, that he took the pots of the thieves excrements, and poured them down through a hole upon their heads; whereby they were ſo beſpattered, that it was loathſome to touch themſelves, or one another: beſides the ſtink ſo encreaſed, that by it, and the ſmoke, they were in danger of ſuffocation. And all this could not ſatisfy the rage of this cruel gaoler, but he railed againſt them ſo hideouſly, and called them by ſuch horrible nick names, that they never had heard the like before. In this manner they were forced to ſtand all night, for they could not ſit down, the place being ſo filthy. Thus he kept them a great while, before he would let them cleanſe it, or ſuffer them to have any victuals brought in, but what they got through the grate. And even this could not be done without difficulty; for a laſs one time having brought them a little meat, he ſued her in the town-court for breaking the priſon; perhaps, becauſe ſhe had a little bent an half-broken bar of the grate, to get a ſmall diſh through it. That this gaoler was ſo deſperately wicked, is not ſo much to be wondered at, ſince (as they were informed) he had been a thief, and was on that account burnt both in the hand, and on the ſhoulder; and the under-gaoler in like manner: their wives had alſo been burnt in the hand. It was not at all ſtrange then, that the priſoners ſuffered ſo grievouſly from ſuch a wicked crew: but it was more to be wondered at that colonel Bennet, a Baptiſt teacher, having purchaſed the gaol and lands belonging to the caſtle, had there placed this head-gaoler.

G. F. ſlights a report of ſpirits haunting the dungeon wherein they were ſhut up.

'Twas much talked of, that ſpirits haunted this dungeon, and walked there, and that many had died in it; ſome thinking to terrify the priſoners therewith. But G. Fox told them, 'That 'if all the ſpirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them 'in the power of God, and feared no ſuch thing; for Chriſt, 'their prieſt, would ſanctify the walls and the houſe to them; he 'who bruiſed the head of the Devil; as the prieſt was to cleanſe 'the plague out of the walls of the houſe under the law.'

They preſent their ſufferings to the ſeſſions at Bodmin, and are allowed ſome eaſe.

Now the time of the ſeſſions at Bodmin being come, the priſoners drew up their ſuffering-caſe, and ſent the paper thither, upon reading of which, the juſtices gave order, 'that the door 'of Doomſdale' (thus the dungeon was called) 'ſhould be opened, 'and that they ſhould have liberty to cleanſe it, and to buy their 'meat in the town.' Having obtained this liberty, they writ to

London

1656.

London, and desired Ann Downer, a young woman already mentioned in this work, to come down, and to buy and dress their meat: which she being very willing to do, was therein greatly serviceable to them; for she was a good writer, and could take things in short hand. They also sent up a relation of their sufferings to the Protector; who thereupon sent down an order to the governor of Pendennis-Castle, to examine the matter. On which occasion Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him, 'they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading 'of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there.' This was not altogether untrue, for he was much visited, and many were turned from darkness to the light; notwithstanding the mayor of Launceston was a fierce persecutor, casting in prison all he could get; and he did not stick to search substantial grave women, as supposed, for letters.

Send their case to the Protector.

H. Peters's observation.

In Devonshire it was not much better; for many of those called Quakers, that travelled through the country, were taken up and whipped, under pretence of being vagabonds; nay, some clothiers, that were going to mill with their cloth, and other substantial men, were seized and whipped: and Henry Pollexfen, who had been a justice of peace for the most part of forty years before, was cast into prison, under pretence of being a Jesuit.

Friends in Devonshire whipped as vagabonds.

H. Pollexfen, imprisoned.

In the mean-while Edward Pyot, who had been a captain, and was a man of good understanding in the laws and rights of the nation, wrote a large letter to the lord chief justice John Glyn, wherein he plainly set before him his unlawful dealings, and queried with him, 'whether his saying, "if ye will be uncovered, (or "put off your hats) I will hear you, and do you justice," was not 'an overthrow of the laws, that were made to maintain right and 'justice?' Many other particulars, and among the rest that of G. Fox's striking major Ceely, were also mentioned in this letter. G. Fox himself wrote also several papers, wherein the odiousness of persecution was plainly set forth.

E. Pyot writes to judge Glyn. See G. Fox's Journal, at p. 175.

Among those that came to visit him was also Thomas Lower, a doctor of physick at London, who, whilst I am writing this is yet alive, and he asking many questions concerning religious matters, received such satisfactory answers from G. Fox, that he afterwards said, 'his words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through 'him; and that he never met with such wise men in his life,' &c. Thus he came to be convinced of the truth, and so entered into the communion of the despised Quakers. Whilst G. Fox was still in prison, one of his friends went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself body for body, to lie in Doomsdale prison in his stead, if he would take him, and let G. Fox go at liberty. But Cromwell said, 'he could not do it, for it was contrary to law:' and turning to those of his council, 'Which of you (quoth he) would do 'so much for me if I were in the same condition?'

Dr. T. Lower visits G. Fox, is convinced, and enters into communion with friends.

Thus G. Fox continued in prison, and it was yet a good while before he and his fellow-prisoners were released. The next year the wicked gaoler received a recompence of his deeds; for he was turned out of his place, and for some wicked act was cast into gaol himself; and there his carriage was so unruly, that he was

The gaoler's cruelty signally recompensed.

1656. by the ſucceeding gaoler put into Doomſdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bid to remember, 'how he had abuſed thoſe good 'men, whom he had wickedly, without any cauſe, caſt into 'that naſty dungeon: but that now he deſervedly ſhould ſuffer for 'his wickedneſs; and the ſame meaſure he had meted to others, he 'ſhould have meted out to himſelf:' and this miſchievous fellow, who might have grown rich, if he had carried himſelf civilly, grew now very poor, and ſo died in priſon.

A parliament called. About the ſame time that G. Fox was releaſed, Cromwell called a parliament, which met for the firſt ſitting, in the painted chamber at Weſtminſter, on the 17th of the month called September.

S. Fiſher attempts to ſpeak before them, Samuel Fiſher got an opportunity to come into this aſſembly, where he heard the Protector's ſpeech, and in it theſe words, 'that he knew not of any one man that ſuffered impriſonment 'unjuſtly in all England.' And after he had got the conveniency of a ſtanding, he ſaid, 'that he had a word to ſpeak from the 'Lord to the Protector, the parliament, and the people:' and then he began thus:

'The burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and of 'earth, as it came unto me on the 22d day of the laſt month, 'and as it now lieth upon me to declare it in his name, even unto 'thee Oliver Cromwell, Protector (ſo called) of theſe three nations, 'England, Scotland, and Ireland; and alſo to all you who are 'choſen out of the ſeveral parts thereof to ſit in parliament this 'day, to conſider of ſuch things as concern the common-wealth 'thereof; and likewiſe to the three nations themſelves, and all 'the people thereof, whoſe rulers and repreſentatives ye are: 'which word of the Lord, as ye do not deem yourſelves too high, 'or too great, or too good to be ſpoken to from the Lord, and as 'you will not fall under the guilt of that ſin of ſaying to the ſeers, '*See not*, and to the prophets, *Propheſy not*, *propheſy not unto us* '*right things*, *propheſy ſmooth things*, *propheſy deceits*: I charge 'you all, in the name of the living God, that without interrup- 'tion or oppoſition, whether you like it, or like it not, you ſtand 'ſtill and hear it: and when I have done, you may do with me 'as the Lord ſhall give you leave, or leave me under the power of 'your hands to do; no law of equity condemning any man before 'he be heard, eſpecially when he ſpeaks on ſo high an account as 'from the God of heaven himſelf, tho' to ſuch as are as gods 'under him here on earth.'

Scarce had he ſpoken thus much, but ſome cried, 'a Quaker, a 'Quaker, keep him down, he ſhall not ſpeak:' yet the Protector and the parliament-men were ſtill and quiet. But ſome others, among whom were two juſtices of peace, had not ſo much patience; but Fiſher, as he related afterwards, believed that the Protector and the parliament-men would have given him audience, had not others ſet

But is interrupted. him at nought, ſome ſaying, 'the Protector had ſpoken long, 'and was very hot and weary; and that he [Fiſher] might be 'aſhamed to occaſion his ſtay any longer.' Thus Fiſher was interrupted, and the Protector and parliament-men riſing, went away; tho' Fiſher did not queſtion but the Protector would have heard him: for his moderation in hearing what was ſaid, having been

experienced

1656.

experienced before, Fiſher was willing to acknowledge his nobility as freely, as Paul took notice of the like in Feſtus, whom he held moſt noble in that he would hear him, though he thought him mad. Fiſher being thus prohibited, publiſhed his ſpeech in print, ſo as he intended to have delivered it, though not one ſyllable of it was written before. It was pretty long, and contained a ſharp reproof to the hypocriſy of thoſe, who under a ſhew of godlineſs made long prayers, kept faſts, and nevertheleſs lived in pride, pomp, and luxury, perſecuting thoſe who really were a pious people. And to the Protector he ſaid, 'that unleſs he took away the 'wicked from before him, and all flattering falſe accuſers, his 'throne would never be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs.' In the introduction placed before this ſpeech, he ſaith, that before this burden came upon him, he had prayed God that he might have been excuſed of this meſſage, thinking that a more unworthy one than himſelf could not have been ſingled out: but whatever he did, he could not be rid of it; and though he ſpent a whole week with faſting, tears, and ſupplication, yet during the time of that abſtinence, he felt a daily ſupply and refreſhment to his ſpirits, ſo that he fully reſigned to do what he believed was required of him from the Lord; and he felt all fears of the frowns of men removed from him. Some other ſpeeches which he intended to have made to the parliament, but was obſtructed therein, he alſo publiſhed afterwards in print.

He publiſhes his deſigned ſpeech, and ſome others he had intended.

In the latter part of this year it happened that Humphry Smith, coming to Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, was diſturbed in a meeting by the mayor, Edward Young, who ſaid, 'he would break the 'Quakers meetings, or elſe his bones ſhould lie in the dirt.' Thus reſolved, he came in the month called October, on a firſt-day of the week in the morning, into their meeting in a houſe where H. Smith was; and ſeveral perſons, after being rudely abuſed, were haled out to priſon. In the afternoon a meeting being kept in the ſtreet, ſome of the company were by order of the ſaid mayor put into the ſtocks, and others, of which the aforeſaid Smith was one, into a dark dungeon: and though the mayor then ſaid, 'it 'was an unlawful aſſembly; but if they would meet in houſes, 'he would not moleſt them;' yet on the next firſt-day of the week, he ſeeing one going to a meeting that was appointed in a houſe, put him in priſon. H. Smith, and his friends had ſome bedding and bed-clothes ſent them, but the mayor cauſed it to be taken away from them; and when afterwards ſome ſtraw was brought them to lie upon, the gaoler would not ſuffer it; nay, when one came, and aſked liberty to fetch out their dung from them, the mayor denied it, and ordered him to be put in the ſtocks. The place where they were kept, was not twelve feet ſquare, and the hole to take in air, was but four inches wide, ſo that even by day-light they were fain to burn candle, when they had it. Here they were kept above fourteen weeks, with their own dung in the ſame room; ſo that one of them grew ſick of the ſtink; and yet the gaoler ſaid, 'if they had been there 'for theft or murder, he could have let them have more liberty than 'now he durſt, becauſe of the mayor.' James Wall, one of the priſoners,

At Eveſham H. Smith is impriſoned with others, and cruelly treated by the mayor,

1656. priſoners, was a free man of the town, and a ſhop-keeper, and yet the mayor forbad his wife to ſtand in the market-place, which for many years ſhe had done. She going to him about it, he began to fawn upon her, and ſaid, 'I hear that your huſ-'band doth abuſe you.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'My huſband 'did never abuſe me; but as for that judgment which he now 'holdeth, once I could not own it; but now ſeeing it is ſo much 'perſecuted, makes me own it, becauſe the way of God was al-'ways perſecuted.' He hearing her ſpeak ſo, ſaid, 'ſhe ſhould 'not have a ſtanding-place for five pounds.'

Who barbarouſly abuſes M. Newby and E. Courton for viſiting the priſoners.

About a month after Margaret Newby, and Elizabeth Courton came to this town, and had a meeting at the houſe of one Edward Pitwayes: but coming in the afternoon to viſit the priſoners, the mayor himſelf laid violent hands on them, and cauſed them to be put in the ſtocks, with their legs near a yard one from another; and he would not ſuffer them to have a block to ſit on, tho' they deſired it; yet as one that would ſeem to have ſome modeſty, he bid the conſtable fetch a block, and put between their legs, uttering indecent expreſſions: in this poſture they were kept for the ſpace of fifteen hours, and then in a freezing night ſent out of the town, without ſuffering them to go to any place to refreſh themſelves. And as to Humphry Smith, and thoſe with him, they were kept yet a good while in priſon.

A. Parker at Radnor, viſits Vavaſor Powel.

In this year Alexander Parker was at Radnor in Wales, and bearing there a teſtimony againſt the prieſt Vavaſor Powel, he alſo preached the doctrine of truth, as occaſion offered. It was, I think, about this time, that Ambroſe Rigg and Thomas Robinſon came to Exeter; from thence to Briſtol, and afterwards to Baſing-ſtoke in Hampſhire. Here, after much trouble, they got a meeting appointed; but before all the people were aſſembled, the chief prieſt with the magiſtrates came thither, and cauſing them to be taken away, tendered them the oath of abjuration. But they denying to ſwear, for conſcience-ſake, were committed to priſon: and the gaoler nailed planks before the window, to deprive them of the light; neither would he ſuffer them to have a candle at night. Here they were kept about a quarter of a year, having nothing to lie upon but ſome ſtraw. But this their ſuffering had ſuch effect, that ſome of the inhabitants ſeeing theſe unreaſonable dealings, began to inquire into the doctrine held forth by the ſufferers, and ſo came to be convinced of the truth thereof. They at laſt being releaſed, Robinſon went to Portſmouth, where he preached repentance. Some time after A. Rigg came alſo thither, and reaped what Robinſon in ſome reſpect had ſowed; though it was not long before he was ſent out of town. But returning within a ſhort time, he found opportunity to have a meeting there; and by his preaching ſome were convinced, and embraced his doctrine.

A. Rigg and T. Robinſon go to Exeter and Briſtol, and at Baſing-ſtoke are impriſoned, and cruelly uſed, but ſome are convinced;

Being releaſed, preach at Portſmouth, with ſucceſs.

A. Rigg goes to ſeveral places, where he has great ſervice.

From thence he went to the Iſle of Wight, where ſome alſo received the doctrine maintained by him. After ſome ſtay, he returned to Suſſex, where he had great ſervice. And travelling up and down the country, he came to Weymouth and Melcomb-regis, where ſpeaking in the ſteeple-houſe againſt the prieſt, he was ſeized,

and

and locked up in a naſty dungeon, where there was nothing to lie on but ſome filthy ſtraw, and a ſtone to ſit on: there was alſo no houſe of office, but on the ground lay an heap of dung, where he alſo was forced to eaſe himſelf. But there being an opening at the top of the room, he could ſee people go along the ſtreets, and thus took occaſion from this ſubterranean cave, to preach to the paſſengers with ſuch power and efficacy, that his doctrine entered into the hearts of the hearers, and ſtuck there. This manner of preaching often hath been in England, and I myſelf, in my young years, have been an eye-witneſs of it; and have heard the priſoners lift up their voice ſo, that it could be heard very eaſily in the ſtreets; which made people that paſſed by, ſtand ſtill, and hearken to what was ſpoken by ſuch zealous preachers. And tho' theſe were often hindered of having meetings, yet it was impoſſible to ſtop up the fountain from whence their words flowed. Thus it was alſo with A. Rigg, who after an impriſonment of eleven weeks, being ſet at liberty, travelled up and down again; but in many places where he came, a priſon was his lot; ſometimes even when nothing could be laid to his charge, but that he was gone from his dwelling-place: for the parliament had made a law, that all who were gone from home, and could not give a ſatisfactory account of their buſineſs, ſhould be taken up as vagabonds. Under this pretence, many who travelled to the markets with their goods, were ſeized by the way; for if it did but appear that ſuch an one was a Quaker, which was preſently ſeen by his not putting off his hat, then there wanted no pretended reaſon to clap him up in priſon.

1656.

Is perſecuted and impriſoned at Melcomb-regis,

There preaches from under ground as others do from their priſons.

Being releaſed, travels, and is again impriſoned.

A law to take up travellers as vagabonds.

A. Rigg travelling on, came alſo to viſit ſome of his friends in priſon at Southampton. This was taken ſo ill, that the mayor, Peter Seal, without examining, cauſed him to be faſtened to the whipping-poſt in the market-place, where he was ſeverely laſhed by the executioner, and then put into a cart, and ſent out of the town, in freezing ſnowy weather, the mayor threatening him, that if ever he returned, he ſhould be whipped again, and burnt in the ſhoulder with an *R.* ſignifying *Rogue*. Notwithſtanding this, he was moved to return, and the mayor was very eager to have this executed on him; but the other magiſtrates would not conſent; and not long after the mayor died of a bloody flux. This relation hath carried me a little beyond the courſe of time. But now I leave A. Rigg for a while, intending to make further mention of him hereafter.

He is ſeverely whipped at Southampton by order of P. Seal, mayor, who ſoon after died of the bloody flux.

In this year William Caton went again into Scotland, from whence returning, he travelled to Briſtol, thence to Plymouth, and ſo to London; from whence he made a voyage again to Holland, where William Ames and John Stubs had been, and alſo found ſome among the Engliſh people at Amſterdam, who had received the doctrine they preached, though afterwards they turned from it again. W. Ames found alſo ſome reception among the Baptiſts there, who at firſt were pleaſed with him, but J. Stubs did not uſe them ſo well, as Dr. Galenus Abrahams * once told me, who compared Ames to a muſician that played a very melodious tune, and Stubs to a diſturber of the harmonious muſick, tho' Ames afterwards for his great zeal, was found fault with alſo.

W. Caton goes to Scotland; back to Briſtol, &c. and then to Holland.

* Reputed chief of the Socinian Menniſts in Holland.

Dr. G. Abrahams's compariſon of Ames and Stubs.

1656. W. Caton now arrived at Dort, and from thence repaired to Rotterdam, where, for want of an interpreter that underſtood Engliſh, he was fain to make uſe of the Latin. But it grieved him exceedingly to meet with ſome unruly ſpirits there, that having been in ſome meaſure convinced by W. Ames, ran out under the denomination of Quakers, into extremes, both in words and writings. Some of theſe perſons I know, and have ſeen alſo ſome of the books they publiſhed in print, in which, under a pretence of plainneſs, not one capital letter was to be found, even not to proper names, nay not to names of authors themſelves. And ſince they ran out into ſeveral other extravagancies, it was not ſo much to be wondered, that the magiſtrates clapped them up in Bedlam. The ringleader of theſe people, was one Iſaac Furnier, who formerly (as I have heard my uncle tell, who had ſeen it himſelf) lived as another Diogenes, uſing at the fire, inſtead of a pair of tongs, a ſplit ſtick; and now converſing among the Quakers, ſo called, made it a piece of holineſs to uſe the moſt blunt language he could think of, how abſurd and irregular ſoever: in fine, he ſo behaved himſelf, that the orthodox Quakers rejected his ſociety. He it was, as I have underſtood, who was the author of that ridiculous ſaying, 'My ſpirit teſtifieth;' which, tho' not approved, nor uſed by the true Quakers, yet hath been ſo ſpread among the people in the Low-Countries, that it hath been conſtantly credited, and is not yet quite diſbelieved, that the Quakers uſe to ſay ſo of any thing they intend to do; and that if any one, whoever it be, ſays ſo, they will give credit to his ſaying. The aboveſaid Dr. Galenus told me, that this man coming to his door, and finding the Doctor's name writ on the poſt of the door (as is uſual in Holland) did, with his knife, ſcratch out the letters Dr. ſignifying Doctor. On which the Doctor aſked him, 'why he did ſo?' And his anſwer was, 'becauſe the ſpirit did teſtify ſo unto him.' And being aſked farther, 'If ſo be that ſpirit did move him to ſtab the 'Doctor with the knife, whether he would follow that motion.' He anſwered, (if the relation be true) as the Doctor affirmed to me, 'Yes.' But however it be, this is true, that this Furnier was a paſſionate, and giddy-headed man, whom the true Quakers could not own, tho' he had tranſlated many of their books out of Engliſh into Dutch; and would alſo preach amongſt them. But at length he left them, and turning Papiſt, fell to a diſſolute and debauched life.

Iſaac Furnier the ringleader of ſome extravagant people diſowned by the Quakers.

But to return to W. Caton; coming to Amſterdam, he did not find much more ſatisfaction there than at Rotterdam; for ſeveral high-conceited profeſſors, who ſeemed to approve the doctrine preached by the Quakers, were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive inſtruction from others. Wherefore W. Caton did not ſtay long at Amſterdam, but returned to Rotterdam; and from thence went to Zealand, arriving at Middleburgh, accompanied with a certain young man, who went to ſome of the meeting-places in that city, and was apprehended; which Caton underſtanding, went to viſit him, and they perceiving that he was his companion, ſecured him alſo; and after having been kept in priſon ſome days, being weak in body, it was ordered that they ſhould

At Middleburgh, Caton viſiting in priſon a young man (that went with him) is alſo ſecured.

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ſhould be ſent to England; and ſo they were carried in a coach-waggon to the water-ſide, being conducted by a guard of ſoldiers, to protect them againſt the rude multitude, and brought on board a ſhip of war, where Caton ſuffered great hardſhip; for the ſeamen were ſo ill-natured, that they would not allow him ſo much as a piece of ſail-cloth, but he was fain to lie upon the bare boards, in very cold and ſtormy weather. But tho' thus hardly uſed, yet he felt his ſtrength increaſe, and ſo experienced the mercies of God. It was in November when he arrived at London, where he was kindly received by the brethren: after ſome ſtay there, he went to Hampſhire, Surrey, Suſſex, and Kent.

And after ſome days put on board a man of war, is hardly uſed; arrives in England, where he is kindly received; then goes into Hampſhire, &c.

Not long before this, G. Fox came to Exeter, where James Nayler was in priſon, and ſpoke to him by way of reproof; which Nayler ſlighted; tho' he offered to kiſs G. Fox; but he unwilling to ſuffer this, ſaid, 'ſince he had turned againſt the power of 'God, he could not receive his ſhew of kindneſs.' It appeared by letters the magiſtrates found in his pocket at Briſtol, that the Quakers found fault with him, and had reproved him for his high mindedneſs, before it launched out into that extravagant act which made ſo great a noiſe in the world, and hath been mixed with many untruths, and falſe turns. I have therefore thought it worth while to inquire narrowly into it, in order to give a true relation of matters of fact.

G. Fox reproves J. Nayler at Exeter, as the Quakers do alſo at Briſtol.

This James Nayler was born of honeſt parents, * in the pariſh of Ardeſley, near Wakefield in Yorkſhire, about the year 1616. He had ſerved in the parliament-army, being quarter-maſter in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland, was a member of the Independents, and afterwards in the year 1651, he entered into the communion of the Quakers ſo called †. He was a man of excellent natural parts, and at firſt did acquit himſelf well, both in word and writing among his friends, ſo that many came to receive the truth by his miniſtry. He came to London towards the latter end of the year 1654, or beginning of 1655, and found there a meeting of friends, which had already been gathered in that city, by the ſervice of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil; and there he preached in ſuch an eminent manner, that many admiring

Hiſtory of J. Nayler.

* His father was a huſbandman, and of good repute, having a competent eſtate to live on, with induſtry, according to the manner of the country where he dwelt. He was educated in good Engliſh, and wrote well. About the age of twenty-two he married, and then removed into Wakefield pariſh, where he continued, till the wars broke out in 1641, and then went into the army, and was a ſoldier eight or nine years, firſt under the lord Fairfax, and afterwards quarter-maſter under major-general Lambert, till diſabled by ſickneſs in Scotland, he returned home about 1649. J. Whiting's account.

† He and Thomas Goodair were convinced by G. Fox, about Wakefield, Anno. 1651, as were alſo Richard Farnſworth, Thomas Aldam, William Dewſbury, and wife, about the ſame time. And in the beginning of the year following, as he was in the field at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice, bidding him go out from his kindred, and from his father's houſe; and had a promiſe given with it, that the Lord would be with him; whereupon he did exceedingly rejoice that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had profeſſed from a child, and endeavoured to ſerve: and when he went home he made preparation to go; but not being obedient, the wrath of God was upon him, ſo that he was made a wonder, and 'twas thought he would have died. Afterwards being made willing, and going out with a friend, not thinking then of a journey, he was commanded to go into the weſt, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, he had given him what to declare; and ſo he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; and the promiſe of God, that he would be with him, he found made good to him every day. Collect. of J. N's writings.

G. Fox's Journal.

1656. admiring his great gift, began to eſteem him much above his brethren, which as it brought him no benefit, ſo it gave occaſion of ſome difference in the ſociety; and this ran ſo high, that ſome forward and inconſiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons was the chief, aſſumed the boldneſs to diſpute with F. Howgil and E. Burrough openly in their preaching, and thus to diſturb the meetings †: whereupon they who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty, to reprove this indiſcretion. But theſe women were ſo diſguſted, that Martha, and another woman, went and complained to J. Nayler, to incenſe him againſt F. Howgil and E. Burrough, but this did not ſucceed, for he ſhewed himſelf afraid to paſs judgment upon his brethren as they deſired. Hereupon Martha fell into a paſſion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and bitterly crying out with a mournful ſhrill voice ſaid, 'I looked for judgment, but behold a cry;' and with that cried aloud in a paſſionate lamenting manner, which ſo entered and pierced J. Nayler, that it ſmote him down in ſo much ſorrow and ſadneſs, that he was much dejected in ſpirit, or diſconſolate: fear and doubting then entered him, ſo that he came to be clouded in his underſtanding, bewildered, and at a loſs in his judgment, and became eſtranged from his beſt friends, becauſe they did not approve his conduct; inſomuch, that he began to give ear to the flattering praiſes of ſome whimſical people, which he ought to have abhorred, and reproved them for. But his ſorrowful fall ought to ſtand as a warning, even to thoſe that are endued with great gifts, that they don't preſume to be exalted, leſt they alſo fall, but endeavour to continue in true humility, in which alone a chriſtian can be kept ſafe.

He is highly eſteemed.

See G. W's epiſtle before the collect. of J. N's writings.

His fall.

Hannah Stranger, whom I knew very well, and have reaſon to believe a woman of high imaginations, at this time wrote to him ſeveral very extravagant letters, calling him, '*The everlaſting ſon of righteouſneſs; prince of peace; the only begotten ſon of God; the faireſt of ten thouſands*,' &c. In the letters of Jane Woodcock, John Stranger, and others, were expreſſions of the like extravagancy: the ſaid Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmons, and Dorcas Erbury, arrived to that height of folly, that in the priſon at Exeter they kneeled before Nayler, and kiſſed his feet: but as to what hath been divulged concerning his committing of fornication, I never could find, though very inquiſitive in the caſe, that he was in the leaſt guilty thereof *. But for all that, he was already too much tranſported, and grew yet more exorbitant; for being releaſed from

† Theſe women's practice we may ſuppoſe to be ſomewhat like that which gave occaſion to the apoſtle Paul to ſay, *Let your women keep ſilence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak*, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. This prohibition of ſpeaking, muſt be of voluntary diſcourſe, by way of reaſoning or diſputing, and not when they had an immediate impulſe, or concern to propheſy; for the apoſtle in the ſame epiſtle, has defined prophecy to be ſpeaking unto *men to edification, exhortation and comfort*, chap. xiv. 3. And has alſo chap. xi. made expreſs mention of women's praying and propheſying together with the men.

* As to that accuſation, as if I had committed adultery with ſome of thoſe women who came with us from Exeter priſon, and alſo thoſe who were with me at Briſtol the night before I ſuffered there, of both thoſe accuſations I am clear before God, who kept me at that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a little child, God is my record. Before collect. of J. Nayler's writings, p. 54. See more particularly in his anſwer to Blome's Fanatick Hiſtory, in the ſaid collect. at p. 652.

from that priſon, and riding to Briſtol in the beginning of November, he was accompanied by the aforeſaid and other perſons; and paſſing through the ſuburbs of Briſtol, one Thomas Woodcock went bare-headed before him; one of the women led his horſe, Dorcas, Martha, and Hannah ſpread their ſcarfs and handkerchiefs before him, and the company ſang, 'Holy, holy, 'holy, is the Lord God of Hoſts, Hoſannah in the higheſt, Holy, holy, 'holy, is the Lord God of Iſrael.' Thus theſe mad people ſang, whilſt they were walking through the mire and dirt, till they came into Briſtol, where they were examined by the magiſtrates, and committed to priſon; and not long after he was carried to London, to be examined by the parliament. How it went there may be ſeen in the printed trial, which the parliament was pleaſed to publiſh *. I believe that J. Nayler was clouded in his underſtanding in all this tranſaction: but how grievous ſoever his fall was, yet it pleaſed God in his infinite mercy, to raiſe him up again, and to bring him to ſuch ſincere repentance, that (as we may ſee in the ſequel) he abhorred not only this whole buſineſs, but alſo manifeſted his hearty ſorrow, in pathetical expreſſions, which were publiſhed, as will be ſhewn in its proper place.

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Proceſſion into Briſtol.

Is taken to London and examined before the parliament.

What hath been ſaid of the odd doings in Exeter priſon, and of his riding into Briſtol, was not denied by him, nor by the reſt of the company, when they were examined by a committee of parliament, who made their report on the 5th of December, to which the houſe agreed next day. On the 16th this buſineſs, which had (not without much contradiction; for many members of the parliament did not approve the ſeverity uſed againſt him) been treated both forenoons and afternoons, was propoſed the twelfth time, which made an ingenious author ſay afterwards, 'that it was 'wondered at by many, what the cauſe might be, that this fooliſh 'buſineſs ſhould hold ſo many wiſe men, ſo long at work.' On the 17th, after a long debate, they came to this reſolution,

'That James Nayler, be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the 'pillory, in the palace-yard, Weſtminſter, during the ſpace of 'two hours, on Thurſday next, and be whipped by the hangman 'through the ſtreets, from Weſtminſter to the Old Exchange, 'London, and there likewiſe be ſet on the pillory, with his head in 'the pillory, for the ſpace of two hours, between the hours of 'eleven and one, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper 'containing an inſcription of his crimes: and that at the Old 'Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and 'that he be there alſo ſtigmatized in the forehead with the letter 'B; and that he be afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and be conveyed

The ſentence.

* But the extravagancy of the ſentence which that parliament paſſed upon him, with other circumſtances, give great reaſon to ſuſpect the account was partially taken, and publiſhed to juſtify their cruelty, which is alſo ſet forth in part by way of annotation on the ſaid trial. And (as J. Whiting ſays) ſome of his anſwers were innocent enough, ſome not clear, and ſome aggravated by his adverſaries: ſome of them he denied, ſome he owned; they reported the worſt, and more than was true in ſome things, adding and diminiſhing as they were minded; much was wanting of what he had ſpoken to the committee, wreſting and perverting his words what they could, and endeavouring to draw words out of him, to enſnare him, and take away his life: and to ſhew their confuſion when he was before them, they would have had him to kneel, and put off his hat to them, though a part of the charge againſt him was, that ſome kneeled to him.

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'into, and through the ſaid city on horſeback, with his face 'backward, and there alſo publickly whipped the next market-'day after he comes thither, and that from thence he be commit-'ted to priſon in Bridewell, London, and there reſtrained from 'the ſociety of all people, and there to labour hard till he ſhall 'be releaſed by parliament; and during that time, be debarred 'the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and ſhall have no relief but 'what he earns by his daily labour.'

They were long ere they could agree on the ſentence; for ſuppoſe there was blaſphemy committed, yet his tongue ſeemed not properly guilty of it, ſince it was not proved that blaſphemous words had been ſpoken by him *. Many thought it to be indeed a very ſevere judgment to be executed upon one whoſe crime ſeemed to proceed more from a clouded underſtanding, than any wilful intention of evil.

Thought very ſevere.

Now although ſeveral perſons of different perſuaſions, being moved with compaſſion towards Nayler, as a man carried away by fooliſh imaginations, had offered petitions to the parliament on his behalf, yet it was reſolved not to read them, till the ſentence was pronounced againſt him.

And petitioned againſt by ſeveral perſuaſions.

There lived then at London one Robert Rich, a merchant, (a very bold man) who wrote a letter to the parliament, wherein he ſhewed what was blaſphemy; and on the 15th of December ſeveral copies thereof were delivered to particular members; and in that which was given to the ſpeaker, theſe words were written at the bottom, 'If I may have liberty of thoſe that ſit in parliament, 'I do here attend at their door, and am ready, out of the ſcrip-'tures of truth, to ſhew, that not any thing J. Nayler hath ſaid, 'or done, is blaſphemy,' &c.

R. Rich offers to defend Nayler againſt the charge of blaſphemy.

The parliament, after judgment was concluded, reſolved, that the ſpeaker ſhould be authorized to iſſue his warrants to the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, the ſheriff of Briſtol, and governor of Bridewell, to ſee the ſaid judgment put in execution: but by ſome it was queſtioned, whether this was a ſufficient warrant, unleſs the Protector concurred in the matter; but he ſeemed unwilling to meddle with it. The thing being thus far agreed upon, J. Nayler was brought up to the bar; when the ſpeaker, ſir Thomas Widdrington, was about to pronounce the aforementioned ſentence, Nayler ſaid, 'he did not know his offence.' To which the ſpeaker returned, 'he ſhould know his offence by his puniſhment.' After ſentence was pronounced, though J. Nayler bore the ſame with great patience, yet it ſeemed he would have ſpoken ſomething, but

* At Lancaſter ſeſſions the prieſts got ſome to ſwear blaſphemy againſt G. F. (which was the common accuſation in thoſe days) but he was cleared, and the prieſts, &c. were enraged, who thereupon ſent a petition to the council of ſtate, againſt G. F. and J. N. who anſwered the ſame, in a book called, 'Saul's Errand to Damaſcus.' After this, J. N. was perſecuted in divers places, beaten, ſtoned, and cruelly uſed by the prieſts, and their rude followers, and in danger of his life. Afterward, by the inſtigation of the prieſt, he and F. Howgil were committed to Appleby gaol, and tried on an indictment for blaſphemy, for ſaying, 'Chriſt was in 'him,' according to Col. i. 27. *Chriſt in you the hope of glory.* He was alſo another time charged with blaſphemy, for aſſerting in a book, '*Juſtification by the gift of God's righteouſ-'neſs*,' which he proved from Rom. v. and ſo ſtopped their mouths, and cleared himſelf: by which we may ſee what that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, would have made blaſphemy. J. Whiting's account.

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but was denied liberty; nevertheleſs was heard to ſay, with a compoſed mind, 'I pray God he may not lay it to your charge.'

Part of the ſentence executed with ſeverity, and born with admired patience.

The 18th of December, J. Nayler ſuffered part of the ſentence; and after having ſtood full two hours with his head in the pillory, was ſtripped, and whipped at a cart's tail, from Palace-Yard, to the Old Exchange, and received three hundred and ten ſtripes; and the executioner would have given him one more (as he confeſſed to the ſheriff) there being three hundred and eleven kennels, but his foot ſlipping, the ſtroke fell upon his own hand, which hurt him much. All this Nayler bore with ſo much patience and quietneſs, that it aſtoniſhed many of the beholders, though his body was in a moſt pitiful condition: he was alſo much hurt with horſes treading on his feet, whereon the print of the nails were ſeen. R. Travers, a grave perſon, who waſhed his wounds, in a certificate which was preſented to the parliament, and afterward printed, ſays, 'There was not the ſpace of a man's nail 'free from ſtripes and blood, from his ſhoulders near to his waſte, 'his right arm ſorely ſtriped, his hands much hurt with cords, 'that they bled, and were ſwelled: the blood and wounds of his 'back did very little appear at firſt ſight, by reaſon of abundance 'of dirt that covered them, till it was waſhed off.' Nay, his puniſhment was ſo ſevere, that ſome judged his ſentence would have been more mild, if it had been preſent death: and it ſeemed indeed that there was a party, who not being able to prevail ſo far in parliament as to have him ſentenced to death, yet ſtrove to the utmoſt of their power to make him ſink under the weight of his puniſhment; for the 20th of December was the time appointed for executing the other part of his ſentence, viz. boring through his tongue, and ſtigmatizing in his forehead; but by reaſon of the moſt cruel whipping, he was brought to ſuch a low ebb, that many perſons of note, moved with compaſſion, preſented petitions to the parliament on his behalf, who reſpited his farther puniſhment for one week.

The reſt reſpited for a week, on the petitions of perſons of note.

Some expreſſions in another by about 100 perſons.

During this interval, ſeveral perſons preſented another petition, in which are theſe words, 'Your moderation and clemency in 'reſpiting the puniſhment of J. Nayler, in conſideration of his 'illneſs of body, hath refreſhed the hearts of many thouſands in 'theſe cities, altogether unconcerned in his practice: wherefore 'we moſt humbly beg your pardon that are conſtrained to appear 'before you in ſuch a ſuit, (not daring to do otherwiſe) that you 'would remit the remaining part of your ſentence againſt the ſaid 'J. Nayler, leaving him to the Lord, and to ſuch goſpel remedies 'as he hath ſanctified; and we are perſuaded you will find ſuch a 'courſe of love and forbearance more effectual to reclaim; and 'will leave a zeal of your love and tenderneſs upon our ſpirits,

'*And we ſhall pray, &c.*'

This petition being preſented at the bar of the houſe, by about one hundred perſons, on the behalf of the whole, was accordingly read and debated by them; but not being likely to produce the deſired effect, the petitioners thought themſelves in duty and conſcience bound to addreſs the Protector for remitting the remaining part

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Who afterward preſent two more to the Protector.

part of the ſentence; who thereupon ſent a letter to the parliament, which occaſioned ſome debate in the houſe. But the day for executing the remaining part of the ſentence drawing near, the petitioners made a ſecond addreſs to the Protector. It was indeed very remarkable, that ſo many inhabitants that were not of the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, ſhewed themſelves ſo much concerned in this buſineſs; but to me it ſeems to have proceeded merely from compaſſion towards the perſon of J. Nayler, whom they regarded as one that was rather fallen into error through inconſiderateneſs, than to have been guilty of wilful blaſphemy, for then he would not have deſerved ſo much pity.

Five publick preachers confer with Nayler in priſon.

But notwithſtanding all theſe humble petitions, the publick preachers it ſeems prevailed ſo much with Cromwell, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to the intended execution; for five of theſe miniſters, whom I find named thus, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds came on the 24th of December, by order from the parliament (as it was ſaid) to Nayler, to ſpeak with him concerning the things for which he was detained, and would not permit either friend or other to be preſent in the room, though a certain impartial or neutral perſon * deſired it earneſtly, but it was denied him: yet after the conference, coming into the priſon, he aſked Nayler what had been the iſſue of it? who told him that he told thoſe miniſters, 'that he ſaw they had an intent to make him 'ſuffer (though innocent) as an evil-doer, and therefore had denied 'any to be preſent that might be indifferent judges betwixt them 'and him; and that therefore he ſhould not ſay any thing, unleſs 'what paſſed was wrote down, and a copy thereof given him to 'keep, or left with the gaoler ſigned by them.' This was by them conſented to, and ſo they propounded ſeveral queſtions unto him, and took his anſwers in writing: he farther told, 'that they aſked 'him if he was ſorry for thoſe blaſphemies that he was guilty 'of, and whether he did recant and renounce the ſame?' To which his anſwer was, 'What blaſphemies? name them:' But they not being able to inſtance in any particular, he continued, 'would you have me recant and renounce you know not what?' Then they aſked him, whether, 'he did believe there was a Jeſus 'Chriſt?' To which he anſwered, 'he did believe there was, and 'that Jeſus had taken up his dwelling in his heart and ſpirit, and 'for the teſtimony of him he now ſuffered.' Then one of the preachers ſaid, 'But I believe in a Jeſus that never was in any 'man's heart:' to which Nayler returned, 'he knew no ſuch 'Chriſt, for the Chriſt he witneſſed filled heaven and earth, and 'dwelt in the hearts of the believers.' Next they demanded of him, 'why he ſuffered thoſe women ——— to worſhip and adore 'him?' To which he replied, 'Bowing to the creature I deny; 'but if they beheld the power of Chriſt, where-ever it is, and 'bow to it, he had nothing by which he might reſiſt that, or 'gainſay it †:' and withal ſaid to the miniſters, 'have you thus 'long

* W. H.

† The moſt that I find in his examination, either at Briſtol or London, before the committee of parliament as publiſhed from their report, was, that he owned 'Chriſt in him,' but never that he was Chriſt; and that he took the honour given, not as to himſelf, but to Chriſt in him;

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'long profeſſed the ſcriptures, and do you now ſtumble at what 'they hold forth?' Whereupon they deſiring 'one inſtance of 'ſcripture wherein ſuch a practice was held forth:' he anſwered, 'What think you of the Shunamite's falling down at the feet of 'Eliſha, and bowing before him? As alſo divers others in ſcrip- 'ture ſpoken of, as that of Abigail to David, and that of Nebu- 'chadnezzar to Daniel:' upon which they pauſing a while, ſaid at length, 'that was but a civil act or acknowledgment:' to which he returned, 'So you might interpret the act of thoſe women alſo, 'if your eye were not evil, ſeeing the outward action is one and 'the ſame:' and he perceiving that they were ſeeking to wreſt words from him to their own purpoſe ſaid, 'How ſoon have you 'forgot the work of the biſhops, who are now found in the ſame, 'ſeeking to enſnare the innocent.' Whereupon they roſe up, and with bitterneſs of ſpirit burnt what they had written before, and ſo left him with ſome bemoaning expreſſions; and when they were departing, he deſired of them, 'that the parliament would 'ſend him ſuch queſtions in writing as they deſired ſatisfaction 'to, and give him leave to return his anſwers in writing alſo.'

2 Kings iv. 27, 37.

1 Sam. xxv. 23.

Dan. ii. 46.

By this it ſeems that Nayler, though ſtill under ſome cloud, yet was a little more clear in his underſtanding than before; but he was encountered by fierce enemies, and therefore the execution of his ſentence was not ſtopped, but performed on the 27th of December. Robert Rich, that forward man of whom ſomething hath been mentioned already, was this day at the parliament door, from eight in the morning till about eleven, crying variouſly to the parliament-men as they paſſed by: to one whom he judged to be innocent, he ſaid, '*he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in 'God: for God is love*:' and to another whom he thought to be ſwayed by envy, he ſaid, '*He that hates his brother is a manſlayer*,' and '*He that hates his brother is a murderer*.' Some then thought that Nayler would not have ſuffered any further puniſhment, becauſe many honourable perſons had attended the parliament and the Protector on his behalf: but Rich knowing how the caſe ſtood, told the people, 'that the innocent was going to ſuffer:' and to ſome of the parliament-men he cried, 'that he was clear 'from the blood of all men; and that he deſired them to be ſo 'too.' Then he went towards the Exchange, and got on the pillory, held Nayler by the hand while he was burned on the forehead, and bored through the tongue; and was not a little affected with Nayler's ſuffering, for he licked his wounds, thereby as it ſeems to allay the pain; and he led him by the hand from off the pillory. It was very remarkable that notwithſtanding there might be many thouſands of people, yet they were very quiet, and few

R. Rich's behaviour on the further execution of the ſentence on Nayler.

W w heard

him; which yet is more than any man ought to receive; for when the beloved diſciple John fell at the angel's feet to worſhip him, he (though an angel) ſaid unto him, *See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy brethren that have the teſtimony of Jeſus, worſhip God*, Rev. xix. 10. And if an angel ought not, ſurely no mortal man ought to receive or accept it, on any pretence whatſoever; though falling down or kneeling to one another, is too frequently uſed by ſome other people, and if it is not to their perſon, it muſt be to their function, quality, or character in the church: but that he received it to himſelf, 'as a creature, he ut- 'terly denied.' Trial, page 15. And 'that there could not be a more abominable thing, than 'to take from the Creator, and give to the creature,' &c. J. Whiting.

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heard to revile him, or ſeen to throw any thing at him: and when he was burning, the people both before and behind him, and on both ſides, with one conſent ſtood bare-headed, as ſeeming generally moved with compaſſion and good-will towards him.

At which people generally ſtood bare-headed, and were compaſſionate.

Many now rejoiced, ſeeing how ſome few among the Quakers, as Rich, and the like ſort of people did ſide with Nayler, whilſt the Quakers generally ſpoke againſt him and his doings; for thoſe who hoped to ſee the downfal of them, ſignified not obſcurely, that now things went as they would have, ſince the Quakers (as they ſaid) were divided among themſelves. But time ſhewed that this pretended diviſion ſoon came to an end, and thoſe diviners and gueſſers over-ſhot themſelves. How it went with the execution of Nayler's ſentence at Briſtol, I am not informed;* but by a letter of one Richard Snead, an ancient man of about eighty years, I have underſtood that Nayler had written a letter to the magiſtrates of Briſtol, wherein he had diſapproved, and penitently condemned his carriage there.† After this he was brought to Bridewell, London, (as ſentenced) where he continued priſoner about two years, during which confinement he came to a true repentance of his tranſgreſſion; and having got the uſe of pen and ink, wrote ſeveral books and papers, condemning his error, which were publiſhed in print; and after his releaſe he publiſhed ſeveral others, one of which, by way of recantation, runs thus:

Then continued priſoner at Bridewell, about two years.

Something of J.N's, by way of recantation ſee page 51, before the collection of his writings.

"GLORY to God Almighty, who ruleth in the heavens, and in whoſe hands are all the kingdoms of the earth; who raiſeth up, and caſteth down at his will; who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chaſtiſe his children, and to make man to know himſelf to be as graſs before him, whoſe judgments are above the higheſt of men, and his pity reacheth the deepeſt miſery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath, to lift up the priſoner out of the pit, and to ſave ſuch as truſt in him from the great deſtruction, which vain man, through his folly, brings upon himſelf; who hath delivered my ſoul from darkneſs, and made way for my freedom out of the priſon-houſe, and ranſomed me from the great captivity; who divides the ſea before him, and removes the mountains out of his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppreſſed out of the hand of him that is too mighty for him in the earth: let his name be exalted for ever, and let all fleſh fear before him, whoſe breath is life to his own, but a conſuming fire to the adverſary.

And to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be everlaſting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkneſs; even that Chriſt of whom the ſcriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whoſe coming I teſtify

His patient behaviour on execution of his ſentence at Briſtol.

* He was ſent to Briſtol, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas's-ſtreet, over the bridge, up High-ſtreet, to the middle of Broad-ſtreet, all which he bore with wonderful patience, as related by an eye-witneſs, and then ſent by Tower-Lane the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, according to the ſentence. J. Whiting.

† After he was ſet at liberty, he went to Briſtol, where in a publick meeting he made confeſſion of his offence, as to his former fall, and declared in ſo powerful a manner, as tendered and broke the meeting into tears; ſo that there were few dry eyes, (as related by ſome then preſent) and many were bowed in their minds and reconciled to him. J. Whiting's account.

teſtify with the reſt of the children of light, begotten of the immortal ſeed, whoſe truth and virtue now ſhine in the world, unto the righteouſneſs of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my ſalvation, and his ſpirit hath given quietneſs and patience to my ſoul in deep affliction; even for his name's-ſake praiſes for ever. 1656.

But condemned for ever be all thoſe falſe worſhips, with which any have idolized my perſon in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkneſs was above; and all their caſting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and ſingings, and all the reſt of thoſe wild actions which did any ways tend to diſhonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the meaſure of Chriſt Jeſus in themſelves, to look at fleſh, which is as graſs, or to aſcribe that to the viſible, which belongs to Chriſt Jeſus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blaſphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the ſpirits of any people grieved, that truly love the Lord Jeſus, throughout the whole world, of what ſort ſoever. This offence I confeſs, which hath cauſed ſorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's peace in Chriſt, ſhould get this advantage in the night of my trial, to ſtir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the ſimplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endleſs love hath given me power over it, to condemn it; and alſo that letter which was ſent me to Exeter by John Stranger, when I was in priſon, with theſe words: 'Thy name ſhall be no more James Nayler but 'Jeſus.' This I judge to be written from the imaginations, and a fear ſtruck me when I firſt ſaw it, and ſo I put it in my pocket cloſe, not intending any ſhould ſee it: which they finding on me, ſpread it abroad, which the ſimplicity of my heart never owned. So this I deny alſo, that the name of Chriſt Jeſus was received inſtead of James Nayler, or aſcribed to him; for that name is to the promiſed ſeed to all generations; and he that hath the Son, hath the name, which is life and power, the ſalvation and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized. So the name of Chriſt I confeſs before men, which name to me hath been a ſtrong tower in the night and in the day: and this is the name of Chriſt Jeſus, which I confeſs, the Son and the Lamb the promiſed ſeed, where he ſpeaks in male and female: but who hath not this in himſelf, hath not life, neither can have by idolizing my perſon, or the perſon of any fleſh: but in whom the heir is born, and hath ſpoken, or doth ſpeak, there he muſt not be denied the mouth to ſpeak by, who is head over all, and in all his own, God bleſſed for ever.

And all thoſe ranting wild ſpirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkneſs; and all their wild actions and wicked words againſt the honour of God, and his pure ſpirit and people; I deny that bad ſpirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil ſpirit in any to ariſe, I take ſhame to myſelf juſtly; having formerly had power over that ſpirit, in judgment and diſcerning, where-ever it was: which darkneſs came over me through want of watchfulneſs and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding

1656. minding the reproof of life which condemns the adulterous ſpirit. So the adverſary got advantage, who ceaſes not to ſeek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies had not reſcued me, I had periſhed, for I was as one appointed to death and deſtruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confeſs, that God may be juſtified in his judgments, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forſake his captive in the night, even when his ſpirit was daily provoked and grieved; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confeſs to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day: yet were there many things formed againſt me in that day to take away my life, and bring ſcandal upon the truth, of which I am not guilty at all; as that accuſation, as if I had committed adultery with ſome of thoſe women who came with us from Exeter priſon, and alſo thoſe who were with me at Briſtol the night before I ſuffered there; of both which accuſations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a child, God is my record. And this I mention in particular (hearing of ſome who ſtill ceaſe not to reproach therewith God's truth and people) that the mouth of enmity might be ſhut from evil ſpeaking, though this toucheth not my conſcience.

And that report, as though I had raiſed Dorcas Erbury from the dead carnally, this I deny alſo, and condemn that teſtimony to be out of the truth; though that power that quickens the dead, I deny not, which is the word of eternal life. And this I give forth, that it may go as far as the offence againſt the ſpirit of truth hath gone abroad, that all burdens may be taken off of the truth, and the truth cleared thereby, and the true light, and all that walk therein, and the deeds of darkneſs be condemned; and that all that are in darkneſs, may not act in the night, but ſtay upon God, who dwells in the light, who with the workers of iniquity hath no fellowſhip; which had I done, when firſt darkneſs came upon me, and not been led by others, I had not run againſt that rock to be broken, which ſo long had borne me, and of whom I had ſo largely drank, and of which I now drink in meaſure; to whom be the glory of all, and to him muſt every tongue confeſs, as judge and Saviour, God over all, bleſſed for ever."

The author adding to this an exhortation to the reader, how to behave himſelf, if at any time he came to be tempted to ſin; and alſo a warning not to rely too much on gifts, wiſdom, and knowledge, concludes thus:

"This I have learned in the deeps, and in ſecret, when I was alone; and now declare openly in the day of thy mercy, O Lord; glory to the higheſt for evermore, who hath thus far ſet me free to praiſe his righteouſneſs and his mercy; and to the eternal, inviſible, pure God, over all, be fear, obedience, and glory evermore. Amen.

JAMES NAYLER."

He wrote another paper, wherein he related at large, how by unwatchfulneſs he came to fall, after having once obtained much victory over the power of Satan, by the grace of God, when he daily

daily walked humbly in his fear, having for ſome years laboured faithfully in the miniſtry of the goſpel. But what is remarkable, though where-ever he did uſe to come, he went with great boldneſs through all oppoſition, yet coming to the city of London, he entered it with the greateſt fear that ever he came into any place with, in ſpirit foreſeeing, as he relates, ſomewhat to befal him there, but not knowing what it might be, 'Yet had I,' (thus he ſaith) 'the ſame preſence and power as before, into whatever 'place or ſervice I was led of the ſpirit; in that life I never return-'ed without victory in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord thereof. But not 'minding in all things to ſtand ſingle and low to the motions of 'that endleſs life, by it to be led in all things within and without; 'but giving way to the reaſoning part, as to ſome things which 'in themſelves had no ſeeming evil, by little and little it drew 'out my mind after trifles, vanities, and perſons, which took the 'affectionate part, by which my mind was drawn out from the 'conſtant watch, and pure fear, into which I once was begotten. '———Thus having in a great meaſure loſt my own guide, and 'darkneſs being come upon me, I ſought a place where I might 'have been alone to weep and cry before the Lord, that his face I 'might find, and my condition recover: but then my adverſary, 'who had long waited his opportunity, had got in, and beſtirred 'himſelf every way, ſo that I could not be hid: and divers meſ-'ſages came to me, ſome true, ſome falſe, as I have ſeen ſince. So I 'knowing ſome to be true, to wit, how I had loſt my condition, 'with this I let in the falſe meſſage alſo; and ſo letting go that 'little of the true light which I had yet remaining in myſelf, I 'gave up myſelf wholly to be led by others; whoſe work was 'then to divide me from the children of light, which was done, 'though much was done by divers of them to prevent it, and in 'bowels of tender love many laboured to have ſtayed me with them. 'And after I was led out from them, the Lord God of my life 'ſent divers of his ſervants with his word after me, for my return; 'all which was rejected; yea, the provocation of that time of 'temptation was exceeding great againſt the pure love of God; 'yet he left me not; for after I had given myſelf under that pow-'er, and darkneſs was above, my adverſary ſo prevailed, that all 'things were turned and perverted againſt my right ſeeing, hear-'ing or underſtanding; only a ſecret hope and faith I had in my 'God whom I had ſerved, that he would bring me through it, 'and to the end of it, and that I ſhould again ſee the day of my 'redemption from under it all; and this quieted my ſoul in my 'greateſt tribulation.'

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His own account of his fall.

At page 40, before the collection, &c.

The author moreover ſeriouſly exhorting others, who alſo might come to fall into great temptation, concludes with theſe words, 'He 'who hath ſaved my ſoul from death thus far, and lifted my feet up 'out of the pit, even to him be immortal glory for ever, and let 'every troubled ſoul truſt in him; for his mercy endureth for ever.

'JAMES NAYLER.'

That he came to a perfect recovery from his having been in a maze, ſeems to appear plainly by the following thankſgiving to God for his mercies, which he publiſhed after his fall:

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Page 49 ibid. A thankſgiving on his recovery.

IT is in my heart to praiſe thee, O my God; let me never forget thee, what thou haſt been to me in the night, by thy preſence in the day of trial, when I was beſet in darkneſs, when I was caſt out as a wandering bird, when I was aſſaulted with ſtrong temptations, then thy preſence in ſecret did preſerve me, and in a low ſtate I felt thee near me: when the floods ſought to ſweep me away, thou didſt ſet a compaſs for them how far they ſhould paſs over: when my way was through the ſea, and when I paſſed under the mountains, there waſt thou preſent with me: when the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldeſt me, elſe had I ſunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpleſs, when tribulation and anguiſh was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation; when I went on the way of wrath, and paſſed by the gates of hell; when all comforts ſtood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion; when I was caſt into the pit, and was as one appointed to death; when I was between the millſtones, and as one cruſhed with the weight of his adverſary; as a Father thou waſt with me, and the rock of thy preſence. When the mouths of lions roared againſt me, and fear took hold of my ſoul in the pit, then I called upon thee in the night, and my cries were ſtrong before thee daily, who anſweredſt me from thy habitation, and deliveredſt me, from thy dwelling-place, ſaying, I will ſet thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppreſſion. I believed and was ſtrengthened, and thy word was ſalvation. Thou didſt fight on my part when I wreſtled with death; and when darkneſs would have ſhut me up, then thy light ſhone about me, and thy banner was over my head: when my work was in the furnace, and as I paſſed through the fire, by thee I was not conſumed, though the flames aſcended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful viſions, and was amongſt the fiery ſpirits, thy faith ſtayed me, elſe through fear I had fallen. I ſaw thee, and believed, ſo the enemy could not prevail.

When I look back into thy works, I am aſtoniſhed, and ſee no end of thy praiſes: glory, glory to thee, ſaith my ſoul, and let my heart be ever filled with thankſgiving. Whilſt thy works remain, they ſhall ſhew forth thy power. Then didſt thou lay the foundation of the earth, and lead me under the waters, and in the deep didſt thou ſhew me wonders, and thy forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledeſt me in ſafety, till thou ſhewedſt me the pillars of the earth: then did the heavens ſhower down, they were covered with darkneſs, and the powers thereof were ſhaken, and thy glory deſcended: thou filledſt the lower parts of the earth with gladneſs, and the ſprings of the valleys were opened, and thy ſhowers deſcended abundantly, ſo the earth was filled with virtue. Thou madeſt thy plant to ſpring, and the thirſty ſoul became as a watered garden: then didſt thou lift me out of the pit, and ſet me forth in the ſight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedſt liberty to the captive, and calledſt mine acquaintance near me: they to whom I had been a wonder, looked upon me, and in thy love I obtained favour with thoſe who had forſaken me. Then did gladneſs ſwallow up ſorrow, and I forſook all my troubles; and I ſaid, how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may

know

know his folly, that every mouth may become ſilent in thy hand, until thou makeſt man known to himſelf, and haſt ſlain the boaſter, and ſhewed him the vanity that vexeth thy ſpirit. 1656.

JAMES NAYLER.

This plainly appears to be a poetical piece; for the author all along makes uſe of allegorical ſayings, to ſignify the great anguiſh and tribulation he had been under.

The hatred of his enemies was the fiercer, becauſe he had undiſguiſedly and clearly demonſtrated their duty to the rulers, and preachers, and lawyers: for in a certain book publiſhed by him in the year 1653, to exhort men to repentance, he writes thus to the rulers:

His call to repentance, to the magiſtrates. Collect. of Nayler's writings, page 133.

"O YOU rulers of the people, who are ſet up to judge between a man and his neighbour, ought not you to judge for God, and not for man? Ought not you to be men fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs, not judging for gifts and rewards? Ought not you to countenance and encourage them that do well, and be a terror to them which do evil? Juſtice is ſo. And he that is of God, and bears his ſword, turns the edge of it againſt all ſin and wickedneſs, injuſtice and oppreſſion, and ſo ſets up juſtice and judgment in the gates, that the poor may be delivered from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cauſe of the fatherleſs, widow, and ſtranger may not fall, but hath an ear open to the cries of the poor and helpleſs, who hath but little money, and few friends; that a poor man may not be afraid to appear in a good cauſe, againſt the greateſt oppreſſor in the nation.

And ought not you to judge without reſpect to perſons, or without ſeeking reſpect to your own perſons, worſhip or honour from men, but only to advance juſtice, equity, and righteouſneſs, which is of God, that ſo you may be honoured by the Lord; for true humility is honour, and he that honours the Lord, him will he honour; and ſuch have been honoured in all ages, though they never ſought it from men."

This and much more he wrote to the rulers. And to the preachers thus:

To the miniſters, ibid. page 132.

"And you who ſay, you are the teachers of the nation, how long will it be ere you look at your own ways? Is not all manner of filthineſs amongſt you, which you ſhould lead the people out of? Is there not among you drunkenneſs, gluttony, whoredom, and ſporting, ſitting down to eat and to drink, and riſing up to play; ſwearing, lying, backbiting, falſe accuſing, railing, ſlandering, contention, ſtrife and envy? Yea, are not the beſt of you given to pride and covetouſneſs, which is idolatry; fulneſs of bread, and abundance of idleneſs? Are not you hirelings, and teach for the fleece? Do not you contend for money with your own hearers, and ſue them at law for it; yea, although they cannot ſatisfy your demands, without ſinning againſt the light in their own conſciences, and ſo ſin againſt God? Are you not bitter, and perſecutors of any that come to diſcover your lewdneſs, crying

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The lawyers in the ſame writing had a ſtroke alſo, thus:

To the lawyers ibid, page 136. "And you lawyers, ought not you to plead the cauſe of equity, between man and man for equity-ſake, without reſpect to yourſelves or others, but only to truth itſelf, that a juſt cauſe may be owned in whomſoever it concerns? But is not the juſteſt cauſe ſure to fall, if the party have not money to ſatisfy your demands; which are many times very unreaſonable? And you who ſhould inſtruct people in the ways of truth, and peace, do not you by your wiſdom teach them lies and ſtrife? Do not you adviſe your plaintiffs, as you call them, to declare in bills, things that are not true, and make ſmall offences ſeem very great by falſe gloſſes? For ſay you, 'We may declare what we will, and prove what we 'can;' ſo that you, and they whom you act for, know beforehand, that ſcarce one thing of ten can be proved, neither is true? Is this the way to make up the breach, and preſerve peace and truth amongſt people? O miſerable fall from God, when that law which ſhould preſerve in peace, is uſed to aggravate offences beyond truth, and ſo make differences greater. And do not you delight to fiſh in troubled waters; and the greater diſſention amongſt the people, the more is your gain? Are not your purſes filled, and your eſtates raiſed in the ruins of the people? And are not thoſe laws which ought to be uſed to preſerve people from oppreſſion, by abuſing, made the undoing of whole familes, impoveriſhing towns and countries? The law, as it is now uſed, is ſcarce ſerviceable for any other end, but for the envious man, who hath much money to revenge himſelf of his poor neighbours, which, may be, never did him wrong. Is there any appearing for the poor againſt the rich, although his cauſe be juſt; but by deceit, delays, and expences, the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe."

Much more he wrote to the lawyers, to ſtir them up to do juſtice: and then addreſſed himſelf to the people in general, in theſe words:

To the people. ibid. page 138. "And you people of the nation, that have ſeen the hand of God againſt the prince and people for theſe and the like abominations, and you yourſelves are eſcaped, as brands plucked out of the fire; have you at all turned to him who hath ſmitten you? or are you bettered by correction? or have you made your peace with the Almighty? although you have ſeen war, and the ſword reaching to the very ſoul, are you not every one, to your own power, gathering fuel to that fire which hath been burning in the land, and hath conſumed thouſands; which ſhould have been as a warning unto

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you who are eſcaped, to return to the Lord from the evil of your doings? but are not you ſtill making the breach wider between God and the nation, as though you were left for no other end, but to fill up the meaſure of iniquity that is yet behind, that the juſt God may ſweep the land with the beeſom of deſtruction? O when will you ceaſe to provoke the Lord by your ſins? where is your Redeemer you have profeſſed ſo long in words and forms? can you witneſs him in your works? and what hath he redeemed you from? for, ſaith he, *Why call you me Lord, and do not the things which I ſay?* Is he your Lord, and you ſervants to all manner of filthineſs? and notwithſtanding that you have ſeen his wonders in the nation, yet do not you exceed all that ever went before you, in pride, covetouſneſs, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, envying, quarrelling, backbiting, ſlandering, falſe accuſing, ſelf-love, and deceit in all manner of merchandize and trading; falſe weights and meaſures, ſayings, proteſtings one towards another, in your bargaining, ſpeaking things that are not true, and hereby to over-reach your brethren, and get diſhoneſt gain. How many falſe oaths, and idle words are ſpent about every bargain in your markets, and open ſtreets, without bluſhing, or being aſhamed? yea, it is able to break the hearts of any who know the pure God, to know it, and hear it; for it is come to ſuch a height of deceit, that none can truſt his brother; for lying, ſwearing, and forſwearing, it abounds in the nation; and yet you will profeſs yourſelves to be the members of Jeſus Chriſt: and had Jeſus Chriſt ever ſuch a body as this? nay, all that are members of him, are of one heart, and one ſoul. 1656.

And you talk of a communion of ſaints; had ever the ſaints ſuch a communion as this, to defraud one another for money; and profeſs a Redeemer, and are ſervants to the Devil, and your own luſts, in all the motions and temptations thereof, and are led captive at his will? but what redemption is this you witneſs, ſo long as ſin, the partition-wall, is between God and you, ſtands ſtill whole in your wills; you will be drunk, ſwear, lie, and commit adultery, diſſemble, and ſatisfy your luſts in all things, and ſay we are redeemed, yet commit all theſe abominations, and live in them, under a pretence of a profeſſion, and going to the idol's temple once a week: did ever Jeſus Chriſt redeem ſuch a people, or dwell in ſuch a people? thoſe whom he hath redeemed, he hath freed from the ſervitude of ſin, by ſeparating them from ſin, and reconciling them to God, from whence they are fallen by ſin: for God and ſin cannot dwell in one. And to ſuch he ſaith, *Be ye holy, for I am holy:* and as he is the *Lamb of God who taketh away the ſins of the world;* now ſee, how are your ſins taken away, when the kingdom of darkneſs doth wholly rule in you, and leads you into works and ways of darkneſs? are you reconciled to God, and have you fellowſhip with him? are not you yet ſtrangers to him, and worſhipping an unknown God? *for he that commits ſin, hath not ſeen him, neither known him,* and ſo worſhip they know not what, in formal and ſuperſtitious worſhips."

Thus J. Nayler wrote: but I now break off that I may not be tedious.

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J. N's fall, not of the nature of common ſins.

So zealous was he before his fall; which was wholly of another nature than the common ſins and tranſgreſſions, for by the wiles of Satan, he accepted the idolatrous honour that ſome perſons gave him, inſtead of which he ought to have reproved them: and thus was he ſo ſtupified in his underſtanding, that he imagined the bowing and kneeling before him, was not done on account of his perſon, but for Chriſt: and with this falſe opinion he blinded himſelf for a time, till it pleaſed God to pity him, and to give him light again, after he had ſuffered ſuch an unheard of puniſhment for his tranſgreſſion, as is already related in this hiſtory. And becauſe his freedom of ſpeech againſt unrighteouſneſs of all ſorts, and his preaching ran very ſharp upon all, ſeveral were angry with him, became his enemies, and took occaſion from his crime to revenge themſelves fiercely upon him, by making him ſuffer a cruel puniſhment, which was no ways proportionable to his tranſgreſſion. But herein barbarous cruelty played its part ſo much, that the ſobereſt inhabitants did deteſt it, and therefore a petition was preſented to the parliament, deſiring a diſcharge of part of the puniſhment, of which the firſt ſubſcriber was colonel Scroop, who was governor of Briſtol.

Col. Scroop, governor of Briſtol, the firſt ſubſcriber to a petition in his favour.

While he lay in the houſe of correction, he wrote ſeveral papers to manifeſt his regret and repentance for his crime; ſome of which are already inſerted in this hiſtory. Since is come to my hand, a letter to his friends, being written with his own hand, to this purport:

"DEAR BRETHREN,

A letter acknowledging his offence, and in much tenderneſs deſiring forgiveneſs. Before the collect. page. 25.

MY heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occaſioned to God's truth and people, and eſpecially to you, who in dear love followed me, ſeeking me in faithfulneſs to God, which I rejected, being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God's hand brought me, to whoſe love I now confeſs: and I beſeech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day, God knows my ſorrow for it, ſince I ſee it, that ever I ſhould offend that of God in any, or reject his counſel; and now that paper you have ſeen lies much upon me, and I greatly fear further to offend or do amiſs, whereby the innocent truth, or people of God ſhould ſuffer, or that I ſhould diſobey therein.

Unleſs the Lord himſelf keep you from me, I beſeech you let nothing elſe hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord: in the mercies of Chriſt Jeſus this I beg of you, as if it was your own caſe, let me not be forgotten of you.

And I entreat you, ſpeak to Henry Clarke, or whoever elſe I have moſt offended; and by the power of God, and in the ſpirit of Chriſt Jeſus, I am willing to confeſs the offence, that God's love may ariſe in all hearts, as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what ſtands in the way; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover: God is witneſs herein."

He wrote alſo ſeveral other confeſſions of his faults about this time, in one of which amongſt others, I find theſe words:

Ibid. page. 30.

"And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have ſuffered

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ſuffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath ſuffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation; the Almighty God of love, who hath numbered every ſigh, and put every tear in his bottle, reward it a thouſand fold into your boſoms, in the day of your need, when you ſhall come to be tried and tempted; and in the mean time fulfil your joy with his love which you ſeek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cauſe you to mourn, whoſe ſuffering is my greateſt ſorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein."

When he had finiſhed that letter, and ſet his name, he wrote as follows:

"I beſeech you (all that can) to receive it, even as you would be received of the Lord; and for the reſt the Lord give me patience to ſuffer till he make up the breach."

While he was in Bridewell he wrote to the parliament, who had puniſhed him as a blaſphemer, to let them know what his true opinion concerning Jeſus Chriſt was.

To the parliament: his opinion concerning Jeſus Chriſt. Ibid. page. 35.

"CHRIST JESUS, the Immanuel (of whoſe ſufferings the ſcriptures declare) him alone I confeſs before men; for whoſe ſake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myſelf, whoſe life and virtue I find daily manifeſt in my mortal body, which is my eternal joy and hope of glory, who alone I ſeek to ſerve in ſpirit, ſoul, and body, night and day, (according to the meaſure of grace working in me) that in me he may be glorified, whether by life or death; and for his ſake I ſuffer all things, that he alone may have the glory of my change, whoſe work alone it is in me: even to that eternal ſpirit be glory, and to the Lamb for ever.

But to aſcribe this name, power and virtue to James Nayler, (or to that which had a beginning and muſt return to duſt) or for that to be exalted or worſhipped, to me is great idolatry, and with the ſpirit of Chriſt Jeſus in me it is condemned; which ſpirit leads to lowlineſs, meekneſs, and long ſuffering.

So having an opportunity given, with readineſs, I am willing in the fear of God the Father, in honour to Chriſt Jeſus, and to take off all offences from every ſimple heart, this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Chriſt is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to ſeek peace in truth with all men in that ſpirit.

JAMES NAYLER."

Denies the paper called his recantation. ibid. page, 38.

After this, hearing that ſome had wronged him about that which he had ſpoken to the committee of the parliament, and underſtanding how men had perverted his words, he wrote a paper, declaring himſelf further concerning his belief of Chriſt, and his ſufferings, and death, &c. Alſo he complained of things that ſome had publiſhed, under the title of 'James Nayler's recantation,' wherein they had much perverted him, and he declared,

'And as touching the printing of that paper, called "J. N's Re-"cantation," it was not done by me, nor with my knowledge in the 'leaſt,

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'Therefore, ſo far as it teſtifies againſt thoſe unclean ranting 'ſpirits, and all the actions wherein the holy name of God hath 'been diſhonoured, and his ſpirit grieved, ſo far I own it; but in 'that it is turned as though I denied the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his 'truth, which hath called me out of the world, or his people whom 'he hath called into light, in that I own it not; for in the patience 'and tribulation of Chriſt Jeſus, and with thoſe who have the 'power this day to teſtify therein, againſt all the evils of this 'preſent world, I am one in heart and ſoul to the utmoſt of my 'ſtrength, till the coming of the Lord Jeſus over all; and the 'throne of meekneſs and truth, be ſet on the top of enmity and de-'ceit; in which faith and power I am given up to live or die, 'ſuffer or rejoice; as God will, even ſo be it without murmuring.

'JAMES NAYLER.'

This is certain, that James Nayler came to very great ſorrow, and deep humiliation of mind; and therefore becauſe God forgives the tranſgreſſions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, ſo could James Nayler's friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the loſt ſheep into their ſociety. He having afterwards obtained his liberty, behaved himſelf as became a chriſtian, honeſt, and blameleſs in converſation; and patiently bore the reproach of his former crimes.

R. Blome publiſhes his Fanatick Hiſtory, wrote chiefly againſt the Quakers.

When king Charles the ſecond had aſcended the throne, one Richard Blome publiſhed a book entitled, 'The Fanatick Hiſtory,' which was ſaid to be publiſhed with the approbation of orthodox divines, (ſo called) and dedicated by him to the king. This book

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ſtruck chiefly againſt the Quakers, and was ſtuffed with a multitude of lying ſtories, and the fall of J. Nayler was not concealed in it. He being then alive, took up the pen, and anſwered the falſities contained in it, relating to himſelf: and becauſe R. Blome in his dedication, ſaid, " That if his majeſty put not forth his royal " hand of power ſuddenly to reſtrain us, we are ſo numerous, " and ſeducing, that we will (in a little time) diffuſe our poi- " ſon over the better part of his kingdom, which none but a " regal authority can ſtifle."

To which part J. Nayler writes an anſwer, collect. p. 645, &c.

' I ſay then, what is become of your ſpiritual weapons? have not ' your teachers told people of the ſtrength of truth, and the power ' of godlineſs? have you loſt both (may wiſdom ſay) and run you ' now to the arm of fleſh, to get errors ſtifled (as you call them) or ' elſe your hope is loſt, and your faith fails you? did ever any of ' Chriſt's miniſters leave their ſpiritual weapons, to run to the arm ' of fleſh, or a carnal weapon to ſtop ſeducers? I ſay no; this they ' never did, but with ſpiritual weapons they wreſtled, and over- ' came ſpiritual wickedneſs, and with them cut down hereſies, blaſ- ' phemies, and falſe worſhips, and cleared the churches of Chriſt of ' them, and drove them down before them in the world; " For " none could reſiſt the ſpirit by which they ſpoke," of all the falſe ' prieſts, and falſe worſhippers: but being put to the worſt, they ' cried (as you do) to rulers and people, " Help us, or all will be " over-run: for they that turn the world upſide down are come " hither;" (mind your cry.) And then the rude multitude ran on ' heaps upon them, and made tumults often, and fell upon them ' with ſtaves and fiſts, and aſſaulted the houſes that entertained them, ' as you do, and ſo haled them before rulers, who took their ' part herein, and put them in priſon, and often whipped them, ' unleſs it were ſome that were ſo noble, as not to heed the cry of ' the multitude; but would hear their cauſe, and give them leave ' to ſpeak, before they would ſentence them that were accuſed. ' And this was the nobility of heathen kings and rulers; and do ' not you ſeek to make England's rulers worſe than them? beware ' leſt Heathens riſe up in the day of judgment againſt them who ' are called Chriſtians, and condemn them.

' And in this your cry for help, againſt ſo contemptible a peo- ' ple, as you count them, you (like ſilly women) do but diſcover ' your weakneſs and worthleſſneſs; and if God open the eyes of ' king Charles he will ſee it. What! have you preached and ' wreſtled yourſelves out of all hope and faith, that either you ' muſt have ſudden help from him, or all is loſt and over-run? ' ſurely it may be ſaid, you have been bad watchmen, and idle ' ſhepherds, who have loſt all, if ſudden help come not from ' another hand. Now if any had come againſt you with carnal ' weapons, then had you had ſome excuſe in crying to the earthly ' powers; but in that nothing but ſpirit comes againſt ſpirit, and ' yet you have loſt the day. This doth clearly manifeſt, that the ' power of God you have not in you, but have loſt the kingdom ' of the Moſt High, and ſo are become unreaſonable men, who ' would have two weapons againſt one; and another to do your ' work for you, and yet are unwilling to forego your wages; yea,

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'this advantage you have had divers years, but have not prevailed 'therewith.

'And whereas thou ſayeſt, "thy book is of great conſequence;" 'and ſo thou preſumeſt to make king Charles the patron of it; 'and then aſkeſt pardon for thy preſumption when thou haſt done.

'I ſay thou haſt need, the ſubſtance of thy book being made 'up of falſe accuſations, gathered up out of books formerly 'written againſt us, which have been diſproved by anſwers ſeveral 'times over: and to theſe thou haſt added ſome new accuſations, as 'falſe as the old, and ſpied out the failings of ſome few, who have 'mourned before God, that ever they ſhould ſin, and give occaſion 'to the enemy of God ſo to blaſpheme: and many things which 'were done and ſpoken by others, who are not of us, nor ever were, 'and of this is thy book made up; as any may ſee who read it, and 'our ſeveral anſwers to the charges therein, many of them of ſeve-'ral years ſtanding, againſt theſe falſe accuſations, which have moſt 'of them been printed over and over, and preſented to the former 'powers that have riſen, and as often anſwered: ſo there needed no 'more to be ſaid, than hath been, were it not for the ſake of 'ſome who may yet be ſtrangers to your way of dealing towards 'us, under every power that hath been. Now diſcretion will ſay, 'that to make another man the father of ſuch a work, to which 'he is a ſtranger (but eſpecially a king) is preſumption indeed, 'raſhneſs, and folly, and needs a pardon.

'And whereas you now ſay, "that none but a regal authority "can ſtifle;" it's true, you have tried parliaments and Protectors, 'as you call them, and parliaments again; and to make them 'then work for you, your prieſts uſed theſe arguments to them, '(to wit) "That in the late wars they had expoſed lives, liberties, "eſtates, and relations, with all other perſonal advantages, in "maintaining the juſt proceedings of parliaments," and from 'them you then claimed our ſtifling, as the price of your pray-'ers, purſes, hazards, loſſes, baniſhment, and blood, as may be 'read in the Weſtmoreland petition againſt us, which thou haſt 'printed in page 197, and 198. And was not this power that 'which you then called the "Common Enemy," in the ſame peti-'tion, page 200, which you now cry to, and would put him upon 'that work againſt us now, as defender of your faith, &c. Ah! a 'faithleſs generation have you been to God and man: may you 'not be aſhamed of this work, to print it, and ſend it to king 'Charles, and call him to defend it, and patronize it? how hath 'envy bereaved you of your reaſonableneſs? ſhall he who defends 'this, defend either faith or truth? but this is that you may co-'ver yourſelves with your ſhame and envy, that both king and 'people, and parliaments, may ſee what a generation you are 'that will run under any power to get your bloody ends; but in-'deed true to none; for if it was true, that you were ſo faithful 'to that parliament, with your prayers, purſes, and blood, a[s] 'there you plead, then is your faith but new, which now you 'would have defended; but if not true, then how great deceivers, 'and how little to be truſted, or defended, in your cruel deſigns?

'*The king that faithfully judges the poor, his throne ſhall be eſta-*

'*bliſhed*

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'*bliſhed for ever.* But, *if a ruler hearken to lies, all his ſervants* '*are wicked*, Prov. xxix. 12, 14.

'And to thee, who haſt ſet forth this book of miſchief, I ſay 'with the ſcriptures, *Lay not wait, O wicked man, againſt the* '*dwelling of the righteous, ſpoil not his reſting place. For a juſt* '*man falleth ſeven times, and riſeth up again; but the wicked ſhall* '*fall into miſchief*, Prov. xxiv. 15, 16. See alſo Mich. vii. 8.

'J. N.'

In anſwer to the BOOK.

"THE day is come that the ſcripture is fulfilled, which the Lord ſpoke by his prophet, Iſa. xliv. 25. That he will *make the diviners mad;* and *that the prophets ſhall be aſhamed every one of his viſion*, Zach. xiii. 4. The which doth now evidently appear, and their *folly is made manifeſt unto all*, that will ſee and behold it, according to 2 Tim. iii. 9. And is not this manifeſt madneſs and folly in them, called orthodox and divines, to preſent unto the king their packet of lies, which have been ſeven years told over, and ſo long ſince diſproved and confuted, as may be ſeen in a book, called, 'Saul's Errand to Damaſcus,' &c. printed in the year 1653, and in ſeveral other books ſince. It already hath been, and is now manifeſt unto all men of ſober underſtandings, that theſe men, falſely called orthodox and divines, have had no defence, either to vindicate themſelves, or diſprove the people called Quakers, but this refuge of lies; which they firſt preſented to the parliament ſitting in 1652, and likewiſe to other parliaments which have been ſince that time, and to the two Protectors, and which now to this preſent king is directed; and you preſumptuouſly charge him to be the patron of it, requiring him to defend thoſe lies which you falſely call the faith. But this we know, according as it is written, Prov. xxix. 12. 19. That *if a ruler hearken to lies, all his ſervants are wicked; but a wiſe king ſcattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them.*

Theſe pretended divines, are ſuch as have bowed and crouched under every appearance of a power, and by flatteries ſeem to cleave unto them, that they might uphold, maintain, and ſatisfy their god, which is their bellies: theſe were of them which ſaid, 'That Oliver Cromwell was the light of their eyes, and the 'breath of their noſtrils:' ſo that now with ſhame they might rather confeſs that they are blind, and dead (from the light and life of God) than to multiply lies in their accuſtomed manner, as formerly. Theſe alſo were of them that ſaid, 'Oliver Cromwell 'was Moſes, who had led them into a ſight of the good land; 'and that Richard his ſon was Joſhua, which ſhould lead them 'into the poſſeſſion.' But we, with many more, do ſee that their hope is falſe, and their faith alſo proved vain, and that they are not yet in the *Land of promiſe*, for there no liars come. And thoſe former rulers hearkening to their lies, were deceived by them, which was the cauſe of God's judgments, and utter deſtruction coming upon them; which while they put into the prieſts mouths, they cried, Peace unto them, calling them Moſes, Aaron and Joſhua; but when they ceaſed, and could not put into their mouths, then they

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they cried out, that Moſes and Joſhua were tyrants and oppreſſors: and ſo will they do unto the king now, who are ſeeking to cleave unto him by flattery and deceit; which if he deny to be the patron and defender of their lies, will be apt to cry as much againſt him. So that he, or they, are bleſſed, whoſe ears are not open to their clamours, but whoſe hearts are joined to the truth, and who are led by the ſpirit of God as their inſtructor; for ſuch ſhall diſcern hypocrites, and falſe hearted men, under every pretence of flattery or diſſimulation; for the folly of theſe begins to *be manifeſt unto all men*, 2 Tim. iii. 9.

J. Tolverdey denies the charge againſt him.

Now in anſwer to the hiſtory, concerning John Tolverdey, aſſerted by a company of prieſts, as Brooks, Cocking, Goodwin, Jenkins, Jacomb, Alderry, Tombs, and Pool, who themſelves ſay, that they have but peruſed a part, as page 99, and yet pretend to witneſs the whole; whoſe witneſs is diſproved and denied by the ſaid John Tolverdey, both by his own book given forth from him, and by his life and converſation, being now (ſince his return from his out-going) a living witneſs, not againſt, but for the way, doctrine, principle, and practice, which the people called Quakers do live in, againſt thoſe lies publiſhed abroad concerning him.

J. N's confeſſion concerning the charge againſt himſelf.

And as for thy charge thou haſt againſt J. Nayler, through the everlaſting mercy of my God, I have yet a being amongſt the living, and breath to anſwer for myſelf though againſt the intents of many cruel bloody ſpirits, who purſued my ſoul unto death (as much as in them lay) in that day of my calamity, when my adverſary was above, and wherein I was made a ſign to a backſliding generation, who then would not ſee nor hear what now is coming upon them, but rejoiced againſt this piece of duſt, and had little pity towards him that was fallen into their hands; wherein God was juſt in giving me up for my diſobedience, for a little moment, as a father to correct; yet ſhould not they have ſought to aggravate things againſt me, as thou doſt; for it was a day of deep diſtreſs, and lay ſore upon my ſoul, and the merciful God ſaw it, who, though he was diſpleaſed for a time, yet his thoughts were not to caſt off for ever (but extend mercy) as it is at this day, glory be to his name, from my delivered ſoul eternally.

And in that day there were many ſpirits flocked about me, and ſome whom, (while the candle of the Lord ſhone upon my head) I ever judged and kept out from me, who then got up and acted, and ſpoke ſeveral things not in the light and truth of God, by which they who ſought occaſion againſt me, were then ſtrengthened to afflict this body, and he that watches for evil, in thee and ſome others, makes uſe of ſtill, againſt God's truth and innocent people; whoſe mouths the God of my mercy ſtop, and ſo finiſh the trouble of my heart as to that thing, for my ſoul hath long dwelt among lions, even among them that are ſet on fire, *Whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, and their tongues a ſharp ſword, ſpeaking miſchievous things to ſhed blood.*

But O man, or men, whoever you be, whoſe work it is to gather the failings of God's people in the time of temptation, or night of their trial, and aggravate them, and add thereto the wickedneſs,

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ednesſs, and miſchievous lies of your own hearts, as thou haſt done in thy book, and then come out with thoſe againſt God's everlaſting holy truth, it to reproach; I ſay, you are ſet on work by an evil ſpirit, and you do but ſhew yourſelves to be enemies to God and his children; and it is our ſorrow, that any of us ſhould give ſuch ſpirits occaſion to blaſpheme; and it hath been trouble of ſoul to all the people of God, that have ever loved righteouſneſs, when they have thus occaſioned the joy of the wicked, or to feed the man that watches for iniquity, and feeds on miſchief: yet know this, you that are of that brood, God will not caſt off his people; tho' he be ſometimes provoked to correct them, even before their adverſaries (which is a ſign to them) yet is his anger but for a moment, and his favour ſhall *return as ſtreams of life;* then ſhall the *food be taken out of the mouth of the viper, and the prey from between the teeth of the devourers;* and God will feed them with their own vomit, and the poiſon that hath long lain under their tongues, ſhall be bitter in their own bowels. Thus will God certainly *plead with Zion's enemies, as he bends her ſons for himſelf, and God will make up her breaches:* and this hath my ſoul ſeen, *Jacob's captivity reſtored, and the diggers of the pit are fallen therein;* neither hath he ſmitten him as he ſmote them that ſmote him, nor is he ſlain according to the ſlaughter of them that are ſlain by him; but this is all *his fruit to purge away his ſin.*

So he that had long watched for my faltering, then got advantage againſt me; yet had I then power to bear his utmoſt envy, through *Chriſt Jeſus, whom I then confeſſed before men,* who then was my ſupport in all, and under all, and who is over all, bleſſed for ever of all who have proved him in the depth.

But that which was, and is the ſorrow of my heart, is the advantage the enemy then took againſt the name of Chriſt, his truth, and his deſpiſed people, in that time of temptation, which is that which thou art now purſuing with hatred and lies, as 'that I was ſuſpected to have a woman in bed with me, the night 'before I ſuffered at Briſtol,' when there were ſix or ſeven perſons in the room that night, and a man (to wit) Robert Rich in bed with me. But this, and ſeveral other falſe things thou haſt written in thy book, of which I am clear before the Lord, ſo they touch me not at all; nor ſhall I here mention them againſt thee in particular; but to God alone I look in his time to be cleared from all offences in his ſight, who only knows my heart in this thing, in whoſe preſence I can ſay, that nothing is more odious and burdenſome to my ſoul, than that any of the glory or worſhip which belongs to God, or to Chriſt, ſhould be given to fleſh and blood in myſelf, or others: and how it was with me at that day, many talk of, but few know; ſo the judgment of ſuch I bear; deſiring that none in judging me, might have condemned themſelves in God's ſight, whoſe *counſels are a great deep, and the end of his work paſt finding out,* till he himſelf reveal them; but in the end he will be juſtified of all, and in all he doth, that all fleſh may be ſilent before him.

And however myſelf, or any others may be left to themſelves, to be tried in the night, yea, ſhould any utterly fall, or whatever

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His fall no conſequence of the doctrine he profeſſed.

Thus much and more J. Nayler wrote to anſwer the falſhoods whereof he was accuſed, and to apologize for the doctrine of which he made profeſſion, and to ſhow that the fault of his crime muſt no ways be attributed to the ſame, as many envious perſons in thoſe times aſſerted, to wit, that his fall was a conſequence of the doctrine that men muſt take heed to the ſaving grace, the inward anointing, or the light wherewith every man coming into the world is enlightened from God. *

He anſwers two letters wrote in defence of the perſecution in New-England.

§ See collect. of J. N's writings, p. 737.

Yet to proceed further with J. Nayler: after his recovery, he wrote many papers and edifying letters: he alſo anſwered two letters, which when the perſecution in New-England was ſo fierce, were ſent over from thence in defence of that fact; one under the name of John Endicot, governor of Boſton, and the other in that of Richard Bellingham. All the arguments § for perſecution of the Quakers to be lawful and neceſſary, he anſwered at large, and ſhewed how little agreement their crime of purſuing perſecution had with the name wherewith they had called themſelves, for a diſtinction from other perſuaſions, namely, Independents, by which they would have it known, that they were independent from all, except the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt, on whom they pretended alone to be dependant: and yet nevertheleſs it now appeared manifeſtly that it was the fleſhly arm whereby they ſupported themſelves. He wrote alſo ſome papers to the parliament, magiſtrates, and the rulers, to check the vanities that were publickly committed, and

Ibid. 748.
Ibid. 750. and 760.

to

* J. Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God with a good degree of grace which was ſufficient for him, had he kept to its teachings; for while he did ſo, he was exemplary in godlineſs and great humility, was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby inſtrumental in the hand of God for turning many *from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan to the power of God.* But he, poor man, 'became exalted above meaſure, through 'the abundance of Revelation;' and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and holy ſpirit of God, which had been his ſufficient teacher. Then blindneſs came over him, and he did ſuffer himſelf to be accounted of above what he ought; here he ſlipt, and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did pleaſe God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a ſight and ſenſe of his outgoings and fall, and alſo a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal, humbled himſelf for his tranſgreſſion, and beſought God with true contrition of ſoul, to pardon his offences through Jeſus Chriſt. God, I firmly believe, forgave him, for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with great joy, for that he who had gone aſtray from God, was now returned to the Father's houſe, and for that he who had ſeparated himſelf from them through his iniquity, was now, through repentance and forſaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith, and their holy fellowſhip in the goſpel of Chriſt. And I do hereby teſtify, that I do eſteem it a particular mark of God's owning his people, in bringing back into unity with them, a man who had ſo dangerouſly fallen, as did James Nayler. And here let none inſult, but take heed leſt they alſo, in the hour of their temptation, do fall away: nor let any boaſtingly ſay, Where is your God? Or blaſphemouſly ſuppoſe his grace is not ſufficient for men in temptation, becauſe the tempted may go from, and neglect the teaching of it. David and Peter, as their tranſgreſſion came by their departing from this infallible Guide, the Holy Spirit, ſo their recovery was only by it. Joſ. Wyeth's Anguis Flagel.

to mend their faults; to eaſe the oppreſſed, and to take care for the maintenance of liberty. 1656.

His death, At length * he died in Huntingdonſhire, in the latter end of the year 1660, about the 44th year of his age. About two hours before his death, he ſpoke in the preſence of ſeveral witneſſes theſe words:

What he ſpoke a little before. 'There is a ſpirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor 'to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope 'to enjoy its own in the end: its hope is to outlive all wrath and 'contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or what-'ever is of a nature contrary to itſelf. It ſees to the end of all 'temptations: as it bears no evil in itſelf, ſo it conceives none in 'thought to any other: if it be betrayed it bears it, for its 'ground and ſpring is the mercies and forgiveneſs of God: its 'crown is meekneſs, its life is everlaſting love unfeigned, and 'takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and 'keeps it by lowlineſs of mind: in God alone it can rejoice, tho' 'none elſe regard it, or can own its life: it's conceived in ſorrow, 'and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur 'at grief and oppreſſion: it never rejoiceth but through ſufferings; 'for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone, being 'forſaken; I have fellowſhip therein with them who lived in dens, 'and deſolate places of the earth, who through death obtained 'reſurrection and eternal holy life. †

'JAMES NAYLER.'

This was J. Nayler's laſt teſtimony, or dying words; and thus he gave proof, that tho' he had erred, yet with great confidence he hoped for a happy reſurrection.

So I conclude the ſtory of J. Nayler, and leaving him now, time calls me to New-England.

M. Fiſher and A. Auſtin come to Boſton in New-England before any law made againſt Quakers. It was in the month called July, of this preſent year, when Mary Fiſher and Ann Auſtin arrived in the road before Boſton, before ever a law was made there againſt the Quakers; and yet they were very ill treated; for before they came a-ſhore, the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham (the governor himſelf being out

* He was a man of great ſelf-denial, and very jealous of himſelf ever after his fall and recovery.——At laſt departing from the city of London, about the latter end of the 8th month, 1660, towards the north, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, he was ſeen by a friend of Hertford, (ſitting by the way-ſide in a very awful weighty frame of mind) who invited him to his houſe, but he refuſed, ſignifying his mind to paſs forward, and ſo went on foot as far as Huntingdonſhire, and was obſerved by a friend as he paſſed through the town, in ſuch an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a ſtranger on it, ſeeking a better country and inheritance. But going ſome miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill, being (as it is ſaid) robbed by the way, and left bound: whether he received any perſonal injury, is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, was had, or went to a friend's houſe at Holm, not far from Kings Rippon, where Thomas Parnel a doctor of phyſick dwelt, who came to viſit him; and being aſked, if any friends at London ſhould be ſent for to come and ſee him; he ſaid, 'Nay,' expreſſing his care and love to them. Being ſhifted, he ſaid, 'You have refreſhed my body, 'the Lord refreſh your ſouls;' and not long after departed this life in peace with the Lord, about the ninth month, 1660, and the 44th year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnel's burying-ground at Kings Rippon aforeſaid John Whiting's account.

Paſſage in the Hiſt. of England about him confuted. † N. B. There is a paſſage in the book called, 'The complete hiſtory of England,' Vol. III. page 201, which ſays, that 'J. Nayler died with no fruits, nor ſo much as ſigns of repent-'ance:' how the author came by ſuch information, we cannot tell, but that it is a manifeſt miſtake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time abundantly convinced.

1656. out of town) ſent officers aboard, who ſearched their trunks and cheſts, and took away the books they found there, which were about one hundred, and carried them aſhore, after having commanded the ſaid women to be kept priſoners aboard; and the ſaid books were, by an order of the council, burnt in the market-place by the hangman. Afterwards the deputy-governor had them brought on ſhore, and committed them to priſon by a mittimus as Quakers, upon this proof only, that one of them ſpeaking to him had ſaid Thee inſtead of You: whereupon he ſaid, 'he 'needed no more, for now he ſaw they were Quakers.' And then they were ſhut up cloſe priſoners, and command was given that none ſhould come to them without leave; a fine of five pounds being laid on any that ſhould otherwiſe come at, or ſpeak with them, tho' but at the window. Their pens, ink, and paper were taken from them, and they not ſuffered to have any candle-light in the night-ſeaſon; nay, what is more, they were ſtripped naked, under pretence to know whether they were witches, though in ſearching, no token was found upon them but of innocence: and in this ſearch they were ſo barbarouſly miſuſed, that modeſty forbids to mention it: and that none might have communication with them, a board was nailed up before the window of the gaol. And ſeeing they were not provided with victuals, Nicholas Upſhal, one who had lived long in Boſton, and was a member of the church there, was ſo concerned about it, (liberty being denied to ſend them proviſion) that he purchaſed it of the gaoler at the rate of five ſhillings a week, leſt they ſhould have ſtarved. And after having been about five weeks priſoners, William Chicheſter, maſter of a veſſel, was bound in one hundred pounds bond to carry them back, and not to ſuffer any to ſpeak with them, after they were put on board; and the gaoler kept their beds, which were brought out of the ſhip, and their bible, for his fees.

Are committed to priſon only for being ſuch, and ill treated.

Stripped to know whether they were witches, and barbarouſly miſuſed.

W. Chicheſter bound to carry them back, and not ſuffer any to ſpeak with them on board.

Such was the entertainment the Quakers firſt met with at Boſton, and that from a people who pretended, that for conſcience-ſake they had choſen the wilderneſſes of America, before the well-cultivated Old England; though afterwards, when they took away the lives of thoſe called Quakers, they, to excuſe their cruel actions, did not ſtick to ſay, that at firſt they had uſed no puniſhment againſt the Quakers.

Soon after came C. Holder, T. Thirſtone, &c. who are impriſoned, and then ſent back to England, at the charge of R. Lock.

Scarce a month after the arrival of the aforeſaid women at Boſton, there came alſo Chriſtopher Holder, Thomas Thirſtone, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Wheathead, and Dorothy Waugh; who were locked up in the ſame manner as the former, and after about eleven weeks ſtay, ſent back; Robert Lock, a maſter of a ſhip, being compelled to carry theſe eight perſons back on his own charge, and to land them no where but in England; having been impriſoned till he undertook ſo to do.

Endicot the governor a blood-thirſty man.

The governor John Endicot, whoſe blood-thirſtineſs will appear in the ſequel, being now come home, bid them, 'Take heed ye 'break not our eccleſiaſtical laws, for then ye are ſure to ſtretch by 'a halter.' And when they deſired a copy of thoſe laws, it was denied them; which made ſome of the people ſay, 'How ſhall they know

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'know then when they tranſgreſs?' But Endicot remained ſtiff, having ſaid before, when at Salem he heard how Ann Auſtin and Mary Fiſher had been dealt with at Boſton, 'If I had been there, I 'would have had them well whipped.' Then a law was made, 'prohibiting all maſters of ſhips to bring any Quakers into that 'juriſdiction, and themſelves from coming in, on penalty of the 'houſe of correction.' When this law was publiſhed Nicholas Upſhal already mentioned, could not forbear to ſhew the perſecutors the unreaſonableneſs of their proceedings, 'warning them to 'take heed that they were not found fighting againſt God, and ſo 'draw down a judgment upon the land.' But this was taken ſo ill, that though he was a member of their church, and of good repute, as a man of an unblameable converſation, yet he was fined in twenty-three pounds, and impriſoned alſo, for not coming to church, and next they baniſhed him out of their juriſdiction. This fine was exacted ſo ſeverely, that Endicot ſaid, 'I'll not bate 'him one groat.' And though a weakly old man, yet they allowed him but one month's ſpace for his removal, ſo that he was forced to depart in the winter.

A law to prohibit maſters of ſhips bringing Quakers into that juriſdiction.

N. Upſhal for warning the law-makers, is fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed.

Coming at length to Rhode-Iſland, he met an Indian prince, who having underſtood how he had been dealt with, behaved himſelf very kindly, and told him, 'if he would live with him, 'he would make him a warm houſe.' And further ſaid, 'What 'a God have the Engliſh, who deal ſo with one another about 'their God!' For it ſeems Upſhal was already looked upon as one that was departing from his church-memberſhip. But this was but a beginning of the New-England perſecution, which in time grew ſo hot, that ſome of the Quakers were put to death at the gallows, as will be related in its due time.

This uſage is amazing to an Indian prince, who offers him favour.

Now I return to Old-England, where we left G. Fox at Exeter, from whence he went to Briſtol. Here he had a great meeting in an orchard: and ſince ſome thouſands of people were come thither, and many very eager to ſee him, he ſtepped upon a great ſtone that ſtood there, and having put off his hat, ſtood a pretty while ſilent, to let people look at him. A Baptiſt was there, named Paul Gwyn, who began to find fault with G. Fox's hair, and at laſt ſaid to the people, 'Ye wiſe men of Briſtol, I ſtrange at you, 'that ye will ſtand here, and hear a man ſpeak, and affirm that 'which he cannot make good.' Hereupon G. Fox aſked the people, 'whether they ever heard him ſpeak before, or ever ſaw him 'before? And he bid them take notice what kind of man this 'Gwyn was, who ſo impudently ſaid, that he ſpake and affirmed 'that which he could not make good; and yet neither Gwyn nor 'they ever heard him, or ſaw him before; and that therefore it 'was a lying, envious, and malicious ſpirit that ſpoke in him.' Then G. Fox charging Gwyn to be ſilent, began to preach, which laſted ſome hours without being diſturbed.

G. Fox goes from Exeter to Briſtol, where he has a great meeting in an orchard, and there Paul Gwyn a Baptiſt finds fault with him.

After this meeting, G. Fox departed from Briſtol, and paſſing through Wiltſhire, Marlborough, and other places, he returned to London; and when he came near Hide-Park, he ſaw the Protector coming in his coach, whereupon he rode up to the coach-ſide, and ſome of his life-guard would have put him away; but

Paſſes to London, and on the road ſpeaks to the Protector in his coach.

1656. the Protector forbad them. Then riding by his coach-ſide, he ſpoke to him about the ſufferings of his friends in the nation, and ſhewed him how contrary this perſecution was to Chriſt and his apoſtles, and to chriſtianity. And when they were come to the gate of James's-Park, G. Fox left Cromwell, who at parting deſired him to come to his houſe. The next day Mary Sanders, afterward Stout, one of Cromwell's wife's maids, came to G. Fox's lodging, and told him, 'that her maſter coming home, ſaid, 'he would tell her ſome good news:' and when ſhe aſked him, 'what it was?' He told her, 'G. Fox was come to town.' To which ſhe replied, 'that was good news indeed.' Not long after G. Fox and Edward Pyot went to Whitehall, and there ſpoke to Cromwell concerning the ſufferings of their friends, and 'directed 'him to the light of Chriſt, who had enlightened every man that 'cometh into the world.' To which Cromwell ſaid, 'this was a 'natural light:' but they ſhewed him the contrary, ſaying, 'that 'it was divine and ſpiritual, proceeding from Chriſt, the ſpiritual 'and heavenly man.' Moreover, G. Fox bid the Protector, 'lay 'down his crown at the feet of Jeſus.' And as he was ſtanding by the table, Cromwell came and ſat upon the table's-ſide by him, and ſaid, 'he would be as high as G. Fox was.' But though he continued to ſpeak in a light manner, yet afterward was ſo ſerious, that when he came to his wife and other company, he ſaid, 'that 'he never parted ſo from the Quakers before.'

M. Sanders one of Cromwell's wife's maids.

G. Fox and E. Pyot at Whitehall, ſpeak to Cromwell about friends ſufferings, and reaſon with him about the light, &c.

Afterward G. Fox travels almoſt thro' England, and returns to London.

G. Fox having viſited the meetings of his friends in and about London, departed thence, and travelled almoſt through all England, not without many occurrences, which for brevity's-ſake I paſs by. At length he returned to London again, this year being now come to an end.

1657. Publick affairs.

In the parliament which Cromwell had called, a law was made, whereby Charles Stuart's title of king was rejected, and the year 1657 being come, ſubſidies were granted to Cromwell, and there was a contrivance under hand to make him king, of which, tho' he expreſſed his diſlike, yet he ſeemed not altogether averſe to it; for ſpeaking once with general Fleetwood, and colonel Deſborough, he began to droll with them about the word *monarch*, and ſaid, 'it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore he wondered 'that men would not pleaſe the children, and permit them to en-'joy their rattle.' But they not obſcurely ſignified to him, that this buſineſs did diſpleaſe them; and told him, 'that thoſe who 'put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that 'if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin upon himſelf.' Now, though he would not openly oppoſe them, yet he did not ſtick to tell them, 'they were a couple of ſcrupulous fellows,' and ſo left them. It is related alſo, that major-general Lambert told Cromwell, 'that if he accepted the crown, he could not aſſure the 'army to him.' The deſign thus miſcarrying, and Cromwell having now ſeen that the matter would not go ſo cleverly, he refuſed the title of king; and the parliament confirming him in his title of Protector, it was agreed, that the parliament henceforth ſhould conſiſt of a lower houſe, and another houſe; and that the Protector ſhould name a ſucceſſor in the government. Now he

Cromwell (tho' thought not averſe) refuſes the title of king.

was

was ſolemnly veſted in his authority, a throne for that purpoſe being erected, in Weſtminſter-Hall, and he being clothed in a purple robe lined with ermines, and the ſcepter and ſword being preſented him, took the oath to rule faithfully. Cromwell having called a new parliament, it conſiſted of two houſes, viz. a houſe of commons, and another houſe, as they called it. And many excluded members having taken place again in the houſe of commons, it was believed that more than an hundred of the members were enemies to Cromwell; and the authority of the upper houſe began to be called in queſtion by ſome, becauſe it was filled up with many of his creatures, ſome of them of low rank. And this matter was ſo carried on in the houſe of commons, that Cromwell diſſolved the parliament, and he alſo made major-general Lambert ſurrender his commiſſion. 1657.

Edward Burrough's letter to Cromwell, as a warning from the Lord.

Edward Burrough, who often wrote to Cromwell, having heard of the deſign of making him king, wrote a letter to him, wherein I find, that after having told the Protector, 'that he had had 'many warnings from the Lord,' he thus ſpeaks to him.

"I, as one that hath obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, do hereby in his preſence yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and ſeek him with all thy heart, that thou mayſt know his will and counſel concerning thee, and mayſt do it, and find favour in his ſight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is ſtretched forth unto thee, to make thee a bleſſing, or to leave thee a curſe for ever; and the days of thy viſitation are near an end, when God will no more call unto thee, nor hear thee, when in the day of thy trouble thou calleſt to him. —And if thou rejecteſt the counſel of the Lord, and followeſt the deſires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the light of the world, Chriſt Jeſus, only to rule thee, and to teach thee, which condemns all evil, then ſhall evil ſurely fall upon thee, if thou loveſt not the light in thee, which condemns it; and the judgments of God, nor the day of his laſt viſitation with vengeance thou mayſt not eſcape. Therefore conſider, and mark my words, and let this counſel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekneſs, to humbleneſs, and to fear before the Lord, aſſuredly knowing that it is he that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down, and ſetteth up whomſoever he will; and how that thou waſt raiſed from a low eſtate, and ſet over all thine enemies.—And in that day when thou waſt raiſed up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou waſt but little in thine own eyes, then was it well with thee, and the Lord bleſſed thee.—And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been ſtrengthened againſt the righteous under thee, or that ſuch grievous and cruel burdens and oppreſſions would ever have been laid upon the juſt, and acted againſt them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteouſly have come to paſs in theſe three years: and this thy ſuffering of ſuch things is thy tranſgreſſion, and thou haſt not requited the Lord well for his goodneſs

1657. goodneſs unto thee, nor fulfilled his will in ſuffering that to be done under thee, and in thy name, which the Lord raiſed thee againſt, and to break down, hadſt thou been faithful to the end.

Again conſider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyſelf, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou ſtandeſt not by thyſelf, but by another, and that he is able to abaſe thee, and give thee into the will of thy enemies whenſoever he will; and how the Lord hath preſerved thee ſometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, who ſeek thy evil, and would rejoice in thy fall, and in the deſolation of thy family and countries: how have they, and do they lay ſnares for thy feet, that thou mayſt be cut off from amongſt men, and die unhappily, and be accounted accurſed? and yet to this day he hath preſerved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou haſt hardly known it; and the Lord's end is love to thee in all theſe things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayſt give him the glory.

O that thy heart was opened to ſee his hand, that thou mighteſt live unto him, and die in him in peace. And beware leſt hardneſs of heart poſſeſs thee, if thou ſlight his love, and ſo be ſhut up in darkneſs and given to the deſires of thine enemies, and left to the counſels of treacherous men, who may ſeek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better caſt thee down, and deſtroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy poſterity a people miſerable. But now, O conſider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou haſt not anſwered the Lord, but been wanting to him for all this, and haſt choſen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counſel in raiſing thee; for the bonds of cruelty are not looſed by thee, and the oppreſſed are not altogether ſet free; neither is oppreſſion taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure conſciences altogether allowed; but theſe dominions are filled with cruel oppreſſions, and the poor groan every where under the heavy hand of injuſtice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppreſſed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true juſtice and judgment. The proud exalt themſelves againſt the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth: the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppreſſors; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in theſe nations.——Many are unjuſtly, and wofully ſufferers, becauſe they cannot ſwear on this, or that occaſion, tho' in all caſes they ſpeak the truth, and do obey Chriſt's commands; even ſuch are trodden upon, by unjuſt fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptneſs of ſome that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the ſword of juſtice.—Some ſuffer long and tedious impriſonments, and others cruel ſtripes and abuſes, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving ſin, and crying againſt the abominations of the times, (which the ſcriptures alſo teſtify againſt) in ſtreets, or other places; ſome having been ſent to priſon, taken on the highway, and no evil charged againſt them; and others committed,

being

being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipped, and ſent to priſon, without tranſgreſſion of any law, juſt, or unjuſt, wholly through the rage and envy of the Devil, and ſuch who have perverted judgment and juſtice; and ſome in priſons have ſuffered ſuperabundantly from the hands of the cruel gaolers, and their ſervants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not ſuffering any of their friends to viſit them with neceſſaries; and ſome have died in the priſons, whoſe lives were not dear to them, whoſe blood will be reckoned on account againſt thee one day.— Some have ſuffered hard cruelties, becauſe they could not reſpect perſons, and bow with hat or knee; and from theſe cruelties canſt thou not altogether be excuſed in the ſight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power. Conſider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment, let the Lord ſearch thy heart, and lay theſe things to mind, that thou mayſt be an inſtrument to remove every burden, and mayſt at laſt fulfil the will of God.—O be awakened, be awakened, and ſeek the Lord's glory, and not thine own; leſt thou periſh before the Lord and men: nay, if men would give thee honour, and high titles, and princely thrones, take it not; for that which would exalt and honour thee in the world, would betray thee to the world, and caſt thee down in the ſight of the world: and this is God's word to thee: what! ſhall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cauſe of it? and wilt thou tranſgreſs by building again that which thou haſt deſtroyed?— Give heed unto my words, and underſtand my ſpeech: be not exalted by man, leſt man betray thee. ——Deal favourably, and relieve the oppreſſed; boaſt not thyſelf, tho' the Lord hath uſed thee in his hand; but know that when he will, he can caſt thee, as a rod, out of his hand into the fire; for in his hand thou art; if thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwiſe he can, yea, and will confound thee, and break thee, and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee; he would thy happineſs, if thou wilfully contemn it not, by exalting thyſelf, and ſeeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart againſt the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wiſhes well unto thee in the Lord.

E. BURROUGH."

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That which E. Burrough mentions in the fore-part of this letter, 'of the grievous burdens and oppreſſions laid upon the juſt,' ſeems chiefly to regard the tithes which the prieſts extorted from the Quakers, ſo that many thereby were reduced to poverty: and the heinouſneſs of this was not unknown to Cromwell; for when he was about to give battle to his enemies, near Dunbar in Scotland, he ſaid in his prayer to God, 'that if the Lord would be pleaſed 'to deliver him at that time, he would take off that great oppreſ-'ſion of tithes.' But this promiſe he never performed, but ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by the flatteries of his teachers; and therefore it was not without great cauſe that E. Burrough laid this grievous oppreſſion before him. A copy of the ſaid letter, of which but a part is inſerted here, to ſhun prolixity, was given

Cromwell breaks his promiſe made in diſtreſs at Dunbar in Scotland.

1657. into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, then Protector, in the third month of this year. In the next month E. Burrough ſpoke with him about it, and Cromwell told him in effect, 'that all perſecu-'tion and cruelty was againſt his mind,' and ſaid, 'that he was 'not guilty of thoſe perſecutions acted unjuſtly upon Burrough's 'friends.' This made E. Burrough write again to him, and bid him, 'Conſider what the cauſe is, that what thou deſireſt not to be 'done, is yet done: is it not that thou mayſt pleaſe men? making 'it appear thou art more willing to do the falſe teachers of this na-'tion, and wicked men, a pleaſure, than to own the people of God 'in relieving them, and eaſing them of their cruel burdens and op-'preſſions, laid upon them by unjuſt men. For a word of thy 'mouth, or a ſhew of thy countenance in diſlike of theſe cruel and 'unjuſt perſecutions, would bind the hands of many blood-thirſty 'men. Therefore conſider, thou canſt not be cleared in the ſight of 'the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy 'name: for there ſeems rather to be a favouring of them in thee, 'by forbearance towards the actors of cruelty, by which their hands 'are ſtrengthened, than any diſlike ſhewed by thee, in bearing thy 'witneſs, as thou oughteſt to do, againſt them. For thou knoweſt 'of ſome in this city, and elſewhere, whom we know to be juſt 'men, who ſuffer impriſonment, and the loſs of their liberties, 'becauſe for conſcience-ſake they cannot ſwear; and many others 'in this nation, ſuffering cruel things upon the like, or ſame 'ground, even for well-doing, and not for evil; which oppreſſion 'might be removed, and their unjuſt ſufferings taken off by thee, 'by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou 'canſt not be clear in the ſight of God in theſe things; becauſe 'not helped by thee, who haſt the power to help it.

E. Burrough writes to him again, ſeeing he denied his guilt of perſecuting E. B's friends.

'And as concerning the light of Chriſt, at which thou ſtumbleſt, 'by which every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, 'in ſhort, this I ſay: this light to thee is given of God, and thou 'muſt own it to be thy only teacher, to receive by it from the Fa-'ther, and to be guided by it in all things, if ever thou inheriteſt 'God's kingdom.

'The kingdom of Chriſt is ſetting up by his own power, and 'all muſt bow and become ſubject thereunto; he needeth none of 'thy policy, nor the ſtrength of thy arm to advance it; yet would 'he have thee not to prove thyſelf an open enemy thereof, by 'doing, or ſuffering to be done, cruelty and injuſtice againſt them 'whom the Lord is redeeming out of this world, into ſubjection 'unto that kingdom; leſt thou be ſuch a one, as will not enter 'thyſelf, nor ſuffer others to enter, and ſo deſtruction come upon 'thee. Wherefore ariſe as out of ſleep, and ſlumber not in this 'world's glory and honour; be not overcome by the pleaſures of 'this world, nor the flattering titles of men: wink not at the 'cruelty and oppreſſion acted by ſome, who ſhelter under thee, 'and make thy name a cloak for miſchief againſt the upright.

'Conſider, I ſay, conſider, and be thou changed in thy mind 'and heart; leſt thou having forgotten God, and his many deli-'verances, be ſhut up, and numbered for deſtruction. I deſire, 'the Lord may give thee a more perfect underſtanding of his

'ways

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'ways and judgments, and that the crown immortal thou mayſt 'ſtrive for by meekneſs and righteouſneſs, through relieving the 'oppreſſed, and ſhewing mercy to the poor, and removing every 'burden which lies upon the innocent; and this is the deſire of 'him who is thy friend, and would not have thee crowned with 'diſhonour, through ſuffering the people of God to be oppreſſed 'in thy name, which will be thy overthrow abſolutely, if thou 'removeſt it not, by turning and eaſing the oppreſſed.

'E. BURROUGH.'

This letter was delivered to O. Cromwell, in the fourth month, and in the month following E. Burrough wrote again to him, 'That the good name PROTECTOR, by the great oppreſſion 'acted in his name, was abuſed and ſubverted; and that inſtead 'of protection by it, great injuſtice was acted under it, and co-'vered with it. Beſides, that ſeveral juſtices of the peace, and 'other officers, in truſt under him, when they had owned the 'people called Quakers, had been caſt out of their places; tho' 'they had not denied to ſerve him and the common-wealth, nei-'ther had unfaithfulneſs to their truſt been proved againſt them.'

Writes again.

In September E. Burrough wrote another letter to Cromwell, wherein he ſignified to him, 'That he had many enemies, ſome 'of which endeavoured to deſtroy him, by any means, without 'regarding any danger that might be in the attempt. And that 'he going on in oppreſſing through tyranny, or ſuffering it, per-'haps the Lord might raiſe up the wicked to be a plague to wick-'edneſs, and ſuffer the oppreſſors to overthrow oppreſſions. That 'there were others, viz. the fifth-monarchy-men, who, tho' not 'ſo bad as the former, yet ſecretly murmured againſt him, and 'envied him, not being friends to his government, ſome of them 'being caſt out and rejected, without juſt cauſe as they ſuppoſed. 'And as to us, how can we, ſaid he, mention thee in our pray-'ers to God, except it be to be delivered from thee, who are daily 'unjuſtly ſufferers by thee, or becauſe of thee? Or how can we 'be friends to that government, under which we daily ſuffer ſuch 'hard and cruel things, as the loſs of our liberty and eſtates, 'and are in danger of life alſo?'

And again, notifying danger to him.

It was about the beginning of this year, that Chriſtopher Birk-head came to Zealand, having been before at Rochelle in France; where having ſpoken and written againſt the Popiſh religion, he was impriſoned, and examined by the biſhop: and ſome would have had him burnt, but the criminal judge abſolved him. It was in the latter end of the month called February, when he came to Middleburg in Zealand, and going to the Engliſh congregation there, after the preacher, William Spanke, had preached about three quarters of an hour, he ſaid, 'Friends, the apoſtle ſaith, '*That we may all propheſy one by one, that two or three prophets 'may ſpeak, and the others judge; and if any thing be revealed to 'another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.*' This ſpeaking cauſed a great ſtir in the congregation, and the rather becauſe he ſtood in the place where the women uſed to ſit: ſo he was appre-hended by order of the magiſtrates, and examined in the preſence

C. Birkhead in danger of his life from Papiſts at Rochelle.

Comes to Zealand. Has a conference in the Engliſh congregation at Middleburg.

of

1657. of ſome of the publick preachers. When he was aſked, 'what 'his name was?' He anſwered, 'that his name, according to the 'fleſh, was Chriſtopher Birkhead.' Then it was aſked him, 'whether he had yet another name?' And his anſwer was, 'Yes, written in the Lamb's Book of Life.' Being inquired, 'what that name was?' He made anſwer, 'None knows it but he 'that hath it.' To which was ſaid, 'Why, if you have it tell it 'us.' 'No,' replied he, 'read it, if ye have ſeen the book of the 'Lamb opened: it is forbidden me to tell it.' Then the Engliſh teacher Spanke, aſked, 'whether he had ſeen the book of the 'Lamb opened?' And he anſwered, 'Yea.' The next queſtion was, 'whether he had opened it?' 'No,' ſaid Birkhead, 'it was the 'Lamb that did it.' Then Spanke aſked, 'whether his name in 'the Book of the Lamb, was not Jeſus?' 'No,' quoth Birkhead, 'that is the name of the Lamb.' More other queſtions to enſnare him, Spanke put to him: and being examined by the magiſtrates concerning the place of his abode, his calling, or trade, &c. Spanke was aſked, 'what he had to ſay againſt him?' Who then related what had happened in the congregation. Concerning this, ſeveral queſtions were aſked of Birkhead, but ſince he underſtood not Dutch, and the French tongue but imperfectly, he complained that he could not fully anſwer for himſelf ſo as he wiſhed. He was aſked alſo, 'whether any body elſe came along with him?' And he was charged 'to ſpeak the truth.' To which he ſaid, 'that God did not permit him to lie.' One of the preachers then ſaid, 'that all men were liars.' To this Birkhead replied, 'that 'tho' all men were liars, yet he knew a deliverance from lying.' Then Spanke bid him, 'not to add to the ſcriptures:' for Birkhead had accuſed him a little before, 'that he had added his meaning to the ſcriptures.' And it being ſtrongly aſſerted, 'that 'all men were liars,' Birkhead took occaſion from thence, to aſk Spanke, 'whether he was a liar?' Who without heſitation anſwering 'Yes,' Birkhead bluntly told him, 'Then thou art of 'thy father the Devil.' Now the matter of J. Nayler having cauſed ſtrange reports of the Quakers every where, and Birkhead for want of the language not being able to anſwer ſo plainly every objection, his offence without queſtion, was aggravated the more; and the concluſion was, that he was ſentenced to be confined in the houſe of correction. But after ſome time he was releaſed, at the interceſſion of the Heer Newport, ambaſſador of the ſtates-general in England.

Is ſent to the houſe of correction, but after releaſed.

G. Baily dies in priſon in France.

In this year it was, I think, that one George Baily coming into France, was taken into cuſtody, and died in priſon there; he having zealouſly teſtified againſt Popery, and ſpoken boldly againſt worſhipping of images.

W. Ames and H. Thatcher at Amſterdam.

William Ames returning this year to Amſterdam, and one Humble Thatcher (whom I could never learn to have been truly in communion with the Quakers) coming with him, it cauſed ſome jealouſy; for Ames, who formerly had been in the military employment, was an extraordinary bold man; and about this time it ſeems, a paper was put up on the door of the Engliſh meeting-houſe, though Ames declared he knew nothing of it, or

who

who was the author. About this time alſo, the ſtrange buſineſs of J. Nayler being noiſed abroad, by a book that was publiſhed in print at Amſterdam, and ſome other pamphlets, ſtuffed with ſeveral untruths, and abominable lies, it was not to be wondered at, that the magiſtrates, fearing ſome miſchief, ſent for Ames and Thatcher to appear before them, and commanded them to depart the town within twenty-four hours: but they being perſuaded of their own innocency, did not obey this command. The next day appearing again before the magiſtrates, and not putting off their hats, it ſeems they were looked upon as ſuch as did not own magiſtrates; (for this the Quakers ſtood charged with in publick print, and were compared to the tumultuous crew of Anabaptiſts, or fifth-monarchy-men at Munſter, in the foregoing age:) and ſo they were kept in cuſtody for ſome days, and then at night were led through the regulars gate, and ſo baniſhed out of the town. But W. Ames judging that he had committed no evil, came again the next day into the city, and paſſed the great market-place, called the Dam. It is reported, that ſome of the magiſtrates ſeeing him out of the windows of the town-houſe, walking along the ſtreet, ſaid, 'Lo! there's the Quaker; if we had a mind now 'to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it.' But it ſeems not without reaſon, that it was looked upon to be moſt ſafe to wink at this; for though ſtrange reports were ſpread up and down of the Quakers, yet there was no proof of their evil carriage here. Mean while Ames ſtaid ſome time in town, and the doctrine he preached found a little entrance, even with ſome of the collegians.

1657.

Taken into cuſtody and baniſhed the town. Ames returns next day, and has ſome ſervice.

It was about this time, that my parents, viz. Jacob Williamſon Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and ſurgeon at Amſterdam, and his wife, Judith Zinſpenning, born in this town, both members of the Flemiſh-Baptiſts church there, were convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames; ſhe having before had immediate openings, that if ever ſhe would become a child of God, ſhe muſt give heed to this light, which reproved for ſin. They, with two or three more, were the firſt orthodox Quakers in Amſterdam; orthodox I ſay, becauſe I very well remember what a ſtrange and odd ſort of people about that time, did flock to the Quakers in this country. But theſe whimſical people not being ſincere in heart, but more inclined to novelties, than to true godlineſs, perceived in time that they were not regarded by them; and they were alſo contradicted by Ames and others; ſo that at length, after many exorbitances, they left the Quakers.

By whom the author's parents were convinced, being ſome of the firſt Quakers in Amſterdam.

Some whimſical people join them at firſt, but being oppoſed by Ames leave them.

In the fore-part of this year, William Caton came alſo to Amſterdam; before he left England, he had had a meeting at the eaſt-ſide of Suſſex, on the day called Shrove-Tueſday, where there had never been any of his friends before. But the people being on that day more rude than ordinary, came up to the houſe with a drum, in ſuch a deſperate manner, as if they would have pulled the houſe down. Caton ſtepping out, aſked 'what they wanted?' They anſwered 'Quakers;' at which he told them, 'he was one.' And he ſpoke ſo plainly to them, and with ſo much power, that fear falling upon them, they withdrew with ſhame and confuſion.

W. Caton at a meeting in Suſſex, quiets a deſperate rude rabble.

1657.

Goes to London; thence to Rotterdam and Amſterdam, where he is oppoſed by Ann Garghil.

Not long after he went to London, and from thence to Holland; and being ſafely arrived at Rotterdam, he repaired to Amſterdam; where he came in due time to ſtop the unruline's of ſome froward ſpirits, among which, one Ann Garghil, an Engliſh woman, was not one of the leaſt; whoſe rudeneſs grew in time to that degree, that ſhe would not ſuffer W. Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him; ſo that at length to be rid of her, he bad an Engliſh ſeaman that was preſent, to take her away, which was done accordingly: and how haughty ſhe was, and continued, I well remember ſtill. W. Caton procured alſo ſome books to be printed at Amſterdam, to prevent evil and malicious reports concerning the Quakers; and he went with W. Ames to Zutphen in Guelderland; where meeting with nothing but oppoſition, he returned to Amſterdam, and from thence by Leyden and the Hague, to Rotterdam; from which place he went to Zealand, where he wrote the book called, 'The moderate enquirer reſolved,' both in Latin and Engliſh, which was afterwards tranſlated indifferently into Dutch. After ſome ſtay, Caton returned again to England, and came to London, where the ſociety of his friends was in a thriving condition, and many were added to the church.

Has ſome books printed there.

Goes to Zutphen, &c.

Returns to England.

G. Fox travels into Kent to Briſtol, &c. and into Wales, where T. Holmes was the firſt preacher among the Quakers.

In this city we left G. Fox: he wrote there ſeveral papers for the opening of the underſtandings of the people, and for the edification of his friends. From thence he travelled into Kent, Suſſex, and Surrey, and coming to Baſingſtoke, though the people were rude there, yet he had a quiet meeting in the place; in the inn he had ſome trouble with the inn-keeper, who was a drunkard. Afterwards he came to Portſmouth, Exeter, Briſtol, and into Wales, where many came to him. At Brecknock (where he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, who firſt of the Quakers in Wales, had preached the doctrine of the inward light, and by John ap-John, who three years before had been ſent by a prieſt out of Wales into the North, to inquire what kind of people the Quakers were) he had a great meeting in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, where was a prieſt, and one Walter Jenkin, who had been a juſtice, and another juſtice. Here he preached ſo effectually, that many were convinced: and after the meeting he went with Jenkin to the other juſtice's houſe, who ſaid to him, 'You have this day given 'great ſatisfaction to the people, and anſwered all the objections 'that were in their minds.' At Lemſter he had a great meeting, where prieſt Tombs made ſome oppoſition, by ſaying, 'that the 'light G. Fox ſpoke of, was but a natural light:' but G. Fox aſſerted the contrary, and ſaid, 'that he had ſpoken of no other light 'than John bore witneſs to, viz. *The word which was in the be-'ginning with God, and which word was God;* and that was the 'true light *which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.*'

Has a ſucceſsful meeting at Brecknock;

And at Lemſter, where he is oppoſed.

Comes to Tenby, has a meeting there.

G. Fox coming from this place to Tenby, as he rode in the ſtreet, a juſtice of peace came out and deſired him to alight, and to ſtay at his houſe, which he did; and on the firſt day of the week had a meeting there, whither the mayor and his wife, and ſeveral others of the chief of the town came. John ap-John, who was then with G. Fox, left the meeting, and went to the ſteeple-houſe,

and

and was by the governor caſt into priſon. The next morning the governor ſent one of his officers to the juſtice's houſe, to fetch G. Fox, which grieved the mayor and the juſtice, and ſo they went up to the governor, and a while after G. Fox went with the officer, and coming in, ſaid, 'Peace be unto this houſe:' and before the governor could examine him, he aſked, 'why he had caſt his 'friend into priſon?' And the governor anſwered, 'For ſtanding 'with his hat on in the church.' 'Why?' reſumed G. Fox, 'had 'not the prieſt two caps on his head, a black one, and a white 'one? And if the brim of the hat, which was but to defend from 'the weather, had been cut of, then my friend would have had 'but one cap.' 'Theſe are frivolous things,' ſaid the governor: 'Why then,' ſaid G. Fox, 'doſt thou caſt my friend into priſon 'for ſuch frivolous things?' Then the governor aſked him, 'whe-'ther he owned election and reprobation?' 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'and 'thou art in the reprobation.' This ſo incenſed the governor, that he told G. Fox, 'he would ſend him to priſon, till he proved 'it.' G. Fox not at all at a loſs, ſaid, 'I'll prove that quickly, if 'thou wilt but confeſs truth:' and then he aſked him, 'whether 'wrath, fury, and rage, and perſecution, were not marks of re-'probation? *For he that was born of the fleſh, perſecuted him 'that was born of the ſpirit:* and Chriſt and his apoſtles never 'perſecuted nor impriſoned any.' This ſpeech of his ſo ſtruck the governor, that he fairly confeſſed, 'that he had too much wrath, 'haſte, and paſſion in him:' which made G. Fox ſay, 'that Eſau 'the firſt-birth was up in him, not Jacob the ſecond-birth:' by this the man was ſo reached, that he confeſſed to truth, and inviting G. Fox to dinner with him, he ſet his friend at liberty. It was with great ſatisfaction that G. Fox departed the town; and in ſeveral other places of Wales he had ſome ſingular occurrences, and tho' the people generally were rude, yet ſome were convinced.

1657.

Diſcourſes with and convinces the governor, who ſets his friend at liberty.

At length he came to Lancaſter, where at the inn he met with colonel Weſt, who was very glad to ſee him. Next he came to Swarthmore, where he wrote ſome epiſtles and other papers. After having ſtaid there ſome days, he went to ſome other places in the north, and to Scotland: here travelling from town to town, he met with great oppoſition from ſome prieſts: for in an aſſembly they had drawn up ſeveral articles, or curſes, to be read in their ſteeple-houſes, the firſt of which was, 'Curſed is he that ſaith 'every man hath a light within him ſufficient to lead him to ſal-'vation: and let all the people ſay amen.' An Independent paſtor preaching one day againſt the Quakers, and the light, and calling the light natural, curſed it, and ſo fell down as dead in his pulpit; the people carrying him out, and pouring ſtrong waters into him, it brought him to life again; but he was mopiſh, and as one of his hearers ſaid, 'he never recovered his ſenſes.' In October G. Fox came to Edinburgh, where he was ſummoned to appear before the council, who, though indifferently civil, yet told him, 'he muſt depart the nation of Scotland by that day ſeven-'night:' againſt which he not only ſpoke, but wrote alſo. Whilſt G. Fox was in Scotland, his friends there were brought to a great ſtrait; for being excommunicated by the Preſbyterian teachers,

Viſits ſeveral places in the north.

Goes into Scotland, has much oppoſition.

A remarkable occurrence.

His friends there excommunicated.

charge

1657. charge was given, 'that none ſhould buy or ſell, nor eat nor drink 'with them.' Hence it came to paſs, that ſome having bought bread, or other victuals, of their neighbours, theſe frighted with the curſes of their prieſts, did run and fetch it from them again.

Col. Aſhton is convinced. But colonel Aſhton, a juſtice of peace, put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, and being afterwards convinced of the truth, had a meeting ſettled at his houſe, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

G. Fox travels over Scotland, but the Scotch little heed him. G. Fox now travelled almoſt over all Scotland, and had in ſome places good opportunities to declare the goſpel, being often heard with ſatisfaction by the Engliſh ſoldiers, but the Scotch generally gave little heed. He went alſo among the Highlanders, who were a miſchievous people. Returning at length to Leith, the inn-keeper told him, 'that the council had granted forth warrants 'to apprehend him, becauſe he was not gone out of the nation 'after the ſeven days were expired, that they had ordered him to 'depart in.' Some others told him the ſame, to whom he ſaid,

Makes ſlight of warrants to take him up. 'What do you tell me of their warrants againſt me? If there 'were a cart-load of them, I do not heed them; for the Lord's 'power is over them all.' From Leith he went to Edinburgh again, and went to the inn where he had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with him. Alexander Parker and Robert Widders being alſo there, he reſolved to go with Parker to Johnſton, out of which town ſome time before he had been led by ſoldiers: and he came into Johnſton juſt as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and ſoldiers never queſtioning him. And coming to capt. Davenport's houſe, from which he had been haled before, he found there many officers, who lifting up their hands, wondered that he came again: but he told them, 'The Lord God

Is challenged by the Baptiſts at Johnſton; 'had ſent him amongſt them again.' Then the Baptiſts ſent him a letter, by way of challenge, 'that they would diſcourſe with 'him the next day.' And he ſent them word, 'that he would 'meet them at a certain houſe, about half a mile out of the town 'at ſuch an hour.' For he thought, if he ſhould ſtay in town to ſpeak with them, they might, under pretence of diſcourſing with him, have raiſed people to carry him out of the town again, as

They neglect to meet him. they had done before. At the time appointed he went to the place, captain Davenport and his ſon accompanying him; and there he ſtaid ſome hours, but none of them came; whereby the

He returns to Edinburgh, and has a meeting undiſturbed. intent of the Baptiſts was ſufficiently diſcovered. Being thus diſappointed he went back to Edinburgh, and paſſed through the town, as it were, againſt the cannons mouth. The next day, being the firſt of the week, he went to the meeting in the city, and many officers and ſoldiers came to it, and all was quiet. The following day he went to Dunbar, where walking with a friend or two of his, in the ſteeple-houſe-yard, he met with one of the chief men of the town there, and ſpoke to one of his friends to tell him, 'that about the ninth hour next morning, there was 'to be a meeting there, of the people of God, called Quakers, of 'which they deſired him to give notice to the people of the town.' To which he ſaid, 'that they were to have a lecture there by the 'ninth hour; but that a meeting might be kept there by the 'eighth hour, if they would.' G. Fox thinking this not inconve-

nient

nient, desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning many came, both poor and rich; and a captain of horse being quartered in the town, came there with his troopers also. To this company G. Fox preached, and after some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but G. Fox and his friend being in the steeple-house-yard, most of the people staid with them; so that the priest having but few hearers, made short work, and coming out, stood a while and heard G. Fox, and then went away. This was the last meeting he had in Scotland, and he understood afterwards that his labour had not been in vain, but that the number of believers increased. Now he departed from Dunbar, and came to Berwick in Northumberland, and from thence to Newcastle, where we will leave him a while, and return again to New-England.

1657.
And another at Dunbar, with success.

Goes thence to Berwick and Newcastle.

We have seen before, that a law was made there, to prevent the Quakers coming into that country. The first I find that came after that, were Ann Burden, a widow, whose business was to gather up some debts in the country, that were due to her; and Mary Dyer from Rhode-Island, who, before her coming, knew nothing of what had been done there concerning the Quakers. These two were both imprisoned, which William Dyer, Mary's husband, hearing, came from Rhode-Island, and did not get her released without a great deal of pains, becoming bound in a great penalty, not to lodge her in any town of that colony, nor to permit any to speak with her: an evident token that he was not of the society of Quakers, so called, for otherwise he would not have entered into such a bond; but then without question, he would also have been clapped up in prison. As for Ann Burden, she was kept in prison, though sick, about a quarter of a year. Whilst she was in this restraint, some tender-hearted people had procured of her debts to the value of about thirty pounds in goods; and when she at length was to be sent away, she desired that she might have liberty to pass to England, by Barbados, because her goods were not fit for England. Now how reasonable soever this request was, yet a master of a ship was compelled to carry her to England, without her goods, for which she came there, except to the value of about six shillings, which an honest man sent her upon an old account. And when the master of the ship asked who should pay for her passage, the magistrates bid him take so much of her goods as would answer it. But he was too honest to do so, being persuaded that she would not let him be a loser, though he could not compel her to pay, since she went not of her own will: yet for all that she paid him at London. After she was gone, when he that had the first trust from her husband, was to convey her goods to Barbados, these rapacious people stopped to the value of six pounds ten shillings for her passage, for which they paid nothing, and seven shillings for boat-hire to carry her on ship-board, though the master proffered the governor to carry her in his own boat, but that was not allowed; she being sent with the hangman in a boat that was pressed: besides, they took to the value of fourteen shillings for the gaoler, to whom she owed nothing. Now, though this widow had made such a great voyage, to get some-

Severities against the Quakers in New-England.
A. Burden and M. Dyer imprisoned.

Their cruelties to Ann Burden.

1657. thing of what was due to her, to relieve her, and her fatherleſs children, yet after three years ſhe had nothing of it come to her hands: and whether ſhe got any thing ſince I never underſtood.

M. Clark at Boſton whipped unmercifully, and kept in priſon about twelve weeks in winter.

The next of the Quakers that came to Boſton was Mary Clark, who having left her huſband John Clark, a merchant-taylor, with her children, at London, came thither to warn theſe perſecutors to deſiſt from their iniquity: but after ſhe had delivered her meſſage, ſhe was unmercifully rewarded with twenty ſtripes of a whip with three cords, on her naked back, and detained priſoner about twelve weeks in the winter-ſeaſon. The cords of theſe whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, having each ſome knots at the end; and the ſtick was ſometimes ſo long, that the hangman made uſe of both his hands to ſtrike the harder.

C. Holder and J. Copeland brought from Salem to Boſton, and uſed inhumanly.

The next that came were Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland, who had been baniſhed before, and coming to Salem, a town in the ſame colony, Holder ſpoke a few words in their meeting after the prieſt had done; but was haled back by the hair of his head, and a glove and handkerchief thruſt into his mouth, and ſo turned out with his companion; and next day had to Boſton, where each of them received thirty ſtripes with a knotted whip of three cords, the hangman meaſuring his ground, and fetching his ſtrokes with the greateſt ſtrength he could: which ſo cruelly cut their fleſh, that a woman ſeeing it, fell down as dead. Then they were locked up in priſon, and the gaoler kept them three days without any food, not giving them ſo much as a draught of water; and ſo cloſe that none might come to ſpeak with them; lying on the boards without bed or ſtraw. Thus they were kept nine weeks priſoners without fire in the cold winter ſeaſon. And

S. Shattock impriſoned.

Samuel Shattock of Salem, who endeavoured to ſtop the thruſting of the glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth, leſt it ſhould have choaked him; was alſo carried to Boſton, and there impriſoned, till he had given bond for twenty pounds, to anſwer it at the next court, and not to come at any meeting of the Quakers.

L. and C. Southwick impriſoned, &c.

The career of this cruelty did not ſtop here; for Lawrence Southwick and his wife Caſſandra, members of the publick church at Salem, and an ancient and grave couple, having entertained the aforeſaid C. Holder and J. Copeland, were committed to priſon, and ſent to Boſton, where Lawrence being releaſed, his wife was kept ſeven weeks priſoner, and then fined forty ſhillings for owning a paper of exhortation, written by the aforeſaid Holder and Copeland.

R. Dowdney barbarouſly whipped, &c.

The next that came from England, as being under a neceſſity from the Lord to come to this land of perſecution, was Richard Dowdney, who was apprehended at Dedham, and brought to Boſton, having never before been in that country; yet he was not ſpared for all that, but thirty ſtripes were alſo given him in like manner as the former. And after twenty days impriſonment, he was ſent away with Holder and Copeland; after having been threatened with cutting off their ears, if they returned. Theſe cruel dealings ſo affected many inhabitants, that ſome withdrew from the publick aſſemblies, and meeting by themſelves quietly on the firſt-days of the week, they were fined five ſhil-

This uſage makes ſome withdraw from the publick worſhip,

lings

lings a week, and committed to priſon. The firſt whoſe lot this was, were the aforeſaid Lawrence, and Caſſandra Southwick, and their ſon Joſiah, who being carried to Boſton, were all of them, notwithſtanding the old age of the two, ſent to the houſe of correction, and whipped with cords, as thoſe before, in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, and had taken from them to the value of four pounds thirteen ſhillings, for not coming to church.

1657. and meet by themſelves, for which they are puniſhed.

Leaving New-England for a while, I'll turn another way. It was in this year, about the latter end of the ſummer, that a certain young man named George Robinſon, felt a motion to travel to Jeruſalem: in order thereunto, he embarked in a ſhip bound for Leghorn in Italy, where having ſtaid about two weeks, being daily viſited by Engliſh, and others, he went with a French ſhip towards St. John d' Acre, formerly called Ptolemais, a city in Aſia, bordering upon the Mediterranean-Sea, near Paleſtine, where having lodged about eight days in a French merchant's houſe, he embarked in a veſſel bound for Jaffa, or Joppa. What occurred by the way with ſome Turks, who demanded unreaſonable tribute of him, I paſs by: but a certain Armenian on that occaſion having ſeen his meek behaviour, ſaid, 'he was a good chriſtian,' and was very kind to him. Being arrived at Jaffa, he went to Ramoth, but the friars at Jeruſalem having heard of his coming, gave orders to ſtop him, which was done accordingly; and after having been locked up about a day, there came an ancient Turk, a man of great repute, who took him into his houſe, and courteouſly entertained him. After four or five days there came an Iriſh friar from Jeruſalem, with whom falling into diſcourſe of religious matters, the friar at firſt behaved himſelf kindly, but told him afterwards, that was not the buſineſs he came about, but that he was ſent from his brethren, the friars, at Jeruſalem, to propound to him ſome queſtions.

G. Robinſon a young man is moved to travel to Jeruſalem; his wonderful preſervation, and ſafe return.

'1. Whether he would promiſe when he came to Jeruſalem, 'that he would viſit the holy places as other pilgrims did?

'2. Whether he would pay ſo much money as pilgrims uſed to do?

'3. Whether he would wear ſuch a ſort of habit as was uſual 'with pilgrims?

'4. That he muſt ſpeak nothing againſt the Turks laws?

'5. And when he came to Jeruſalem not ſpeak any thing about 'religion.'

Not being willing to enter into a promiſe, he was by the Iriſh friar (with a guard of horſe and footmen he brought with him from Jeruſalem) carried back to Jaffa, and embarked in a veſſel bound for St. John d' Acre; whither being come, a French merchant called Surrubi, took him into his houſe, and lodged him about three weeks. This man entertained him very kindly, and would ſay ſometimes, 'that it was the Lord's doing; for,' ſaid he, 'when my own countrymen come to me, they are little to me, 'but thee I can willingly receive.' After much trouble, Robinſon got opportunity, (by the help of the ſaid French merchant, who was an ancient man) to return by ſea to Jaffa; from whence he went on his journey a-foot; and by the way met three men, two of them riding upon aſſes, and the other going a-foot; and they

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1657. aſking him for money, one held his gun to his breaſt, and another put his hand into his pockets, and took ſome things out. He ſuffering all this without any oppoſition, the man that took his things from him, put them up again; and one of the three taking him by the hand, led him a little on his way, in a friendly manner, and ſo left him. At length Robinſon came to Ramoth, where he was preſently known, and two that belonged to the friars laid hold on him, and hurried him away; but two Turks took him from them, and one leading him by one arm, and the other by the other, they brought him into a moſque, or Turkiſh temple. Thus innocently entering there, many people came flocking in, and alſo ſome of the Mahometan prieſts, who having cauſed him to ſit down, aſked him, 'whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion?' But he refuſing, they preſſed him much, made great promiſes, and ſaid, 'that he had no need to fear what the 'Chriſtians might do unto him.' Nevertheleſs he anſwered, 'he 'could not turn unto them for all the world.' But they continued to ſtrive much with him, and would have him hold up one of his fingers, as a ſign of owning them; and one bid him ſay, 'Chriſt 'is bad;' but he anſwered, 'he knew him to be good, and he was 'his ſervant.' Then ſome growing angry, ſaid, 'if he would not 'turn to their religion, he ſhould die.' To which he replying, 'that he would rather die than turn unto them;' it was anſwered, 'he ſhould then die.' And ſo by their order, the executioner haled him away to the place where it was expected that he ſhould have been burnt to death with camel's dung. Here he was made to ſit down upon the ground, and was as a ſheep among wolves. Whilſt he was thus ſitting with a retired mind, the Turks began to fall out among themſelves, and whilſt they were at odds, a grave ancient Turk, a man of note, came to him, and ſaid, 'whether 'he would turn from his religion or not, he ſhould not die.' Then he was brought before the prieſts again, who aſked him, 'will you 'turn?' and he anſwering, 'No,' they recorded in a book, 'that 'he was no Roman Catholick, but of another religion;' for tho' he denied to be ſuch a Catholick, yet he had owned that he was a Chriſtian.

A ſingular occurrence.

The Turks coming now to be more ſedate, the aforeſaid ancient man ordered his ſervants to conduct Robinſon to his houſe, where he was kindly entertained, and ſoon perceived that the friars had thus plotted againſt him; for he went not into the moſque of his own accord, being led into it; but heaven preſerved him. After having been four or five days in the houſe of the ancient Turk, there came a guard of horſemen hired by the friars, to carry him to Gaza; for they had pre-informed the baſhaw of that place againſt him: but Robinſon being come thither, things took another turn than they expected; for the baſhaw being by ſome Turks made acquainted with the miſchievous deſign of the friars, made them not only pay a conſiderable fine, but alſo commanded them to convey Robinſon ſafely to Jeruſalem. Whilſt he was at Gaza, he was viſited by many Turks, Greeks, and Armenians; the latter of which having heard he was a Chriſtian, and that he choſe rather to die than to turn from his religion, became very loving, as were

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the Turks, the Jews alſo ſhewed themſelves moderate towards him. Then according to the fore-mentioned order of the baſhaw, he was carried to Jeruſalem, and there, by the appointment of the friars, brought into their convent, where at firſt they ſeemingly ſhewed love unto him, and one confeſſed, 'there was now an evident ſign, 'that he was a good chriſtian, for he was come through perſecu-'tion and ſufferings; and thoſe things which had been ſpoken to 'his prejudice, were manifeſt to be untrue.' Robinſon told the friar, 'it was he and his brethren that had been the cauſe of his ſuf-'ferings, and withſtood his coming to Jeruſalem.' To which the other returned, 'that the Engliſh friar had miſinformed them by 'his writing, which had cauſed them to do what they had done; 'and that therefore they deſired he would now paſs by thoſe things, 'ſeeing he was come through in ſuch a miraculous manner; for,' continued the friar, 'it was the Lord's work, thus to carry him 'through, and he might praiſe God he was preſerved.' 1657.

The next morning a friar came to him, and aſked, 'if he would 'become an obedient child, and go to viſit the holy places, ac-'cording to their cuſtom?' he anſwered, 'No.' Then the friar ſaid, 'Whereas others give great ſums of money to ſee them, you 'ſhall ſee them for nothing.' But Robinſon replied, 'I ſhall not 'viſit them in your manner, for in ſo doing I ſhould ſin againſt 'God.' This did not pleaſe the friar, yet he ſaid, 'they would 'honour him as much as ever they honoured any Engliſhman that 'came thither, if he would conform unto them.' But Robinſon continued immoveable, and ſaid, 'he ſhould not conform; and as 'for their honour, he did not matter it.' Then the friar became angry, and ſaid, 'they would make him an example to all En-'gliſhmen that came thither.' To which Robinſon returned, 'I 'chooſe your diſhonour rather than your honour.' The friar ſee-ing he could not prevail, went away in anger, and within a ſhort time came again, and other friars being preſent, one aſked him, 'if he would viſit their church, and the holy ſepulchre, and 'Bethlehem, with the reſt of the holy places, as other pil-'grims did?' But he told them, 'at preſent he had no buſineſs 'to viſit them; and in their manner he ſhould not viſit them at 'all, viz. to worſhip them.' Then one ſaid to him, 'how can 'you be a ſervant of God, and will not go to viſit the places 'where the holy men of God dwelt?' To which he returned, 'that they, under pretence of doing ſervice to God, in viſiting 'the places where the holy men dwelt, did oppoſe that way, and 'reſiſt that life, which the holy men of God lived and walked in.' Then one of the friars ſaid, 'What do you preach unto us for?' To which he replied, 'that he would have them turn from thoſe 'evil practices they lived in, elſe the wrath of the Almighty would 'be kindled againſt them.' But they did not at all like ſuch diſ-courſe, and therefore ſaid, 'if he would not go and viſit the afore-'ſaid places, yet he muſt give twenty five dollars, as was the man-'ner of thoſe that viſited them; for,' ſaid they, 'the Turks muſt 'be paid, whether he would viſit them, or not; but if he would 'viſit them, then they would pay it for him.' To this he ſignified, 'that he could not ſubmit to ſuch unreaſonable terms.'

1657. Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in that place, who aſked him divers queſtions, to which he ſoberly gave anſwers; and they diſcourſing about the worſhip of the chriſtians, the Turk aſked alſo, 'what was the ground of his coming to Jeru-'ſalem.' To which he anſwered, 'that it was by the command of 'the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the 'great and tender love of God was made manifeſt in viſiting them; 'his compaſſionate mercies being ſuch, that he would gather 'them in this the day of his gathering.' This was the meſſage which Robinſon believed he had from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear, or forbear. And afterwards he wrote, that having thus cleared his conſcience, he found great peace with the Lord, and therefore he magnified his glorious name who had gone along with him, and preſerved him in many trials. For the friars, who intended him miſchief, were commanded by the Turks to carry him again ſafe and free of charges, to Ramola. Here I leave him, becauſe I don't find how he came home; but that he returned thither in ſafety, appears to me from the relation he afterwards publiſhed of his travels.

G. Fox with A. Pearſon viſit ſome of the aldermen of Newcaſtle.

The year being come to an end, I return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Newcaſtle. Whilſt he was there, he, with Anthony Pearſon viſited ſome of the aldermen; and among theſe one Ledger, who, as well as the prieſts, had ſaid, 'the Quakers would 'not come into great towns, but lived in the fields like butterflies.' G. Fox deſired to have a meeting amongſt them; but they would not yield to it. He therefore aſked Ledger, 'whether they had 'not called his friends, butterflies, and ſaid, they would not come 'into any great towns? but,' ſaid he, 'now we are come into 'your town, you will not come to us: who are the butterflies 'now?' Then Ledger began to plead for the ſabbath-day; which made G. Fox ſay, 'they kept markets on that which was called the 'ſabbath-day, for that was the ſeventh-day of the week; whereas 'that day which the profeſſed Chriſtians now meet on, and call 'their ſabbath, was the firſt day of the week.' No leave for a publick meeting being obtained, G. Fox got a little meeting among his friends, and ſome friendly people, at Gateſide.

G. Fox comes to Durham, where diſcourſing with one come to erect a college for education of miniſters, he gives over the deſign.

Travelling from thence, and paſſing through Northumberland, and Biſhoprick, he came to Durham, where was a man come down from London to ſet up a college there, to make miniſters of Chriſt, as they ſaid. G. Fox entering into diſcourſe with this man, ſaid, 'that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the ſeven arts, 'was not the way to make them miniſters of Chriſt; for the lan-'guages began at Babel; and to the Greeks that ſpake Greek as 'their mother-tongue, the preaching of the croſs of Chriſt was 'fooliſhneſs; and to the Jews that ſpake Hebrew as their mother-'tongue, Chriſt was a ſtumbling-block. And as for the Romans 'who ſpake Latin, they perſecuted the Chriſtians; and Pilate, one 'of the Roman governors, ſet Hebrew, Greek, and Latin a-top 'of Chriſt when he crucified him. Thus the languages, which 'began at Babel, had been ſet above Chriſt, the word: and John 'the divine, who preached *the Word, that was in the beginning*, 'ſaid, that the beaſt and the whore had *power over tongues and*

'*languages*

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'*languages*, and they were *as waters*, and in the myſtery Baby-
'lon, for they began at Babel; and the perſecutors of Chriſt ſet
'them over him, when he was crucified by them. Doſt thou
'think,' ſaid G. Fox to the man, 'to make miniſters of Chriſt by
'theſe natural confuſed languages, which ſprang from Babel, are
'admired in Babylon, and ſet a-top of Chriſt, the Life, by a per-
'ſecutor?' The man puzzled a little by this, confeſſed to many things ſpoken by G. Fox. Then it was ſhewed him further, 'that
'Chriſt made his miniſters himſelf, and gave gifts unto them, and
'bid them pray to the Lord of the harveſt, to ſend forth labour-
'ers: that Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant as to
'ſchool-learning, preached Chriſt the Word, which was in the
'beginning before Babel was: and that Paul alſo was made an
'apoſtle, not of man, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, who is
'the ſame now, and ſo is his goſpel, as it was at that day.' This diſcourſe had ſuch effect upon the man, that he became very loving, and having conſidered the matter further, he never ſet up his intended college.

Goes to Nottingham.

From Durham G. Fox paſſed to Nottingham, where he gathered again a ſcattered people, that having about eight years before been convinced of the truth, had been led aſide by one Rice Jones.

Thence to J. Crook's houſe in Bedfordſh. where a yearly general meeting is kept.

From hence he went into Warwickſhire, and paſſing through Northamptonſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, he came into Bedfordſhire, and ſo to John Crook's houſe, where a general yearly meeting was appointed, which laſted three days; and many of G. Fox's friends from moſt parts of the nation came to it, ſo that the inns in the towns thereabouts were filled. Here was alſo William Caton, who after the meeting was ended, went with Thomas Salthouſe, formerly his fellow ſervant in the houſe of judge Fell, to Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Swarthmore in Lancaſhire. In the ſaid general meeting G. Fox made a long ſpeech concerning the ſeveral ſtates of men, but more eſpecially for inſtruction of the miniſters of the word, exhorting them at large to be circumſpect in their ſtation.

Some come to ſeize him, but do not.

After the meeting was over, there came a party of horſe with a conſtable to ſeize upon G. Fox, who then was walking in J. Crook's garden: and though ſomebody, when they came to the houſe, had told them G. Fox was there, yet they were ſo confounded, that they came not into the garden to look for him, but went away without him.

A Jeſuit challenges the Quakers to diſpute at the earl of Newport's houſe.

Parting from thence, he came to London, where he heard that a Jeſuit who was come over with an ambaſſador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers, to diſpute with him at the earl of Newport's houſe. G. Fox then let him know by ſome of his friends, 'that they would meet him:' whereupon the Jeſuit ſent word, 'he would meet with twelve of the wiſeſt learned men they
'had.' A while after he ſent word, 'he would meet with but ſix;' and after that he ſent word again, 'he would have but three to
'come.' Then G. Fox went, with Edward Burrough, and one Nicholas Bond to the aforeſaid houſe, and bad them to go up, and enter the diſcourſe with the Jeſuit, whilſt he would be walking in the yard, and then come up after them. He had adviſed them to ſtate this queſtion; 'Whether the church of Rome, as it

G. Fox with two others meet him there, and have a remarkable conference.

now

1658. 'now ſtood, was not degenerated from the true church which 'was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from 'the power and ſpirit that thoſe believers were in?' They having ſtated the queſtion accordingly, the Jeſuit affirmed, 'that the 'church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the 'primitive church.' By this time G. Fox being come in, the Jeſuit was aſked, 'whether they had the Holy Ghoſt poured out 'upon them as the apoſtles had?' And he ſaid, 'No.' Then ſaid G. Fox, 'If ye have not the ſame Holy Ghoſt poured forth upon 'you, and the ſame power and ſpirit, that the apoſtles had, then 'ye are degenerated from the power and ſpirit, which the primi-'tive church was in.' And he aſked the Jeſuit, 'what ſcripture 'they had for ſetting up cloiſters for nuns, abbies and moneſta-'ries for men, and for their praying by beads and to images, and 'for making croſſes, for forbidding of meats and marriages, and 'for putting people to death for religion? if,' ſaid he, 'ye are in 'the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, 'then let us ſee by ſcripture, where-ever they practiſed ſuch 'things?' For it was agreed mutually that both the Jeſuit and the Quakers ſhould make good by ſcripture what they ſaid. Then the Jeſuit ſaid, 'there was a written, and an unwritten word.' Which made G. Fox aſk 'what he called his unwritten word?' And he anſwered, 'the written word is the ſcriptures, and the 'unwritten word is that which the apoſtles ſpake by word of 'mouth, which are all thoſe traditions that we practiſe.' Then G. Fox bid him 'prove that by ſcripture;' and the Jeſuit alledged the words of the apoſtle, 2 Theſſ. ii. 5, '*When I was with you, I 'told you theſe things:* that is,' ſaid he, 'I told you of nunneries 'and moneſtaries, of putting to death for religion, and of pray-'ing by beads and to images,' &c. This he affirmed to be the 'un-'written word of the apoſtles, which they told then, and had 'ſince been continued by tradition unto theſe times.' Then G. Fox deſired him 'to read that ſcripture again, that he might ſee 'how he had perverted the apoſtles words, ſince that which the 'apoſtle ſaid there he had told them before, was not an unwritten 'word, but was written down there; namely, that the man of 'ſin, the ſon of perdition, ſhould be revealed before that great 'and terrible day of Chriſt, which he was writing of, ſhould 'come. And therefore this was not telling them any of thoſe 'things the church of Rome practiſed. Beſides, the apoſtle in 'the third chapter of the ſaid epiſtle told the church of ſome diſ-'orderly perſons he heard were amongſt them, buſy-bodies, who 'did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them 'by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that *if any 'would not work, neither ſhould he eat;* which now he command-'ed them again in his written words in this epiſtle, 2 Theſſ. iii.'

The Jeſuit now finding no other ſcriptural proof for the tradition of the church of Rome, let that point fall, and came to the ſacrament of the altar, to prove the reality of which, he began with the Paſchal Lamb, and the Shew Bread, and ſo came to the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, and to what the apoſtle wrote to the Corinthians, concluding from thence, 'that after the prieſt

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'had conſecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, 'and that he who received it, received the whole Chriſt.' To this G. Fox ſaid, 'that the ſame apoſtle told the Corinthians, after 'they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's death, '*that they were reprobates if Chriſt was not in them.* But that if 'the bread they eat was Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſity have been in 'them, after they had eaten it. Beſides, if the bread and wine 'which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Chriſt's body, how 'then,' (continued he) 'hath Chriſt a body in heaven?' And he alſo ſignified to him, 'that both the diſciples at the ſupper, and 'the Corinthians afterwards were to eat the bread and drink the wine '*in remembrance of Chriſt*, and *to ſhew forth his death till he came;* 'which plainly proved, that the bread and wine which they took, 'was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they 'ate, then he had been come, and was then there preſent; and it 'would have been improper to have done ſuch a thing in remem-'brance of him, if he had been then preſent with them; as he 'muſt have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and 'drank, had been his real body.' And as to the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, G. Fox told him, 'Chriſt calls himſelf a vine, 'and a door, and is called in ſcripture a rock: is Chriſt therefore 'an outward rock, door, or vine?' 'O,' ſaid the Jeſuit, 'theſe 'words are to be interpreted.' 'So,' ſaid G. Fox, 'are thoſe 'words of Chriſt, *This is my body*.' And having thus ſtopped the Jeſuit's mouth, he made this propoſal, 'that, ſeeing he ſaid the 'bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Chriſt, 'and that whoſoever received it, received the whole Chriſt; a 'meeting might be appointed between ſome ſuch Papiſts as the 'pope and his cardinals ſhould appoint, and ſome of thoſe called 'Quakers: and then,' ſaid he, 'let a bottle of wine, and a loaf 'of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let 'them conſecrate which of thoſe parts they will; and then let the 'conſecrated and unconſecrated bread and wine be ſet in a ſafe 'place, with a ſure watch upon it; and let trial then be made, 'whether the conſecrated bread and wine will not loſe its good-'neſs, viz. the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn 'dead and ſour, as well and as ſoon as that which was unconſe-'crated; for by this means the truth of this matter may be made 'manifeſt. And if the conſecrated bread and wine change not, 'but retain their ſavour and goodneſs, this may be a means to 'draw many to your church. But if they change, decay, and 'loſe their goodneſs, then ought you to confeſs and forſake your 'error, and ſhed no more blood about it, as hath been done, eſpe-'cially in queen Mary's days.' To this the Jeſuit made this reply, 'Take a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make 'two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's 'back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment ſhall 'wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this,' ſaid G. Fox, 'thy 'anſwer?' 'Yes,' ſaid the Jeſuit. 'Then,' ſaid G. Fox, 'by this 'the company may all be ſatisfied, that your conſecrated bread 'and wine is not Chriſt. Doſt thou now ſay that the conſecrated 'bread and wine, which you have told the people was immortal

1658. 'and divine, and the real body and blood of Chriſt, will wear 'away, or decay as well as the other? Then I muſt tell thee, 'Chriſt remains the ſame to day as yeſterday, and never decays; 'but is the ſaints heavenly food in all generations, through which 'they have life.' To this the Jeſuit replied no more, but let the thing fall: for he perceived that thoſe which were preſent ſaw his error, and that he could not defend it.

Then G. Fox aſked him, 'why the church of Rome did perſe-'cute, and put people to death for religion?' And he anſwered, 'it was not the church that did it, but the magiſtrates.' G. Fox aſked, 'whether thoſe magiſtrates were not counted and called 'believers and chriſtians?' 'Yes,' ſaid he. 'Are they not mem-'bers of your church?' aſked G. Fox.' 'Yes,' ſaid the Jeſuit. Then G. Fox left it to the people to judge, 'whether the church 'of Rome did not perſecute, and put people to death for religion.' Thus they parted; the Jeſuit's ſubtilty being comprehended by the ſimplicity of G. Fox, and his friends.

Friends being under ſufferings, G. Fox writes thereupon to the Protector.

Whilſt G. Fox was at London, his friends, both in England and Ireland, were under great ſufferings, which made him write to the Protector about it: and there being then much talk of making Cromwell king, he went to him, and warned him againſt it, becauſe of the dangers that would attend it, and which if he did not avoid, would bring ſhame and ruin upon him and his poſterity. Which counſel Cromwell ſeemed to take well, and thanked him for it: yet G. Fox wrote alſo concerning the ſame thing to him in this manner:

Writes again.

O PROTECTOR,

WHO haſt taſted of the power of God, of which many generations before thee have not ſo much ſince the days of apoſtacy from the apoſtles, take heed that thou loſe not thy power; but keep kingſhip off thy head, which the world would give to thee, and earthly crowns under thy feet, leſt with that thou cover thyſelf, and ſo loſe the power of God. When the children of Iſrael went from that of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as tranſgreſſors had; and ſo God gave them one! And what did they do then? And when they would have taken Chriſt, and made him a king, he hid himſelf from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was the king of the Jews inward.——O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyſelf, by running into things that will fade, the things of this world that will change. Be ſubject and obedient to the Lord God.

GEORGE FOX.

And again. About this time G. Fox wrote alſo another letter to O. Cromwell, wherein he ſignified to him, 'that if he had been faithful, and 'thundered down deceit, he would yet have done many mighty 'things. And he alſo adviſed him not to ſlight ſober men, and 'true hearts; but to mind the law of God, and his fear and 'dread; to take heed of flatteries, and to prize his time now 'he had it.'

The lady Claypole, Cromwell's moſt beloved daughter, being ſick,

ſick, and much troubled in mind, ſo that none that came could adminiſter any comfort to her, G. Fox viſited her with the following letter: 1658.

FRIEND,

He writes to Cromwell's daughter Claypole.

BE ſtill and cool in thy own mind and ſpirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God, to turn thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes; whereby thou mayſt receive his ſtrength, and power to allay all bluſtering ſtorms, and tempeſts. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into ſoberneſs, into ſtilneſs, into ſtayedneſs, into quietneſs, up to God with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God thou mayſt feel, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee: for that is it which keeps peace, and brings up the witneſs in thee, which hath been tranſgreſſed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the tranſgreſſion of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, and the creature is led into the night, and nature goes out of its courſe, and an old garment goes on, and an uppermoſt clothing; and thy nature being led out of its courſe, it comes to be all on fire, in the tranſgreſſion; and that defaceth the glory of the firſt body. Therefore be ſtill a while from thy own thoughts, ſearching, ſeeking, deſires, and imaginations, and be ſtayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raiſe up thy mind to God, and ſtay it upon God, and thou wilt find ſtrength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a preſent help in the time of trouble, and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been tranſgreſſed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble God will teach his way, which is peace, and ſuch he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been tranſgreſſed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; and deny thyſelf, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou muſt be kept: then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its courſe, and give thee to ſee the glory of the firſt body. And there the wiſdom of God will be received (which is Chriſt, by which all things were made and created) to be thereby preſerved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the phyſician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may ſerve God, and do his will. For all diſtractions, unrulineſs, and confuſion, is in the tranſgreſſion; which tranſgreſſion muſt be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been tranſgreſſed againſt, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be ſeaſoned and ſtilled, and a right underſtanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his bleſſings enter, and are felt, over all that is contrary, in the power of the Lord God, which raiſeth up the principle of God within, and gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Therefore keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee; for all theſe things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of thoſe concerned for thee, to make you know your-

ſelves

1658. ſelves, and your own weakneſs, and that ye may know the Lord's ſtrength and power, and may truſt in him. Therefore let the time that is paſt be ſufficient to every one, who in any thing hath been lifted up in tranſgreſſion, out of the power of the Lord: for he can bring down and abaſe the mighty, and lay them in the duſt of the earth. Therefore all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the ſecrets of God and his wiſdom, and may know the ſhadow of the Almighty, and ſit under it in all tempeſts, ſtorms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Moſt High rules in the children of men. So then, this is the word of the Lord God unto you all, what the light doth make manifeſt and diſcover, as temptations, diſtractions, confuſions, do not look at the temptations, confuſions, corruptions, but at the light which diſcovers them, and makes them manifeſt. And with the ſame light you may feel over them, to receive power to ſtand againſt them. The ſame light which lets you ſee ſin and tranſgreſſion, will let you ſee the covenant of God, which blots out your ſin and tranſgreſſion, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at ſin, and corruption, and diſtraction, ye are ſwallowed up in it: but looking at the light which diſcovers them, ye will ſee over them: that will give victory, and ye will find grace and ſtrength; and there is the firſt ſtep to peace. That will bring ſalvation, and by it ye may ſee to the beginning, and the *glory that was with the Father before the world began;* and ſo come to know the ſeed of God, which is the heir of the promiſe of God, and of the world which hath no end, and which bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, who ſtops people from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endleſs life, the power of God, which is immortal, which brings the immortal ſoul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God Almighty ſtrengthen thee.

G. F.

This paper being read to the aforeſaid lady, it ſtayed her mind ſomewhat, but ſhe lived not long after; ſo that O. Cromwell met with almoſt continual trouble, for diſcontent againſt him increaſed more and more. Now ſince the Proteſtants in the valley of Lucern, and elſewhere, were much perſecuted, there came forth a declaration from the Protector to keep a faſt, and one alſo for a collection for the relief of diſtreſſed Proteſtant churches. On this occaſion G. Fox, to ſhew what kind of faſt it was that God requires and accepts, wrote the following paper:

G. F. writes about faſts to the Protector and chief magiſtrates.

To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth a declaration, for the keeping of a day of ſolemn faſting and humiliation, for the perſecution (as you ſay) of divers people beyond the ſeas, profeſſing the reformed religion, which, (ye ſay) hath been tranſmitted unto them from their anceſtors:

A PROFESSION of the reformed religion may be tranſmitted to generations, and ſo holden by tradition; and in that, wherein the profeſſion and tradition is holden, is the day of humiliation kept; which ſtands in the will of man, which is not the f[illegible] that

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the Lord requires, *to bow down the head like a bulruſh for a day*, and the day following be in the ſame condition as they were the day before. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your conſciences do I ſpeak, which teſtifieth for God every day, and witneſſeth againſt all ſin and perſecution; which meaſure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the faſt which the Lord requires, which is, *To looſe the bonds of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppreſſed go free*, Iſa. lviii. 6. 7. This is the faſt the Lord requires; and this ſtands not in the tranſmiſſion of times, nor in the traditions of men: but this ſtands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and ſhall be, when time ſhall be no more. And theſe that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever perſecuted the life and power when it came. And whereas ye mention a decree, or edict, that was made againſt the ſaid perſecuted Proteſtants; all ſuch decrees, or edicts, proceed from the ground of the pope's religion and ſupremacy, and therein ſtands his tyranny and cruelty, acted in that will, which is in that nature, which exerciſeth lordſhip over one another, (as you may read, Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25.) as all the Heathen do, and ever did; and in the heatheniſh nature is all the tyranny and perſecution exerciſed, by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Chriſt Jeſus in the conſcience, which is the guider and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conſcience. But who are not led by this, know not what it is to ſuffer for conſcience-ſake. 1658.

Now, whereas ye take into your conſideration the ſad perſecution, tyranny, and cruelty exerciſed upon them, whom ye call your Proteſtant brethren, and do contribute and adminiſter to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we own it, and ſee it good to adminiſter to the neceſſities of others, *and to do good to all:* and we, who are ſufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join, and to contribute with you, to their *outward neceſſities. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof;* who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all ſhould be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the mean-time, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others cruelty, tyranny, and perſecution, turn your eye upon yourſelves, and ſee what ye are doing at home. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in all your conſciences I ſpeak, which cannot lie, nor cannot err, nor cannot bear falſe witneſs; but doth bear witneſs for God, and cries for equity, and juſtice, and righteouſneſs to be executed. See what ye are doing who profeſs the ſcriptures, which were given forth by the ſaints in light, who dwelt in the light, and in the life of them. For them who do now witneſs the ſame light, the ſame life, and the ſame power which gave forth the ſcriptures, which ye in words profeſs, them ye perſecute, them ye hale out of your ſynagogues and markets; them ye beat, ſtock, and impriſon. Now let that of God in your conſciences, which is juſt and righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exerciſe this perſecution, which now many in this nation ſuffer under, who are a people

1658. harmleſs and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of truth they walk in, hereſy; yet therein do they exerciſe themſelves to have always a *conſcience void of offence towards God and man*, as ye may read the ſaints of old did, (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16.) not wronging any man, neither giving any juſt cauſe of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare, as they are moved by the Holy Ghoſt; and ſtanding for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, ſpeaking the truth in Chriſt, their conſciences bearing them witneſs that they lie not: for this do they ſuffer under you, who in words profeſs the ſame thing for which they ſuffer.

Now ſee if any age or generation did ever perſecute as ye do: for ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus who reveals the Father, and perſecute them that witneſs the revelation of the Father by Chriſt Jeſus unto them. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus, who is the light of the world, *that enlightens every one that cometh into the world*, and yet perſecute them that bear witneſs, and give teſtimony to this light. Ye profeſs that the word is become fleſh, and ye perſecute them that witneſs it ſo. Ye profeſs, that whoſoever confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an antichriſt, and yet perſecute them that do confeſs him come in the fleſh, and call them antichriſts and deceivers. Ye profeſs that the kingdom of Chriſt is come, and yet perſecute them that witneſs it come. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus the reſurrection and the life, and yet perſecute them that witneſs him to be ſo. If ye ſay, 'How ſhall we know that 'theſe people who ſay they witneſs theſe things, do ſo, or no?' I anſwer: turn your minds to the light which Chriſt Jeſus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye ſhall have the light of life, and then ye will know and ſee what ye have done, who have perſecuted the Lord of glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchſtone ſhall we turn you, but into your own conſciences, and there ſhall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear teſtimony to, according to the holy ſcriptures. And when the books of conſciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then ſhall ye witneſs us to be of God, and our teſtimony to be true, though now ye may ſtop your ears, and harden your hearts, *while it is called to day*. But then ye ſhall know what ye have done, and whom you have tranſgreſſed againſt; and then ye will ſee that no perſecutors in any age or generation that ever went before you, did ever tranſgreſs againſt that light and meaſure of God made manifeſt, in ſuch manner as ye have done. For though Chriſt and the apoſtles were perſecuted in their times, the Jews, for the moſt part of them, did not know that he was the Chriſt, when he came, notwithſtanding that they had the ſcriptures, which propheſied of him: neither did they believe that he was riſen again, when the apoſtles preached his reſurrection. But ye ſay, *ye believe he is come*; and ye ſay, *ye believe his reſurrection*, and yet ye perſecute thoſe that witneſs him come in the fleſh, thoſe that are buried with him in baptiſm, thoſe that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his reſurrection; thoſe ye perſecute,

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ſecute, thoſe ye hale before magiſtrates, and ſuffer to be beaten in your ſynagogues; thoſe ye cauſe to be whipped and ſtocked, and ſhamefully entreated, and into priſon caſt and kept, as many gaols in this nation, at this day teſtify to your faces.

Therefore honeſtly conſider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of others cruelties, leſt ye overlook your own. There is ſome difference in many things between the Popiſh religion, and that which ye call the Proteſtant; but in this perſecution of yours there is no difference: for ye will confeſs, that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon the ſcriptures; and yet now ye are perſecuting them that be in the ſame life which they were in who ſpake forth the ſcriptures; yourſelves being the mean-while under a profeſſion of the words they ſpake; and this ye ſhall one day witneſs. So ye have a profeſſion and form, and perſecute them that are in the poſſeſſion, life, and power. Therefore know aſſuredly, that ye muſt come to judgment; for he is made manifeſt to whom all judgment is committed. Therefore to the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your conſciences, which ſearcheth and trieth you, turn your minds, and ſtand ſtill, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according to that of God in the conſcience, which is now riſing, and is bearing witneſs againſt all ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs of men; and they whom ye perſecute, are manifeſt to God, and that of God in all conſciences ſhall bear witneſs for us, that we are of God: and this ye ſhall one day witneſs, whether ye will hear, or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the teſtimony of our conſciences, that in ſimplicity, and godly ſincerity (not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God) we have had our converſation in the world, not handling the word of God deceitfully, but in the manifeſtation of the truth; commending ourſelves to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God; and if our goſpel be hid, it is hid to them that are loſt: and for the witneſſing the holding the myſtery of faith in a pure conſcience, do we ſuffer, and are ſubject for conſcience-ſake. This is thank-worthy, if a man for conſcience-ſake endure griefs and ſuffering wrongfully. And in this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conſcience, that whereas we are evil ſpoken of, as evil-doers, they may be aſhamed, that falſely accuſe our good *converſation in Chriſt*; which is not only the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And this we witneſs made manifeſt, (eternal praiſes to the living God) and bear teſtimony to that which ſpake it in the apoſtle in life and power: and therefore do we bear witneſs, and teſtify againſt thoſe, who being got into a form and profeſſion of it, do perſecute the life and power.

Therefore to the eternal light of Chriſt Jeſus, the ſearcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and ſee what ye are doing, leſt ye overturn your foundation and bottom whereon ye pretend to ſtand, while ye are profeſſing the ſcriptures, and perſecuting the life, light, and power which they were in who gave them forth. For the ſtone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now ſtriking at the feet of the image, the profeſſion which is

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1658. ſet up, and ſtands in the will of man. Now is that made manifeſt unto which all muſt anſwer, and appear before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; that every one may receive the thing done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we perſuade men; but we are made manifeſt unto God, and ſhall be made manifeſt in all your conſciences, which ye ſhall witneſs. G. F.

Divers times when a faſt was proclaimed, G. Fox wrote on that ſubject; and ſince commonly ſome miſchief was then contrived againſt the Quakers, no wonder that he would ſay, 'theſe faſts 'were like unto Jezebel's.'

Many friends offer to lie in priſon for their brethren but are repulſed and threatened.

Many of his friends being at this time in priſons and dungeons, ſeveral others of them went to the parliament, and offered to lie in the ſame priſons where their brethren lay; that ſo thoſe that were in priſon, might not periſh in ſtinking dungeons, and their perſecutors thereby bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But this could not be obtained; for ſome of the parliament would threaten theſe compaſſionate men that thus attended them, with whipping, if they did not deſiſt. And becauſe the parliament then ſitting, conſiſted moſtly of ſuch who pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed great perſecutors of thoſe that were truly religious, G. Fox could not let this hypocriſy go unreproved, but wrote the following lines to them:

G. F. writes to the parliament, reproving their hypocriſy.

'O friends, do not cloke and cover yourſelves; there is a God 'that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He ſeeth 'your way: wo be to him that covereth, but not with my ſpirit, 'ſaith the Lord. Do ye contrary to the law, and then put it from 'you? mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was 'ſpoken againſt ſuch: my Saviour ſpake againſt ſuch: *I was ſick 'and ye viſited me not; I was hungry and ye fed me not; I was a 'ſtranger and ye took me not in; I was in priſon and ye viſited me 'not.* But they ſaid, *When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come 'to thee? Inaſmuch as ye did it not unto one of theſe little ones, ye 'did it not unto me.* Friends, ye priſon them that be in the life 'and power of truth, and yet profeſs to be the miniſters of Chriſt: 'but if Chriſt had ſent you, ye would bring out of priſon, and 'out of bondage, and receive ſtrangers. Ye have lived in plea-'ſure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nouriſhed your 'hearts as in a day of ſlaughter: ye have condemned, and killed 'the juſt, and he doth not reſiſt you. G. F.'

A woman ſignally foretels the diſſolution of the parliament.

It was not G. Fox alone who was grieved with the ſaid hypocriſy, but others of his friends alſo declared zealouſly againſt it. A certain woman came once into the parliament with a pitcher in her hand, which ſhe breaking before them, told them, 'ſo ſhould 'they be broken to pieces;' which came to paſs not long after. And becauſe, when the great ſufferings of G. Fox's friends were laid before O. Cromwell, he would not believe it, this gave occaſion to Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearſon, to go through all, or moſt of the gaols in England, and get copies of their friends commitment under the gaoler's hands, to lay the weight of the

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ſaid ſufferings upon O. Cromwell, which was done; but he, unwilling to give order for their releaſe, Thomas Aldam took his cap from off his head, and tearing it to pieces, ſaid to him, 'So 'ſhall thy government be rent from thee and thy houſe.'

Friends ſufferings repreſented to Cromwell.

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough wrote a letter to O. Cromwell, and his council, complaining of, and warning them againſt perſecution, as being what would draw down God's anger againſt them.

E. Burrough writes to him againſt perſecution.

Several copies of the ſaid letter were delivered to Oliver, and his council; and ſome months after E. Burrough wrote the following letter to him:

To the PROTECTOR:

FRIEND,

He writes again, and offers anſwers to whatever may be objected againſt the Quakers.

THE ſalutation of my life wiſheth well unto thee in the Lord, and moſt eſpecially that thy precious ſoul may be redeemed out of death to God, and live, that thou mayſt have a reſt and habitation in him, when this world is no more.

Now whereas it is a general out-cry among the teachers and people of this nation, and alſo is doubted, and hath been ſometimes objected by thyſelf, 'that the people called Quakers, are 'deluded, and deceived, and in error, and ſuch like:' and now, if it be poſſible, that thyſelf and others may be reſolved concerning us; put therefore all thy objections and doubtings into plain poſitions, or let the wiſeſt of thy teachers do it for thee; and whatſoever thyſelf, or any for thee, can object againſt us, or what thou doubteſt of, or ſtumbleſt at, either in reſpect of our doctrines, or practice, let the matter be ſtated in plain words, in poſitions, or queries; and if God permit, a ſufficient anſwer thou mayſt receive, to remove all conſcientious ſcruples, and to confound all ſubtle alledgments and evaſions, whereby hereafter for ever thou mayſt be altogether inexcuſable of all doubting, or ſpeaking againſt us, or ſuffering evil to be done, or ſpoken againſt us upon that account. And this I am moved to give forth, and ſend to thee, that thou mayſt be ſatisfied, and all things tried and made manifeſt in the ſight of all men, and that all raſh judgment, and falſe ſuppoſition, which lodgeth in the hearts of many, may be confounded and brought to nought; and let it be left off, to cry out deceivers and hereſy, &c. and cauſing any to ſuffer on ſuſpicion thereupon, but bring all things to light, and true judgment, that what is proved to be the truth may be owned, and not perſecuted any more; for we are willing to be made manifeſt to all men; and if any thing be objected againſt us, which may not be ſufficiently anſwered, and reſolved to ſober men, then our enemies are more free, and have whereof to glory in againſt us: but if all occaſion of ſtumbling be removed by anſwers, according to the ſcriptures, and our principles, practices, and doctrines thereby vindicated, then let all the teachers, and all our adverſaries, ſhut their mouths from biting at us, and railing againſt us, and accuſing of us to thee; and let thy ear be ſhut from believing lies againſt the innocent; and let none ſuffer in thy dominion under the cruelty of men, upon ſuch a ground. Hereof I ſhall be glad

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This was delivered to his hands at Hampton-Court, in the 4th month, 1658. E. B.

And again to warn him againſt oppreſſion.

I never underſtood that any thing of moment followed upon this: but about two months after he wrote another letter to Cromwell, which was delivered to him at Hampton-Court in the 6th month:

To the PROTECTOR:

FRIEND,

KNOW that there is a God that doth whatſoever he will, all power is in his hand, and he bringeth to paſs the counſel of his own heart, and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and ſetteth up; he killeth and maketh alive; and he changeth times, and ſeaſons, and governments, and bringeth to nought the counſels of men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in him, and all his doings are right, and his ways are equal; and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter, he can honour and exalt as he pleaſeth, and he can marr, and break to pieces, and diſhonour whenſoever he will; wherefore be humble and low in heart before him, for he is the higheſt power that ſubdueth all things under his feet: if he wound, who can heal? and if he kill, there is none can make alive; and know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death, and he it is who can break thee down, and build thee up, who can wound thee and reſtore thee, and bring thee to deſtruction, and ſay unto thee return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c.

Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou ſhalt have thy reward; and ſeek his honour, and he will honour thee: and let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, and power, and preſence in thee, to quench all that which is contrary, and then thou wilt be bleſſed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continueſt in thy oppreſſion, the Lord will ſuddenly ſmite thee.

By a friend unto thee in the Lord,

E. B.

That the Lord according to this prediction, did ſuddenly ſmite Cromwell, time verified; for he lived but about a month after the receipt of the ſaid letter. And that E. Burrough tenderly loved him, appears to me from ſeveral circumſtances, and the ardent deſire he had for his eternal welfare, occaſioned this plain language to him.

G. Fox alſo writes a warning to Cromwell.

G. Fox alſo wrote to him, 'that it was not improbable, that 'becauſe of his wickedneſs, the Lord might once raiſe the Royal-'iſts againſt him, to be inſtruments of executing his wrath, as 'once Cromwell himſelf had been an inſtrument to their over-'throw.' And a very ſhort time before his death, G. Fox went to

to Hampton-Court, to ſpeak with him about the ſufferings of his friends. With this intention, he met him riding into Hampton-Court-Park, and before he came at him, according to his relation, he perceived a waft of death go forth againſt him; and coming to him, he looked like a dead man. So after G. Fox had laid the ſufferings of his friends before him, and had warned him, Oliver bid him come to his houſe: whereupon G. Fox went to Kingſton, and the next day came to Hampton-Court again; but there he underſtood that the Protector was ſick; and Dr. Harvey told him, 'that the doctors were not willing that he ſhould ſpeak with the Pro-'tector.' So he paſſed away, and never ſaw Oliver Cromwell any more, who, ſince the death of his daughter, the lady Claypole, had been diſtempered, and troubled with a malignant humour in his foot, which, when his phyſicians endeavoured to diſperſe, they drove upward (as was ſaid) to his heart; and being ſeized with a violent fever, he grew weaker and weaker; yet his preachers endeavoured to conceal the danger he was in; and it is reported that Dr. Goodwin, one of his chaplains, in a prayer during the time of his ſickneſs, made uſe of this expreſſion, 'Lord, we beg 'not for his recovery, for that thou haſt already granted, and aſ-'ſured us of; but for his ſpeedy recovery.' Whilſt the Protector was ſick, E. Burrough wrote the following letter to his wife and children, &c:

1658.

Speaks with him at Hampton-Court;

Is invited to his houſe, but ſees him no more.

The Protector taken ill.

Vain preſumption of one of his chaplains.

Edward Burrough's letter to Cromwell's wife and children.

FRIENDS,

REMEMBER, that by the Lord you were raiſed from a low ſtate, and when he will he can abaſe you, and bring you down; he gave you the palace of princes, and threw out them before you.

O! remember this every one of you, and come to the witneſs of God in you, and be humble, and meek, and lowly, and let the Lord's fear be in your hearts, and be of a tender ſpirit, having your minds exerciſed in purity, in holineſs, and in righteouſneſs; and exalt not yourſelves, nor be lifted up in your hearts, in the pride, and vain-glories, and honours of this world, leſt the Lord caſt you down, and make your name and poſterity a reproach, as he hath done many before you; and if you walk in the ſame ſteps, and do the ſame things, and become guilty of the ſame abominations, and ſuffer the children and ſervants of the Lord to be perſecuted (as many are at this day, ſome until death) ſhall the Lord ſpare you? Nay, he will cauſe you to feel his hand of judgment, and bring you down with ſorrow, and he will vex you in his wrath, and ſmite you with his rod more and more, till you learn his fear, and depart from all your iniquities; and the Lord will deface your glory, and pull down your crown; and he will make you know, that he is Lord, that doth whatſoever he will.

Wherefore humble yourſelves under the hand of God, and ſearch your own hearts, and caſt out the abominations that vex the ſpirit of the Lord; and ſuffer not the people of the Lord's precious flock to be devoured, and made a prey to the wicked; for becauſe of this, the rod of affliction cometh upon you, and may ſuddenly break you to pieces: but mind the ſeed of God in

you,

1658. you, which is oppreſſed, and wait to know the power of the Lord, which will redeem you out of ſin and death, and reconcile you to God, and bring you into fellowſhip with himſelf, to enjoy peace and reſt for your ſouls, that you may be made heirs of the inheritance of an endleſs life, and this would make you truly honourable, and will be more ſatisfaction to you, and joy, and content, and true rejoicing, than all worldly crowns, and worldly glories, which will waſte and conſume away, and leave you miſerable: and remember that you are now warned from the Lord God by whom I am moved to write this unto you, in dear and tender love to you all; and one day you ſhall witneſs it.

And as concerning the Quakers, ſo called, who are accounted as vile in the ſight of men, and are caſt out of all power and place in the nation, being deſpiſed of all, and alſo are reproached, perſecuted, and impriſoned, and all manner of evil and injuſtice unrighteouſly done and ſpoken againſt them, by wicked and corrupt men in authority; yet are they the children and ſervants of the living God, and greatly beloved of him, and are as dear to him as the apple of his eye, and his power and preſence is with them; and the time is at hand, that the Lord will make their perſecutors fall, and their enemies bow and tremble, though now they ſuffer unjuſtly, and are trodden down, as not deſerving a place on the earth; yet it is for righteouſneſs-ſake, and becauſe they ſhew forth the image of the Father, and not for evil-doing: and will not their ſufferings lie upon you? for many hundreds have ſuffered cruel and great things, and ſome the loſs of life (though not by, yet in the name of the Protector;) and about an hundred at this preſent day lie in holes, and dungeons, and priſons, up and down the nation; and ſome at this time are ſick, nigh unto death, whoſe ſufferings cry for vengeance, and the Lord heareth the cry: wherefore ſave yourſelves, and let the innocent be delivered, and the cruel bonds of oppreſſion broken, and the exerciſe of a pure conſcience go free, without perſecution; and then the Lord will turn away his anger, and ceaſe to ſmite you with his rod, which hath been upon you; and he will give you peace, and make you bleſſed, if you come to be led by his ſpirit into all truth.

And though theſe innocent lambs of Chriſt ſuffer thus under this preſent power, yet are they not enemies to you, but are friends to your perſons and families, and pity you, and love you, and deſire well for you in the Lord, that you may repent, and be healed, and even that your hearts may be opened to receive refreſhments to your ſouls, and that you may be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs and truth over all your enemies, and may not be confounded, nor your poſterity brought into reproach, which is haſtening upon you: and though our love be deſpiſed, and we accounted hateful in your ſight, and looked upon with deriſion, yet we bear all things in patience, truly deſiring your returning and repentance, and not your deſtruction: but if theſe doleful ſufferings of the Lord's poor lambs be continued by this preſent power, it will deſtroy you, and undo you, and break you, and confound you; and the Lord will not ceaſe to ſmite you with his rod of ſharp rebukes; and he will make you know, his people's

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Cromwell was ſnatched away by death at unawares; however the day before his deceaſe this letter was delivered to his relations. It was not but in the laſt period of his life that he named his ſon Richard to be his ſucceſſor. And when death looked in his face, remorſe did not ſtay behind; for, according to what Ludlow relates, he ſeemed above all concerned for the reproaches (he ſaid) men would caſt upon his name, in trampling on his aſhes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon, on the third of September, at the age of about fifty-five years. The news of his death being brought to thoſe who were met together to pray for him, one Sterry ſtood up, and ſaid, 'this is good news; becauſe if he was of great uſe to the 'people of God when he was amongſt us, now he will be much 'more ſo, being aſcended to heaven; there to intercede for us.' O horrid flattery! thus I call it, if he had been the greateſt ſaint on earth; which he came much ſhort of, though he was once endued with ſome eminent virtues. His dying day was remarkable by a moſt grievous tempeſt, not only in England, but alſo in the Low-Countries, where trees were torn out of the ground by the violence of the wind, and many ſhips foundered. 'He was,' ſaith Edward earl of Clarendon, 'one of thoſe perſons whom even 'his enemies could not vilify without praiſing him.' And I have heard impartial men ſay, that in the beginning of his atchievements, he was indeed an excellent man; but being come to a high ſtation, he ſoon loſt that zeal for the publick welfare, by which at firſt he ſeemed to be animated.

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1658.

His eldeſt ſon Richard proclaimed;

After his death, Richard, eldeſt ſon to Oliver, was proclaimed Protector of the common-wealth; to whom E. Burrough wrote a letter, ſuperſcribed 'to Richard Cromwell, choſen to be Protector 'and chief magiſtrate,' &c. wherein he gave him ſome account of the moſt cruel ſufferings of his friends; and ſpeaking of the rulers, he ſaith thus:

To whom E. Burrough repreſents the cruel ſufferings of friends.

'As for magiſtracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread, and 'terror and limit to evil-doers, and to be a defence and praiſe to 'all that do well: to condemn the guilty, and to juſtify the guilt-'leſs; but the exerciſe thereof at this day in theſe nations is dege-'nerated, and ſome that are in authority are greatly corrupted, 'and regard not the juſt and pure law of God, to judge only 'thereby; but oppreſs the poor by injuſtice, and ſubvert the good 'laws of God and men to a wrong end and uſe, abuſing authority, 'and turning the ſword againſt the juſt, whereby true judgment 'is turned backward, and the innocent made unjuſtly to ſuffer for 'righteouſneſs-ſake, through the corruption of men in authority; 'and didſt thou but know what we know in this particular, it 'would pierce thy heart: why? it is frequent among ſome of 'the judges and magiſtrates, to commit a man to priſon, and im-'poſe ſome great fine upon him, and to caſt him into a dungeon, 'or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long ſeaſon, for no 'other offence, or breach of any law, but becauſe he cannot put 'off his hat to them, and reſpect their perſons, by the hat or 'bowing his knee: and many others that fear God, and for 'conſcience-ſake cannot ſwear upon a book, by kiſſing it, and 'laying hands upon it, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, *ſwear not at all*; 'though they deny not to ſpeak and do the truth in all things, as 'in the preſence of God and all men: and many others, that be-'cauſe they are moved to cry againſt ſin, and declare againſt the 'iniquities of the times in teachers, rulers, and people, that 'highly abound, perhaps in a market, or ſteeple-houſe, or high-'way, or other places, as they are moved of God: and many 'others, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they cannot pay tithes, nor 'give money and wages to maintain a prieſt, or falſe teacher, 'that they receive no profit by; or to maintain a ſteeple-houſe, 'where the world worſhips in vain traditions, and not in the ſpirit 'and power of God: and many have been taken out of peaceable 'meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord; and ſome 'out of their inns and friends houſes; and many have been taken 'on the way, travelling about their lawful occaſions; and ſome 'from their callings and labours; and for theſe cauſes, through the 'envy of wicked men, and without any juſt conviction of the 'breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have 'hundreds of juſt men, being wholly innocent, been ſent to pri-'ſon, and lain many months, and ſome for years, or whipped, 'or put in the ſtocks, and grievouſly abuſed by cruel executioners 'of wicked mens envy and injuſtice; and upon ſuch grounds 'only, and for ſuch cauſes mentioned, and without the tranſ-'greſſion of any juſt law, have and do at this day many hundreds 'of faithful ſubjects ſuffer hard and cruel things, long and ſore 'impriſonment, and cruel and ſharp whipping, and ſtocking,

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'and unjuſt baniſhment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it's 'hard to be expreſſed, and large to be declared, how many of the 'Lord's ſervants do, and have ſuffered great injuſtice in theſe na- 'tions, through the abuſe of good government, and degeneration 'of magiſtracy, from its perfect ſtate and place, whereunto it was 'ordained of God in the beginning,' &c.

This remonſtrance, how powerful and large ſoever, had not its due effect; but perſecution continued, without being ſtopped by him: for the churchmen fawned upon him, calling him not only their Joſhua, but the preachers of Suffolk ſaid in their addreſs to him, 'though our ſun is gone down, yet no night enſued. Sol 'occubuit nox nulla ſecuta eſt.'

Suffolk preachers addreſs to Richard.

About this time was given forth a paper, called, 'The Church 'Faith;' and G. Fox having got a copy of it before it was pub- 'liſhed, wrote an anſwer to it; and when the book of the Church Faith appeared, his anſwer was alſo in print. This ſo incenſed ſome of the parliament-men, that one of them told G. Fox, 'they 'muſt have him to Smithfield.' To which he anſwered, 'that he 'was over their fires, and feared them not:' and further aſked, 'whether all people had been without a faith theſe ſixteen hundred 'years, that now the prieſts muſt make them one? And ſince Chriſt 'Jeſus was the author of the apoſtles faith, and of the church's 'faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs faith, ſhould 'not all people look unto him to be the author and finiſher of 'their faith, and not unto the prieſts.' Nothing material was anſwered to this; but the prieſts called G. Fox's friends, 'Houſe- 'Creepers,' becauſe they met together in houſes, and would not maintain the prieſts temples. One major Wiggan, that was preſent when G. Fox diſcourſed with the parliament-man, ſaid, 'Chriſt had taken away the guilt of ſin, but had left the power 'of ſin remaining in us.' G. Fox told him, 'that this was 'ſtrange doctrine; for Chriſt came to deſtroy the Devil and his 'works, and the power of ſin, and ſo to cleanſe men from ſin.'

G. F. anſwers a paper called Church Faith.

Confutes major Wiggan.

Now there was great perſecution, both by impriſonment, and breaking up of meetings; and many died in priſons: for the prieſts ſpeaking evil of the Quakers, it did kindle the inſolency of the rabble not a little, ſo that they did not ſtick to throw ſquibs into the meetings, to caſt rotten eggs on thoſe that were met, to beat on drums and kettles, and ſo to make a hideous noiſe, and to abuſe people moſt grievouſly with blows and violent puſhes.

Great perſecution.

One day there being a meeting appointed near London, they beat and abuſed about eighty perſons that came out of the city to meet there, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds. The next firſt-day of the week after this, G. Fox, though at that time very weak, went thither, and preaching with the bible in his hand, he ſhewed the rude people their, and their teachers fruits, and how diſagreeable theſe mad actions were to the doctrine contained in the holy ſcriptures. Many of his impriſoned friends were now brought up to London to be tried by the committee; where ſir Henry Vane, being chairman, would not ſuffer them to come in, except they would put off their hats. But ſince many of them had been im-

G. F. preaches and ſhews rude people the fruits of their preachers doctrine.

H. Vane, at firſt refuſes friends admittance

priſoned

1658. without putting off their hats, till prevailed on by others.

priſoned upon contempts, (as the not putting off hats before the magiſtrates was called) others ſignified, that it muſt not be expected that now they ſhould comply; and ſo through the mediation of ſome that perſuaded Vane, they were at length admitted; where they ſo well defended their cauſe, that ſeveral were ſet at liberty.

Sufferings growing now very ſharp, G. Fox, to encourage his friends, wrote the following lines to them.

An encouraging letter of G. F.

'My dear friends, every where ſcattered abroad, in priſon, or 'out of priſon, fear not, becauſe of the reports of ſufferings; let 'not the evil ſpies of the good land make you afraid; if they tell 'you, the walls are high, and that there be Anakims in the land; 'for at the blowing of the rams-horns did the walls of Jericho fall 'down; and they that brought the evil report, periſhed in the 'wilderneſs. But dwell ye in the faith, patience, and hope, hav-'ing the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and 'having the oath of God, his covenant, Chriſt Jeſus, which di-'vides the waters aſunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; 'in that ſtand, and ye will ſee all things work together for good, 'to them that love God; and in that triumph when ſufferings 'come, whatever they be: your faith, your ſhield, your helmet, 'your armour you have on; ye are ready to ſkip over a moun-'tain, or a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep wa-'ters, though they be heaps upon heaps: for the evil ſpies of the 'good land may preach up hardneſs, but Caleb, which ſignifies 'an heart, and Joſhua, a Saviour, triumph over all. G. F.'

There was at that time great diſcord among thoſe that were at the helm of government; and G. Fox relates, that he did then foreſee the king's coming in again; and that therefore when ſome forward ſpirits, who frequented the meetings of his friends, would have bought Somerſet-Houſe to keep meetings in, he diſſuaded them from it. There came alſo a woman to him, who having (as ſhe ſaid) had a revelation concerning the reſtoring of king Charles, three years before he came in, ſaid, ſhe muſt go to him to declare it: but G. Fox adviſed her to keep this revelation to herſelf, ſince if ſhe went on ſuch a meſſage, it would have been counted treaſon.

He foreſees the reſtoration.

Some inclined to buy Somerſet-houſe to meet in.

Cromwell's image laid in ſtate,

How the corps of Oliver Cromwell was laid in Somerſet-Houſe to be ſeen, hath been ſaid already; but afterwards an image of him lying there in ſtate, was accompanied with trumpeters, who ſounded over the ſaid image. This vanity ſo grieved G. Fox, that he wrote the following lines to the authors thereof:

Which grieves G. F.

'Oh friends, what are ye doing! and what mean ye to ſound 'before an image! will not all ſober people think, ye are like mad people? Oh, how am I grieved with your abominations! O how 'am I wearied! My ſoul is wearied with you, ſaith the Lord, Will 'I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh 'how have ye plucked down, and ſet up! Oh, how are your hearts 'made whole, and not rent! And how are ye turned to fooleries! 'Which things in times paſt ye ſtood over: therefore how have 'ye left my dread, ſaith the Lord! O, therefore fear, and repent,

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'leſt the ſnare and the pit take you all. The great day of the 1658.
'Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the ſwift hand of
'the Lord is turned againſt them all. The ſober people in the na-
'tion ſtand amazed at your doings, and are aſhamed, as if you
'would bring in Popery. G. F.'

Sometime after this the funeral of O. Cromwell was ſolemnized with very great pomp, not at all agreeable to that condition he once was in; for the time was when he would have abhorred ſuch an idolatrous honour as was now paid to his image. On the day of this pompous funeral, which was the twenty-third of November, it happened that Edward Burrough came riding from Kingſton into London, not knowing any thing of what was done there. As he entered at Charing-Croſs, he beheld a great multitude of people thronging exceedingly, the ſtreets being filled as far as he could ſee, and abundance gazing at the windows, and upon the balconies, and houſe-tops. There were alſo guards of horſe and foot, that ſtopped his horſe, and it was told him, that he might not paſs that way. Yet he did not know what was the matter; but at length he perceived that Cromwell's image, richly adorned, was to be carried that way towards Weſtminſter. The conſideration of this, was like an arrow which pierced his breaſt: and becauſe of this idolatry, he felt ſuch a fire kindled in him, that he was, as it were, filled with the indignation of the Lord, whoſe fury ran through him, to cry, 'Plagues, plagues, and vengeance 'againſt the authors of this abomination.' Nay, ſo ardent was his zeal, that if he had been moved to it, and it had been poſſible to have done it, he could, (not at all minding his own life) have ridden through the guards, and multitude, to have ſounded the judgments of God againſt the idolaters. And conſidering that all this ſinful idolatry was about the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, 'Alas for him,' ſaid Burrough within himſelf, 'who was once a 'great inſtrument in the hand of the Lord, to break down many 'idolatrous images! Did not the Lord once ſtir up his heart againſt 'all ſuch things? and did not once his children, officers, ſoldiers, 'and army, pull down all the images and croſſes, and all ſuch-like 'popiſh ſtuff, where-ever they met with it? what grievous and 'abominable work is this? have they now made a coſtly image of 'him? and are ſuch as were once his ſoldiers now guarding it, 'and watching over it, and his children and officers following 'it, and multitudes of the inhabitants of London wondering and 'gazing after an image of him? this is ſad, and great pity: what 'a change is this in ſo ſhort a time!'

E. Burrough meets Oliver's funeral pomp, which ſorely grieves him, and occaſions his giving forth a teſtimony in print.

This zealous teſtimony E. Burrough cauſed to be printed, whereby he raiſed to himſelf a more laſting monument, than by the erecting of a ſtatue was made to his quondam friend O. Cromwell. Now ſince the perſecution of E. Burrough's friends (notwithſtanding what he had written to Richard Cromwell) did not ceaſe, and that all exhortations and warnings were rejected, E. Burrough in the month December wrote the following lines to Richard and his council.

E. Burrough writes to Richard the Protector and his council.

1658.

A prophetic letter.

To the Protector, and his council,

THE Lord God will ſhortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter, yet our King of righteouſneſs will break you to pieces, if you, harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw thee, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments ſhall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation ſhall lie upon your conſciences, and you will be ſcattered and diſtracted to pieces.

E. BURROUGH.

Richard reſigns.

How ſoon this prediction was fulfilled, we ſhall ſee in the next year; for it was but a few months after the delivering of this letter, when Richard laid down the government.

New-England perſecution continued.

In the mean-while we will take again a view of the perſecution in New-England. There was, as hath been ſaid already, a fine ſettled of five ſhillings a week to be paid for not coming to church, as it was called. And thus from time to time occaſion was found to uſe cruelty againſt the inhabitants, though none of thoſe called Quakers came from abroad. William Shattock a ſhoemaker at Boſton, being on a firſt-day of the week, found in his houſe, inſtead of coming to the publick worſhip, was haled to the houſe of correction, where, at his firſt entrance, he was cruelly whipped, and then kept to work, whilſt his wife and innocent children were in want becauſe of his abſence. In the mean-time the deputy-governor Richard Bellingham did not ſtick to ſay to William's wife, that ſince he was poor, and could not pay five ſhillings a week for not coming to church, they would continue him in priſon. Thus was verified that ſaying of Solomon, *Cruel are the mercies of the wicked.* Bellingham alſo endeavoured to perſuade this woman, that what her huſband had done, was to be rid of her, and therefore adviſed her to diſown him. Now theſe perſecutors began to have abundance of buſineſs: and taking away of goods, and cruel whippings became almoſt daily work, which was performed without regard of age or ſex; all which to relate would exceed my limits.

W. Shattock cruelly whipped.

Barbarous uſage of Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh.

Two women, named Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, being come to Boſton, and having in the publick meeting-place, after the lecture was ended, ſpoken a few words, were brought to the houſe of correction, and three days before their being whipped, and three days after, were kept from victuals, though they had offered to pay for them. And when Sarah afterward aſked the governor, John Endicot, 'whether this was juſtice or equity?' adding, 'that by this all might ſee that God was with them, that 'they were thus preſerved without food; and if they periſhed, 'their blood would fall heavy on thoſe that were the occaſion 'thereof.' He anſwered, 'that he mattered it not.'

A girl whipped, and a woman who prays for her perſecutors.

Not long after Hored Gardner, an inhabitant of Newport in Rhode-Iſland, came with her ſucking babe, and a girl to carry it to Weymouth; from whence, for being a Quaker, ſhe was hurried to Boſton, where both ſhe, and the girl were whipped with a three fold knotted whip. After whipping, the woman kneeled down, and prayed the Lord 'to forgive thoſe perſecutors:' which

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ſo reached a woman that ſtood by, that ſhe ſaid, 'Surely ſhe 'could not have done this, if it had not been by the ſpirit of 'the Lord.' 1658.

But when ſhould I have done, if I would deſcribe all the whippings inflicted on the Quakers ſo called, in thoſe parts! for now a law was made, which furniſhed continual work to the perſecutors there. The contents thereof were, 'That whoſoever of the inha- Cruel laws. 'bitants ſhould directly or indirectly cauſe any of the Quakers to 'come into that juriſdiction, he ſhould forfeit an hundred pounds 'to the country, and be committed to priſon, there to remain till 'the penalty ſhould be ſatisfied. And whoſoever ſhould entertain 'them, knowing them to be ſo, ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings to 'the country for every hour's entertaining or concealment, and be 'committed to priſon till the forfeiture ſhould be fully paid and 'ſatisfied. And further, that all and every of thoſe people that 'ſhould ariſe among them there, ſhould be dealt withal, and ſuf- 'fer the like puniſhment as the laws provided for thoſe that came 'in, viz. that for the firſt offence, if a male, one of his ears 'ſhould be cut off, and he kept at work in the houſe of correction, 'till he ſhould be ſent away on his own charge. For the ſecond, 'the other ear, and be kept in the houſe of correction as aforeſaid. 'If a woman, then to be ſeverely whipped, and kept as aforeſaid, 'as the male for the firſt; and for the ſecond offence to be dealt 'withal as the firſt. And for the third, he or ſhe ſhould have 'their tongues bored through with an hot iron, and be kept in 'the houſe of correction, cloſe at work, till they be ſent away on 'their own charge.'

In the latter part of the fifth month, it came to paſs, that Wil- Will. Brend liam Brend and William Leddra, having been at Salem, came to Newberry, where at the houſe of one Robert Adams they had a conference with the prieſt, in the preſence of captain Geriſh, who had promiſed that they ſhould not ſuffer: but after the conference was ended, the captain would not let them go, but on promiſe preſently to depart the town. Which being loth to comply with, as they were on their way, they were ſent for back, and captain Geriſh riding after them, commanded them to return; which they refuſing, he compelled them thereunto, and ſent them with a conſtable to Salem; where being brought before the magiſtrates, they were aſked 'whether they were Quakers?' To which they anſwered, 'that they were ſuch that were in ſcorn called ſo.' Next it was objected to them, 'that they maintained dangerous 'errors.' They aſking what theſe were, it was told them, 'that 'they not only denied that Chriſt at Jeruſalem had ſuffered on the 'croſs, but alſo that they denied the holy ſcriptures.' They boldly contradicted this, and ſaid, 'they owned no other Jeſus but he 'that had ſuffered death at Jeruſalem, and that they alſo owned 'the ſcriptures.' and William Leddra have a conference with a prieſt;

Now although nothing could be objected againſt this, yet they were carried to the houſe of correction, as ſuch who, according to the law made at Boſton, might not come into thoſe parts. Some days after they were carried to Boſton, where in the next month they were brought into the houſe of correction, to work there. Are ſent to the houſe of correction, and cruelly uſed.

1658. there. But they unwilling to ſubmit thereto, the gaoler, who ſought his profit from the work of his priſoners, would not give them victuals, though they offered to pay for them. But he told them, 'it was not their money, but their labour he deſired.' Thus he kept them five days without food, and then with a three-corded whip gave them twenty blows. An hour after he told them, 'they might go out, if they would pay the marſhal that 'was to lead them out of the country.' They judging it very unreaſonable to pay money for being baniſhed, refuſed this; but yet ſaid, 'that if the priſon door was ſet open they would go away.'

The next day the gaoler came to W. Brend, a man in years, and put him in irons, neck and heels ſo cloſe together, that there was no more room left between each, than for the lock that faſtened them. Thus he kept him from five in the morning, till after nine at night, being the ſpace of ſixteen hours. The next morning he brought him to the mill to work, but Brend refuſing, the gaoler took a pitched rope about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms, with as much force as he could, ſo that the rope untwiſted; and then going away, he came again with another rope that was thicker and ſtronger, and told Brend, 'that he would cauſe him to bow to the law of the coun-'try, and make him work.' Brend judged this not only unreaſonable in the higheſt degree, ſince he had committed no evil; but he was alſo altogether unable to work; for he wanted ſtrength for want of food, having been kept five days without eating, and whipped alſo, and now thus unmercifully beaten with a rope. But this inhuman gaoler relented not, but began to beat anew with his pitched rope on this bruiſed body, and foaming at his mouth like a mad-man, with violence laid fourſcore and ſeventeen blows more on him, as other priſoners that beheld it with compaſſion, have told; and if his ſtrength, and his rope had not failed him, he would have laid on more; he threatened alſo to give him the next morning as many blows more. But a higher power, who ſets limits even to the raging ſea, and hath ſaid, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further*, alſo limited this butcherly fellow, who was yet impudently ſtout enough to ſay his morning-prayer. To what a moſt terrible condition theſe blows brought the body of Brend, (who becauſe of the great heat of the weather, had nothing but a ſerge caſſock upon his ſhirt) may eaſily be conceived; his back and arms were bruiſed and black, and the blood hanging as in bags under his arms; and ſo into one was his fleſh beaten, that the ſign of a particular blow could not be ſeen; for all was become as a jelly. His body being thus cruelly tortured he lay down upon the boards, ſo extremely weakened, that the natural parts decaying, and ſtrength quite failing, his body turned cold: there ſeemed as it were a ſtruggle between life and death, his ſenſes were ſtopped; and he had for ſome time neither ſeeing, feeling, nor hearing: till at length a divine power prevailing, life broke through death, and the breath of the Lord was breathed into his noſtrils.

Barbarous inhumanity.

Now the noiſe of this cruelty ſpread among the people in the town, and cauſed ſuch a cry, that the governor ſent his ſurgeon to the priſon to ſee what might be done: but the ſurgeon found the

the body of Brend in ſuch a deplorable condition, that, as one without hopes he ſaid, 'his fleſh would rot from off his bones, ere the 'bruiſed parts could be brought to digeſt.' This ſo exaſperated the people, that the magiſtrates to prevent a tumult, ſet up a paper on their meeting-houſe door, and up and down the ſtreets, as it were to ſhew their diſlike of this abominable, and moſt barbarous cruelty; and ſaid, the gaoler ſhould be dealt withal the next court. But this paper was ſoon taken down again upon the inſtigation of the high prieſt, John Norton, (who having from the beginning been a fierce promoter of the perſecution,) now did not ſtick to ſay, 'W. Brend endeavoured to beat our goſpel-ordinances black and 'blue; if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but juſt upon 'him; and I will appear in his behalf that did ſo.' It is therefore not much to be wondered at, that theſe preciſe and bigotted magiſtrates, who would be looked upon to be eminent for piety, were ſo cruel in perſecuting, ſince their chief teacher thus wickedly encouraged them to it.

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The magiſtrates ſeem to relent in their cruelty.

But are confirmed therein by their prieſt John Norton.

In the mean-while it pleaſed God, even miraculouſly to heal W. Brend, and to keep him alive: but as if the hearts of theſe perſecutors were more hardened thereby, to ſhew themſelves obedient followers of their teacher, they made an order, that the gaoler, if the Quakers that were in his cuſtody refuſed to work, ſhould whip them twice a week, the firſt time with ten laſhes, the next time with fifteen, and ſo at each time with three more, till they would work. This was performed on four perſons, two of which were William Leddra and John Rouſe, who may be mentioned hereafter. And to keep the paſſionate gaoler within due bounds, forſooth, it was ordered that each time he ſhould warn two conſtables to ſee the execution. But how little moderation was truly meant, and that this was more like a jeſt, may appear in that the gaoler the firſt time laid fifteen laſhes a-piece on the ſaid perſons, and ſo added five ſtripes to the firſt number of ten.

It happened about this time, that ſome of the people called Quakers that lived there, being had before the magiſtrates, it was demanded by one of them, 'how they might know a Quaker?' To which Simon Broadſtreet, one of the magiſtrates anſwered, 'Thou art one, for coming in with thy hat on.' Which made the other reply, 'It was a horrible thing to make ſuch cruel laws, 'to whip and cut off ears, and bore through the tongue, for not 'putting off the hat.' Then one of the bench ſaid, 'that the 'Quakers held forth blaſphemies at their meetings.' To which one of the others deſired, 'to make ſuch a thing appear, if it 'were ſo; that they might be convinced:' and further, 'that 'they ſhould do well to ſend ſome to their meetings, that they 'might hear, and give account of what was done and ſpoken 'there; and not conclude of a thing they knew not.' But, ſaid major general Deniſon, 'If ye meet together, and ſay any thing, 'we may conclude that ye ſpeak blaſphemy.' A very ſtrange ſyllogiſm indeed. No better (to prove perſecution lawful) was the argument of Charles Chanſey, chief teacher at the univerſity, who in a ſermon at Boſton, argued thus, 'Suppoſe you ſhould 'catch ſix wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed

To ſpeak in a meeting deemed blaſphemy in Quakers, and they to be treated as wolves.

1658. 'either ſheep or lambs; and now ye have them they will neither 'bark nor bite; yet they have the plain marks of wolves, and 'therefore ye knock them down.' A baſe expreſſion, thus to compare man to a beaſt; for God ſaid in plain terms to Noah, *Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* But theſe perſecutors thought there was ſtreſs enough in it, to call the Quakers wolves; and to make one paſs for a Quaker, they counted it a ſufficient proof, when they ſaw he did not put off his hat to men: knock him down, 'tis a wolf.

Several fined. And if the hat was not found fault with, ſomething elſe was thought on; for at Salem twelve perſons were fined forty pounds nineteen ſhillings, for not coming to church; and of others much money was extorted, becauſe their wives abſented themſelves from the publick worſhip. William Marſton of Hampton, was fined ten pounds for two books found in his houſe, viz. John Lilburn's 'Reſurrection,' and W. Dewſbury's 'Mighty day of the Lord.' Thus theſe people did whatever they would, without any regard to the laws in Old England: and when once ſome priſoners appealed to it, the governor John Endicot, and his deputy Bellingham cried 'No appeal to England! No appeal to England.' And they ſeemed to fear nothing for what they did to the Quakers; according to what major general Deniſon ſaid in open court, 'this year 'you'll go and complain to the parliament; the next year they'll 'ſend ſome to ſee how things go; and in the third year the go-'vernment will be changed.' Now they not at all caring for Old

Trial by a jury refuſed. England, denied alſo the priſoners their requeſt of being tried according to the laws of that realm, by a jury. And the rulers dealing thus arbitrarily, the gaoler of the houſe of correction did the like; for when ſome of his priſoners ſhewed themſelves not unwilling to work, provided that their families ſhould have ſomething of the gain, he would not allow that, unleſs they paid him eight pence for every twelve pence gain: and when they refuſed this, the whipping-poſt was his refuge.

J. Copeland and C. Holder taken up; But to go on: in the foregoing year mention was made of John Copeland and Chriſtopher Holder: theſe coming in the ſixth month to Dedham, lodged there one night; but the next day were taken up by a conſtable, and carried to Boſton, where being brought before the governor, he ſaid in a rage, 'Ye ſhall be

Alſo J. Rouſe. 'ſure to have your ears cut off.' Not long after, John Rouſe came again to Boſton, but was ſhortly after taken, and committed to priſon. On the ſeventeenth of September, he, with Holder and Copeland, were brought before the magiſtrates in the court,

All three brought before the magiſtrates in Boſton, and what paſſed there. where the deputy governor told them, 'that they in contempt of 'the magiſtrates and miniſters being come there again to ſeduce 'the people, might know that whatever befel them, whether the 'loſs of their ears, or of their lives, their blood would be upon 'their own heads.' They denying this, and ſaying, 'that the 'Lord had ſent them thither,' the governor Endicot ſaid, 'you 'are greater enemies to us, than thoſe that come openly; ſince 'under pretence of peace, you come to poiſon the people.' Being aſked for proof that the Lord had ſent them, they replied, 'that 'it was ſome kind of proof the Lord had ſent them; becauſe

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'they met with ſuch an entertainment as Chriſt had told his diſ-
'ciples, would be meted to them for his name-ſake, viz. whipping,'
&c. To this major-general Deniſon ſaid, 'then when malefactors
'are whipped, they ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake.' Then John Rouſe,
whoſe father was a lieutenant-colonel in Barbados, ſaid, 'If we
'were evil-doers, the judgments of God would be heavier upon
'us than thoſe we ſuffer by you.' To which major Deniſon re-
plied, 'Mr. Rouſe, (for ſo I may call you, having heard your
'father is a gentleman) what judgment of God do you look for
'greater than is upon you, to be driven from your father's houſe,
'and to run about here as a vagabond, with a company of de-
'ceivers, except you look for a halter?' To this Rouſe ſaid, 'I
'was not driven from my father's houſe, but in obedience to the
'Lord I left it; and when the Lord ſhall have cleared me of this
'land, I ſhall return to it again.' Then Endicot called to the
ſecretary to read the law, who thereupon read this clauſe in it,
'that if any that had ſuffered the law, ſhould preſume to return
'again, they ſhould have one of their ears cut off.' Some more
words were ſpoken, and among the reſt, Endicot ſaid, 'the Qua-
'kers have nothing to prove their commiſſion by, but the ſpirit
'within them, and that is the Devil.' And when one of the pri-
ſoners ſaid, 'We have ſeen ſome of your laws, that have many
'ſcriptures in the margent; but what example have you in ſcrip-
'ture for cutting off ears?' Endicot aſked, 'What ſcripture is
'there for hanging?' To which Deniſon ſaid ſcoffing, 'Yes, they
'would be crucified.' Then Endicot called the three priſoners by
name, and ſaid in great paſſion, 'It is the ſentence of the court,
'that you three have each of you his right ear cut off by the
'hangman.' Then they were carried to the priſon, and on the
ſixteenth of September, the marſhal's deputy came thither, letting
as many come in as he thought meet; and when the doors were
made faſt, the ſaid marſhal read the following order:

Sentenced to have their right ears cut off.

'To the marſhal general, or to his deputy. You are to take with
'you the executioner, and repair to the houſe of correction, and
'there ſee him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Chriſto-
'pher Holder, and John Rouſe, Quakers; in execution of the
'ſentence of the court of aſſiſtants, for the breach of the law,
'entitled Quakers.

'EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*'

Then the priſoners were brought into another room, where John
Rouſe ſaid to the marſhal, 'We have appealed to the chief magiſ-
'trate of England.' To which he anſwered, 'he had nothing to
'do with that.' Holder ſaid, 'Such execution as this ſhould be
'done publickly, and not in private; for this was contrary to the
'law of England.' But captain Oliver replied, 'We do it in pri-
'vate to keep you from tattling.' Then the executioner took Hol-
der, and when he had turned aſide his hair, and was going to cut
off his ear, the marſhal turned his back on him, which made
Rouſe ſay, 'turn about and ſee it;' for ſo was his order. The
marſhal then, though filled with fear, turned, and ſaid, 'Yes,
'yes, let us look on it.' Rouſe, who was more undaunted than
his perſecutor, ſuffered the like, as well as the third, and they

The ſentence executed in private.

'ſaid

1658.

ſaid, 'Thoſe that do it ignorantly, we deſire from our hearts the 'Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciouſly, let 'our blood be upon their heads; and ſuch ſhall know in the day 'of account, that every drop of our blood ſhall be as heavy upon 'them as a mill-ſtone.' Afterwards theſe perſons were whipped again; but this practice becoming ſo common in New-England as if it was but play, I wont detain my reader with it.

And they are afterwards whipped again. Perſecution advances.

Perſecution being now come to the cutting off of ears, did not ſtop there, but went higher, and reſted not, before it came to the taking away of lives. But to compaſs that proved very difficult; for there were many honeſt people who abhorred ſuch a cruelty. Yet John Norton, and the other prieſts, petitioned the magiſtrates to cauſe the court to make ſome law to baniſh the Quakers, upon pain of death. This gave encouragement to the magiſtrates, for ſince the churchmen puſhed on ſo wicked a buſineſs, no ſcruple was made to go on with this bloody work: and the court of magiſtrates voted it to be put in execution by a country court, which three magiſtrates made up, the majority of which might hang at pleaſure, without trial by a jury; a thing not heard of in Old England: but it ſerved the purpoſe of Norton, and his fellow preachers. The court where this law was made, conſiſted of twenty-five perſons; and when it was put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative, the ſpeaker and eleven being on the negative, but thirteen on the affirmative, ſo that one vote carried it. This ſo troubled one Wozel, when he heard it, having through illneſs been abſent, that he got to the court, and weeping for grief, that his abſence ſhould occaſion ſuch a law to paſs, ſaid, 'if he had 'not been able to go, he would have crept upon his knees, rather 'than it ſhould have paſſed.' But what he ſaid proved in vain; they had now paſſed the Rubicon, and what was eagerly deſired, was obtained. Yet there was a great difference in the court, and the twelve that had voted in the negative, reſolved to enter their diſſents to that law; which the others ſeeing, and that ſo many difficulties would weaken their law, they admitted this addition, 'to be tried by a ſpecial jury;' though a ſtanding law of the country contained, 'that none be ſentenced to death and ba-'niſhment, but by a ſpecial jury, and a court of aſſiſtants;' and ſuch a court conſiſted of ſeven magiſtrates at the leaſt. But it was now reſolved, to proſecute the Quakers to death; and all this trial, when it came to it, was but, 'whether they were Quakers?' which they judged by their coming in covered; 'and that they 'had been baniſhed out of the country.' Now to enter upon this bloody buſineſs, the following act was made at a general court, held at Boſton, the 20th of October, in this year, 1658.

J. Norton and other prieſts, petitioned for a law to baniſh Quakers, on pain of death.

That law put to the vote, and carried by one voice only.

An ACT *made at a general court, held at Boſton, the 20th of October*, 1658.

An act for baniſhment of Quakers, on pain of death.

WHEREAS there is a pernicious ſect (commonly called Quakers) lately riſen, who by word and writing have publiſhed and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable cuſtoms of our nation, in giving civil reſpect to equals, or reverence to ſuperiors,

ſuperiors, whoſe actions tend to undermine the civil government, and alſo to deſtroy the order of the churches, by denying all eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowſhip, allowed and approved by all orthodox profeſſors of the truth, and inſtead thereof, and in oppoſition thereunto, frequently meeting themſelves, inſinuating themſelves into the minds of the ſimple, or ſuch as are leaſt affected to the order and government of church and common-wealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithſtanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtruſions, to diſſeminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this juriſdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin. 1658.

For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every perſon, or perſons, of the curſed ſect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this juriſdiction, ſhall be apprehended without warrant, where no magiſtrate is at hand, by any conſtable, commiſſioner, or ſelect man, and conveyed from conſtable to conſtable, to the next magiſtrate, who ſhall commit the ſaid perſon to cloſe priſon, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of aſſiſtants, where they ſhall have a legal trial: and being convicted to be of the ſect of the Quakers, ſhall be ſentenced to be baniſhed upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this juriſdiction, being convicted to be of the aforeſaid ſect, either by taking up, publiſhing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the ſtirring up mutiny, ſedition, or rebellion againſt the government, or by taking up their abſurd and deſtructive practices, viz. denying civil reſpect to equals and ſuperiors, and withdrawing from our church-aſſemblies, and inſtead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in oppoſition to our church-order; or by adhering to, or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, that are oppoſite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to diſaffect others to civil government, and church orders; or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court againſt the Quakers, manifeſting thereby their complying with thoſe, whoſe deſign is to overthrow the order eſtabliſhed in church and ſtate, every ſuch perſon, upon conviction before the ſaid court of aſſiſtants, in manner as aforeſaid, ſhall be committed to cloſe priſon for one month, and then unleſs they chooſe voluntarily to depart this juriſdiction, ſhall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where, continuing obſtinate, and refuſing to retract and reform the aforeſaid opinions, they ſhall be ſentenced to baniſhment upon pain of death; and any one magiſtrate, upon information given him of any ſuch perſon, ſhall cauſe him to be apprehended, and ſhall commit any ſuch perſon to priſon, according to his diſcretion, until he come to trial, as aforeſaid.

Here endeth this ſanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, than to the laws of a reformed chriſ-

1658. tian magiſtracy, conſiſting of ſuch, who themſelves to ſhun perſecution (which was but a ſmall fine for not frequenting the publick worſhip) had left Old England. This act was anſwered by Francis Howgil, and the ſaid anſwer publiſhed in print, wherein was plainly ſhewn, that it ſpoke the language of the ancient perſecuting Jews and Heathen. In the ſequel we ſhall ſee the bloody execution of it upon ſome perſons.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

1659. Publick affairs. IN the fore part of the year 1659 there was great diſcord, and ſeveral factions among the people in England; for ſome adhered to the Protector Richard, and others to the chief members of the long parliament; and the Royaliſts made alſo a party. G. Fox being under a concern leſt ſome young or raw people, who ſometimes came amongſt his friends, might be drawn into ſome of thoſe ſeveral intereſts, wrote an epiſtle, warning ſuch to be careful, and not at all to meddle with any plotting, but to conſider that their warfare was a ſpiritual one, not at all wanting the uſe of carnal weapons.

W. Caton at Amſterdam, meets with difficulties, and is in danger. About this time William Caton came again into Holland, and finding at Amſterdam ſome malicious people, who endeavoured to bring his fellow-believers there into trouble, and to ſtir up the mob againſt them, that ſo the magiſtrates might take occaſion to look upon the Quakers as rioters, adviſed thoſe of that perſuaſion to be circumſpect, and to avoid as much as poſſibly they could the impending ſtorm. In order thereto it was thought meet that their religious meetings, which on the week-days were kept pretty late at night, on the firſt-days of the week ſhould not always be kept in one place, but ſometimes in this, and at other times in another houſe: ſometimes a meeting was kept in an alley, at the town wall, near the regulars-gate, where ſeveral Engliſh people dwelt, from whence it was called the Engliſh alley, and has that name ſtill: hither came very rude company, committing great inſolence. The time before that William Caton was in Holland, he met with an extraordinary rude encounter at the ſaid place, inſomuch that he ſeemed in danger of his life; for ſome wicked people, not daring to do their utmoſt in the houſe where he was, puſhed him out of doors; but then a woman pulled him into her houſe, where he was ſafe, though at firſt he knew not whether he was among friends or foes. I yet well remember this fact, being at that time with my parents in the ſaid diſturbed meeting. Now Caton being a diſcreet and judicious perſon, and perceiving that ſome of his friends there had more of a raſh zeal than true wiſdom, adviſed the moſt moderate of them often to change meeting-places. In the beginning a meeting was kept now and then in St. John's Street, ſo called, and afterwards on Eland's Graff, in an alley, at the houſe of one Richard Langham, and alſo on the Angelier's Graff, in the houſe of my father; and ſome time after in the Engliſh alley aboveſaid,

1659.

aboveſaid, and alſo without the town, near the river Amſtel, in Kuypers Padt, or Cooper's Lane; from whence the meeting was removed in the fore part of this year (if my memory doth not deceive me) into the Verwers Padt, or Dyers Lane, which was then without the city-freedom, and the meeting-place was in a large garret of a tanner's houſe, where oftentimes came abundance of people, and among theſe not a few of the rude rabble. Here the meeting was continued till the year 1663, when that place came into the poſſeſſion of another owner.

W. Ames goes to the court of the Elector Palatine. Is kindly treated by the Elector.

W. Caton after ſome ſtay in Holland, returned again to England. I think it was in this year that William Ames went into Germany, where being come into the Palatinate, he went to Heidelburgh, and came to the court of the prince elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly, even at his own table, and ſeemed not to take offence at Ames's hat, which he kept on, though the lords and others that were in the company ſtood bare-headed. The baron of Helmont, who alſo was at that court, was wont to tell afterwards, that Ames walking once with his hat on next to the prince in his garden, the courtiers aſked the prince, whether they ſhould queſtion Ames for this incivility: but the prince ſaid, 'No, for I did expect that.' At another time the prince made his chaplain and Ames both dine with him, on purpoſe, as it ſeems, that Ames, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occaſion to reprove his chaplain; for at meat he ſuffered his jeſter to come, who playing his tricks, the chaplain was ſilent: but Ames, who loved gravity, and was averſe to jeſting, took occaſion from thence to reprove ſuch vain actions; but chiefly he aimed at the chaplain, whom, becauſe of his ſilence at the lewd behaviour of the jeſter, he called, 'A dumb dog;' which ſeemed to pleaſe the prince.

At Krieſheim Baptiſts receive his doctrine, and after ſettle in Pennſylvania before the wars.

Now whilſt William Ames was in the Palatinate, he got acquaintance with the Baptiſts at Krieſheim, a town not far from Worms; and among thoſe people he found ſuch entrance, that ſome families receiving the doctrine he preached, bore a publick teſtimony for it there, and ſo continued till the ſettlement of Pennſylvania in America, when they unanimouſly went thither, not as it ſeemed without a ſingular direction of Providence; for not long after, a war enſued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waſte by the French, and thouſands of people were bereft of their poſſeſſions, and reduced to poverty.

He is favoured by the Elector and his ſiſter.

But to return to Ames, when ſome in the Palatinate began to give an ear to his preaching, a fine was ſettled upon thoſe that gave him entertainment: but the prince elector being informed hereof, took off that fine; and though thoſe of the conſiſtory did ſend for Ames, the prince generouſly ordered them not to meddle with him. The prince's ſiſter alſo behaved herſelf very kindly towards him, and received his exhortations favourably.

Ames with J. Higgins again kindly received by the Elector.

A year afterwards Ames came into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and viſiting the prince elector, he underſtood from the captain of the prince's guard, that the prince was glad of Ames's return thither. A while after Higgins delivered to the prince elector a book of G. Fox's, with a letter of Ames to the ſaid prince, who

1659. who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he bad Higgins to thank Ames on his behalf, ſaying alſo that he took the coming of Ames and Higgins to him and his family very kindly, and really believed that what they ſpoke, was in love to their ſouls.

As afterwards others of their friends from England. Ames travels to Dantzick and Poland.

Several years after this, ſome others of Ames's friends from England viſited the aforeſaid prince elector, and he always (to his praiſe be it ſaid) received them kindly. W. Ames, who was at ſundry times in Germany, came not only to Hamburgh, but travelled alſo through Bohemia to Dantzick, and from thence to Poland. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with ſome that received the truth he preached; but in Poland people were too rude and haughty, to get entrance among them.

At Rotterdam is confined to Bedlam; The occaſion thereof.

In the fore part of this year W. Ames being at Rotterdam in Holland, was confined there in Bedlam; which having made a great noiſe, I'll give a brief relation of it here. At Moordrecht, a village near Gouda, lived at that time one Martin Martinſon, a cooper by trade; this man approving the doctrine preached by Ames at Rotterdam and elſewhere, began to aſſert it as truth; and ſeeing now and then he with ſome of his ſober neighbours kept a meeting at his houſe, this cauſed a great ſtir in the town, inſomuch that ſometimes he ſuffered rude treatment from the people. Ames coming once there, and keeping a meeting in Martin's houſe, great inſolence was committed by the wicked rabble. And going from thence to paſs over the water to Gouwerek, he was followed by a multitude of riotous people, both young and old, with a hideous cry of 'Quake! Quake! Quake!' and was pelted with ſtones and clods, till he came to the boat that carried him over. The preacher of Gouwerek hearing the noiſe, came to the boat, and aſked, 'what the matter was, why people made ſuch a 'ſad noiſe?' To which Ames anſwered, 'It ſeems the people are 'not taught better.' To which the preacher returned, 'they are 'not uſed to make ſuch ado againſt honeſt people; but I believe 'you to be a deceiving wolf, that comes among the ſheep to ſe-'duce them, and that therefore they cry ſo.' 'Prove this,' replied Ames. 'I dont know you,' ſaid the preacher. 'Learn then,' returned Ames, 'better manners, than to call one thou knoweſt 'not, a wolf and a deceiver.' And ſo going his way, ſhortly after he wrote from Rotterdam to Martin, and bad him to go to the preacher, and deſire him to appoint a time to prove 'that 'Ames was a deceiving wolf.' But to this the preacher ſhewed himſelf backward; yet to be rid of Martin he ſaid at length, 'Come, I'll prove it preſently.' But Martin replied, 'I am not 'come for that; but this muſt be done to Ames;' and inſiſting thereon, 'Well,' ſaid the preacher, 'let him come next Sunday 'before noon after ſermon; then I'll prove it publickly before 'all the people.'

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and known by ſome, who committed much violence upon the houſe of Martin, where Ames was entered. The next day it was reported that ſome of the ſheriff's men of Gouda were come to Gouwerek to apprehend Ames when he came there; and at Moordrecht the dikegrave's men came to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo they took Ames priſoner, and carried him to Rotterdam, where he was locked up in Bedlam, as a madman. And a week after Martin, for having kept meetings at his houſe, where not above eight perſons were come together, was alſo by the dikegrave's men taken priſoner in his houſe, and carried to Rotterdam, where he was locked up with Ames. Who were the inſtigators of this buſineſs is plain enough, though I don't mention them. 1659.

M. Martinſon alſo taken up and confined.

After Ames had been not much above three weeks in Bedlam, the deputy-governor of the houſe, on the 27th of the month about night, came to him and Martin, and ſaid, 'If I was in your place, 'I would go out.' Which made Ames aſk, 'whether he would 'ſuffer them to do ſo?' To which he anſwered, 'that he ſhould 'not hinder them.' Then Ames returned, 'I won't be reputed 'as one that broke priſon.' To which the deputy replied, 'Nay, 'why ſhould you be reputed ſo? You may go out freely; all is 'unlocked, and the door will ſtand open for you: for the gover-'nors are not minded that you ſhould ſtay here.' Then Ames ſaid, 'Well, I intend to go out to-morrow.' The next day Martin's wife came to ſee her huſband; but the deputy told her, that he had an order in writing from the dikegrave, that rather than to let Martin's wife come to him, he might let him and Ames go out together. The iſſue was, that they were both let out that morning, it being the 28th of the month. But they ſtaid at Rotterdam, intending not to depart the town before they had given notice to the dikegrave of their being let out; leſt occaſion might be given for ſaying that they had broken priſon. And it was not without reaſon they were ſo cautious: for the next day in the morning the deputy came to them and ſaid, 'I deſire that you won't bring me 'into trouble, for I am an ancient man; and the dikegrave hath 'been with me, and aſked for you: to which I anſwered, that 'you were gone out; but he took this very ill. I deſire therefore 'that you would ſay that you were gone out without my know-'ledge.' But this was not to be expected from Ames, whom I knew ſo well, that I truly believe he would rather have died than to have ſpoken a lie: for in ſuch a caſe he was without queſtion of the ſame mind as formerly Chriſtian Languedul, uncle of my grandmother by the mother's ſide, who, when at Antwerp, he, with other martyrs, was led to the ſtake to be burnt, cried out undauntedly, 'If we would once but have told a lie, we might 'have eſcaped this.' But to return to Ames, he told the deputy, 'that he himſelf intended to go and ſpeak with the dikegrave; 'and if he was diſpleaſed at their going out, he might put them 'in again where they had been; for they would not have the 'name of priſon-breakers.'

Then they both went to the dikegrave, and told him after what manner they were come out; ſaying alſo that they would not have it ſaid that they broke out. 'That name,' ſaid the dikegrave, 'you

Their diſcourſe with the dikegrave.

1659. who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he bad Higgins to thank Ames on his behalf, ſaying alſo that he took the coming of Ames and Higgins to him and his family very kindly, and really believed that what they ſpoke, was in love to their ſouls.

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and known by ſome, who committed much violence upon the houſe of Martin, where Ames was entered. The next day it was reported that ſome of the ſheriff's men of Gouda were come to Gouwerek to apprehend Ames when he came there; and at Moordrecht the dikegrave's men came to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo they took Ames priſoner, and carried him to Rotterdam, where he was locked up in Bedlam, as a madman. And a week after Martin, for having kept meetings at his houſe, where not above eight perſons were come together, was alſo by the dikegrave's men taken priſoner in his houſe, and carried to Rotterdam, where he was locked up with Ames. Who were the inſtigators of this buſineſs is plain enough, though I don't mention them. 1659.

M. Martinſon alſo taken up and confined.

After Ames had been not much above three weeks in Bedlam, the deputy-governor of the houſe, on the 27th of the month about night, came to him and Martin, and ſaid, 'If I was in your place, 'I would go out.' Which made Ames aſk, 'whether he would 'ſuffer them to do ſo?' To which he anſwered, 'that he ſhould 'not hinder them.' Then Ames returned, 'I won't be reputed 'as one that broke priſon.' To which the deputy replied, 'Nay, 'why ſhould you be reputed ſo? You may go out freely; all is 'unlocked, and the door will ſtand open for you: for the gover-'nors are not minded that you ſhould ſtay here.' Then Ames ſaid, 'Well, I intend to go out to-morrow.' The next day Martin's wife came to ſee her huſband; but the deputy told her, that he had an order in writing from the dikegrave, that rather than to let Martin's wife come to him, he might let him and Ames go out together. The iſſue was, that they were both let out that morning, it being the 28th of the month. But they ſtaid at Rotterdam, intending not to depart the town before they had given notice to the dikegrave of their being let out; leſt occaſion might be given for ſaying that they had broken priſon. And it was not without reaſon they were ſo cautious: for the next day in the morning the deputy came to them and ſaid, 'I deſire that you won't bring me 'into trouble, for I am an ancient man; and the dikegrave hath 'been with me, and aſked for you: to which I anſwered, that 'you were gone out; but he took this very ill. I deſire therefore 'that you would ſay that you were gone out without my know-'ledge.' But this was not to be expected from Ames, whom I knew ſo well, that I truly believe he would rather have died than to have ſpoken a lie: for in ſuch a caſe he was without queſtion of the ſame mind as formerly Chriſtian Languedul, uncle of my grandmother by the mother's ſide, who, when at Antwerp, he, with other martyrs, was led to the ſtake to be burnt, cried out undauntedly, 'If we would once but have told a lie, we might 'have eſcaped this.' But to return to Ames, he told the deputy, 'that he himſelf intended to go and ſpeak with the dikegrave; 'and if he was diſpleaſed at their going out, he might put them 'in again where they had been; for they would not have the 'name of priſon-breakers.'

Then they both went to the dikegrave, and told him after what manner they were come out; ſaying alſo that they would not have it ſaid that they broke out. 'That name,' ſaid the dikegrave, 'you

Their diſcourſe with the dikegrave.

1659. 'you would have had, if you had departed the town: for the de-
'puty hath told me that you got out by breaking a window.'
After ſome other words were exchanged, he further ſaid, 'I have
'nothing to object againſt your life and converſation, having heard
'nothing concerning you but a good report; neither do I ſeek to
'perſecute you. But would you be willing to return to Bedlam?'
Ames anſwered, 'Here we ſtand before thee; thou mayſt do with
'us according to thy pleaſure. And if thou deſireſt us to return
'thither, we'll do ſo.' The dikegrave ſignifying, 'that this was
'his deſire,' ſaid, 'that they might go and walk in the gallery
'then, till another order came.' And ſo he cauſed his meſſenger
to go along with them. Being come thither, they not long retain-
ed the liberty to walk in the gallery, but on the 31ſt of the month
they were locked up again, each in a hole by himſelf. Now Ames
acquainted the deputy that he heard from the dikegrave, 'that he
'had been informed by him, that they were got out by breaking
'a window.' But the deputy denied to have ſaid ſo. They were
detained there yet ſome time, and were pretty much viſited, and
this often by ſuch as ſought nothing but to ſcoff at them; and
among theſe a certain clergyman did not ſtick to ſay to Ames,
'that he was a deceiver, becauſe he wore pewter buttons, to make
'people believe they were ſilver ones.' Whilſt Ames was confined
here, he wrote ſome papers, which afterwards he publiſhed, and
among theſe a reply to an anſwer of one Jacob Koelman, to
Set at liberty. eighty-three queries given forth by the ſaid Ames; who now be-
ing ſet at liberty, travelled to Germany, as hath been ſaid before,
and from thence going back to his native country, after ſome time
returned again into Holland, as did alſo William Caton.

But now I turn again to England, where an account was pub-
Account of friends ſufferings offered to the parliament. liſhed in print of the ſufferings of the people called Quakers, which
being offered to the parliament, was delivered to the ſpeaker Tho-
mas Bampfield. This contained a relation of above one hundred
and forty perſons, all diſtinguiſhed by their names, who for keep-
ing of meetings, refuſing to ſwear, not putting off their hats, not
paying of tithes, and their travelling up and down the country,
had been taken up and impriſoned, and many alſo been depriv-
ed of their goods, and one and twenty of theſe died either by
R. Sale, a conſtable uſed ſo barbarouſly at Weſt Cheſter that he died. ſickneſs in priſon, or by violent abuſes; among whom was Ri-
chard Sale near Weſt-Cheſter, who being conſtable, had a miniſter
of the people called Quakers brought to him, with a paſs as a va-
gabond, whoſe converſation ſo convinced the conſtable, that he
gave him his paſs and liberty. And becauſe the ſaid Sale judged
both prieſts and people to be exceedingly darkened, he entered up-
on an extraordinary act, to ſhew them by a ſign that they wanted
to be enlightened, viz. he came in the day-time with a lanthorn
and burning candle into the ſteeple-houſe during the ſermon. But
this was reſented to ſuch a high degree, that by order of the may-
or he was put into priſon, and thruſt into a hole called Little Eaſe,
which was ſo ſtrait, that it could not well receive his body; but
he was thruſt in with ſuch violence, that his body was bruiſed, and
he ſpit blood, and ſhortly after grew ſick, and his body ſwelling,
occaſioned by the ſqueezing it into the hole, he died in great pain.

In

1659.

In the before-mentioned account it was alſo ſaid, that in the laſt ſix years, about two thouſand perſons, for being Quakers, had ſuffered in their body and goods. To this was added a paper, ſigned by more than one hundred and ſixty perſons, (ſeveral of whom I knew, whereby they offered to the parliament to put themſelves in the ſtead of their brethren, who were confined either in priſons, or houſes of correction, or in dungeons, ſome being fettered and others lying ſick only on a little ſtraw; wherefore they declared themſelves ready to change places with them, out of true love, that ſo they might go out, and not die by hardſhip, as many had done already, to prevent which, they were willing to take upon themſelves the ſufferings of their brethren, and lay down their lives for them. Under their names they added, 'If we had been 'of Eſau's race, we ſhould have fainted before this time; and if 'we had been of Cain's progeny, we ſhould have fought with his 'weapons; but this never was, neither is it the way of the righte-'ous and choſen, of which we are, from the foundation of the world.' It was in the month called April, that this paper was delivered to the parliament, but I don't find that this offer was accepted, or any thing done for releaſing the impriſoned.

Chriſtian brotherly love amongſt friends.

About this time alſo Edward Burrough publiſhed a paper, containing a very remarkable prediction of what followed the next year, when king Charles the ſecond was placed on the throne. In it he ſaith, that as he was travelling in Warwickſhire in the firſt month, his meditations being upon the Lord, and conſidering what unjuſt and woful ſufferings had been inflicted upon the Lord's people within theſe few years, a cry went through him, 'The Lord 'will be avenged, the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies, and 'he will avenge the cauſe of his people.' This cry ſtuck cloſe upon him, and his heart was even broken therewith, and his ſpirit melted before the Lord, it being as it were ſaid to him, 'Write un-'to the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompence, 'and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a juſt 'recompence for all their deeds; and as they have done, even ſo 'ſhall it be done to them; as they have ſought to deſtroy the gene-'ration of the righteous, even ſo ſhall they be deſtroyed from off 'the face of the earth; and as they have unjuſtly judged and con-'demned the innocent, ſo ſhall they be condemned and juſtly 'judged of the Lord; and as they have caſt the bodies of the poor 'lambs of Chriſt into priſon, and been a ſnare upon them, even 'ſo ſhall they be inſnared, and into captivity ſhall they go. And 'as they have cauſed the goods and poſſeſſions of the innocent to 'be ſpoiled and made a prey, even ſo, in like manner, ſhall the 'curſe of the Lord ſpoil their ſubſtance. And as they have done, 'ſo ſhall it be done unto them; and as they have meted to others, 'ſo ſhall it be meted to them again. And I ſaw a great miſery and 'deſolation nigh at hand, even the ſword of the Lord, and that it 'ſhould ſlay them; and I beheld it was made ready for the ſlaugh-'ter; and in the ſenſe of theſe things a ſadneſs fell upon my ſpi-'rit, conſidering the deſolation and the judgment that is at hand 'to be executed upon the cruel oppreſſors.'

A remarkable prophecy of E. Burrough.

WHEREFORE

1659. WHEREFORE all ye rulers, and all ye that have trodden down the heritage of God, and ye that have diſregarded theſe many warnings that ye have had; I ſay unto you all, in the power of the Lord God, in his dominion, and by his ſpirit, this is once more a warning to you from the Lord, and that theſe things muſt ſurely come to paſs, and be fulfilled in their ſeaſon, and no man ſhall be able to deliver his brother; but every man ſhall bear his own burden, and drink his own cup prepared for him: and tho' it hath been counted a light thing amongſt you, and you have deſpiſed the reproof, and gone on without fear, yet in as much as the Lord hath ſpared you, and not ſpeedily executed judgment upon you, but rather waited for your return; yet the dealing of the Lord towards you, in ſparing of you, you have not accepted; and therefore ſhall his judgments be the greater upon you. For if you do now come to the witneſs in your own conſciences, what evil have this people done? whoſe ox have they taken, or what have they deſired of you? or what have they ſought from you? or wherein have they been a burden to you? ſaving that they have reproved you for your iniquities, and deſired your redemption? would you but now at laſt come to conſider this, and confeſs the truth in your conſciences; will not that tell you, that they have patiently ſuffered all things that you have cruelly impoſed upon them? and have not they walked peaceably towards you, and humbly, meekly and juſtly among their neighbours? and have they not been meek and innocent even as lambs, and as the ſheep before the ſhearers? and have they wrought offences towards any? have they ſought the overthrow of the government, or have they ſought vengeance againſt their enemies? or what injury have they done to any man's perſon, or eſtate, ſaving to Satan and his kingdom? have they not ſought to reform and reclaim the ungodly from their ways? and have they not pitied and prayed for their enemies? and have they not in all things walked in good conſcience towards the Lord, and towards all men? Yea, my friends, in the day of the Lord, when the witneſs in your conſciences ſhall not be limited, but ſhall ſpeak plainly; and when the impartial judge ſhall appear upon his throne, then ſhall you acknowledge theſe things.

Wherefore I ſay unto you, receive the judgment of the Lord to purify you, otherwiſe the judgment ſhall deſtroy you; and now come to be more wiſe, that ſome of you may be as a brand plucked out of the fire, and be reſerved from being conſumed, for the viſitation of the Lord is near an end, when his loving-kindneſs will be ſhut from you, and his long-ſuffering turned into fury; and he will make you know that we are his people with whom ye have thus dealt; yea, you ſhall ſuddenly know it; the time is not long till he will crown his people in the ſight of his enemies; he will crown them with praiſe, and with righteouſneſs, with honour and majeſty, and he will keep them in ſafety, even when ſorrow compaſſes you about; his mercy and loving kindneſs ſhall extend towards them, even when his wrath and judgments ſmite you, and confound you. O! what ſhall I ſay unto you; for the deep ſenſe thereof remains upon my heart; when I conſider, how that in all

ages

ages the Lord did avenge his people's cauſe, and when the time of their ſuffering was expired, he broke the bonds of iniquity, and ſet them free. Thus did he with his people Iſrael of old, and many times it was his way with his people, to bring them low by ſuffering, and then to raiſe them up again in glory; and he ſuffered their enemies for a ſeaſon to glory over them, that he might bring them down. And thus he did in England, in the caſe between the biſhops, and their crew of perſecutors, and the poor people at that day called Puritans: did not he confound that perſecuting crew, and deliver his people? and is not he the ſame to effect the ſame work at this very day? yea, doubtleſs, and much more will he do, in as much as the manifeſtation of truth is more clear than it was in their days; and in as much as the rulers and people of this nation have rejected a more clear teſtimony, than either the Papiſts in queen Mary's days, or the biſhops and prelates in their days; even ſo much the more will the Lord God execute his vengeance with more violence, in a more manifeſt way; and all ſhall know that it is he that doth it, and he will ſet his people free, for he hath regarded their ſufferings, and he hath ſaid it is enough; for he hath tried them, and found them faithful; and all this hath been ſuffered to prove them, and not to deſtroy them: and like as he hath preſerved them in patience and peace through it all, even ſo will he give them hearts to walk anſwerably to their deliverance; and as they have abounded in patience in their ſufferings, ſo ſhall they abound in praiſes everlaſting in the day of their freedom, and the earth ſhall be glad, and ſhall yield the increaſe and bleſſing; the heaven and earth ſhall rejoice, and the hearts of the righteous ſhall leap for joy; when the Lord hath broken the yoke of the oppreſſed, and ſet his people free, inwardly and outwardly; and then ſhall they ſing to the Lord over all their enemies, who ſhall be tormented and vexed in the Lord's ſore diſpleaſure; for their reward cometh, and their recompence ſhall be even as their work, and he will give unto them ſorrow and anguiſh, inſtead of rejoicing. 1659.

But again, when I conſidered the long-ſuffering, and patience, and forbearance of the Lord's innocent people under all their ſufferings; and when I looked at their innocency, and at their righteouſneſs, and ſpirit of holineſs, with which the Lord hath bleſſed them, my heart was made glad in the conſideration of this; and the more was my joy, the more I beheld their innocency, and the guiltleſſneſs of their cauſe, whereby the unjuſtneſs of their ſuffering did the more appear; and withal, when I looked and beheld their increaſe under all their ſufferings, and how that the Lord had turned all theſe things to their good, and to the overthrow of all their enemies; how that by that way, wherein their enemies intended to deſtroy them from being a people, even thereby did the Lord moſt wonderfully increaſe them to be a great people; for through all have they grown in life and power, and in ſtrength, and in number, and through it all have they been encouraged to follow the Lord with more zeal and boldneſs. And in the conſideration of this I did rejoice, with magnifying the Lord for-ever, that he had brought forth his praiſe, even through

1659. the wickedneſs of the wicked, and he had increaſed his people, and exalted them through the cruelty of all their enemies; and that through all oppoſition they were attained unto a happy reſt, and through all the tempeſt of great trials, they were arrived into the harbour of renown and great glory: and when I conſidered this, how that the Lord had given them dominion, and brought their life to reign over all their enemies, theſe things were a joy unto me; and looking back into ages, ſeeing there was nothing, nor any people for generations, that had grown, and riſen through all oppoſition like unto theſe; wherefore it is a ſign and teſtimony that we are the Lord's, and that theſe things are of him, and from him, and by him alone, that he might be praiſed for-ever.

Again, when I do conſider, how that the Lord had raiſed his people, even out of the duſt; and them that were not a people are become a people; and the Lord hath provoked nations by them that were not a people within theſe few years; and the Lord hath carried on this work amongſt his people, not by any thing of man, nor by the arm of fleſh, but in pure innocency and ſimplicity hath it been accompliſhed; not by the wiſdom of this world, nor by men in places of honour, and of power in the nations; for all that has been wanting to them; and what they are, it is through the oppoſition of all this: for they have had none of the great men of the earth on their ſide to defend them, and eſtabliſh them, but all have been againſt them, and even oppreſſion and tyranny executed upon them, rather than any approbation, or juſtification from men in outward authority: ſo that truly it may be ſaid, there hath been nothing of man in this work, but all of the Lord, by his own power, and in a contrary way to all the falſe ſects, and falſe churches, hath the beginning and carrying on of theſe things been; for we know that all the falſe ſects in this nation, have riſen and been eſtabliſhed through the countenance of men in place and power, and upon man, and the wiſdom of this world, and authority of the powers of the earth, hath the riſe and fall of all falſe churches depended: and as the powers of the earth have ſided with them, ſo have they been ſet up; and at the diſpleaſure of authority have been caſt down. But as for this people, they are raiſed of the Lord, and eſtabliſhed by him, even contrary to all men; and they have given their power only to God, and they cannot give their power to any mortal men, to ſtand or fall by any outward authority, and to that they cannot ſeek; but to the Lord alone who heareth their cry, and will avenge their cauſe.

Wherefore let all the perſecutors bow before the Lord, and let all the ſaints walk humbly in his ſight, and let them continue in that innocent life in which they have begun: and let them never forget the mercies of the Lord, and what he hath brought to paſs, who hath manifeſted great things, and will do more and more to the confounding of all his enemies, and to the praiſe of his elect people. And all ye ſaints upon the earth, have ye the Lord in reſpect continually, and turn you not unto idols, but let the Lord be your joy for evermore. E. B.

Not long after the publiſhing of this paper, to wit, in the month called May, Edward Burrough, and Samuel Fiſher, went from

from Dover to Dunkirk, where then was an Engliſh garriſon. Being come there, it quickly ſpread over the town: the governor Lockhart now not being there, his deputy, colonel Alſop, with the council of officers, ſent for them; and they being come were aſked 'what 'their buſineſs was there?' to which they gave anſwer, and the next morning ſignified in writing, that their coming was to viſit the Jeſuits, friars, and prieſts, and other papiſts, to ſhew them the errors of their ways, and the falſeneſs of their worſhip, &c. they being called to preach the everlaſting goſpel to the nations. They were ſome hours in diſcourſe with the ſaid deputy, and the officers, and not unkindly treated; but the deputy however ſaid, 'that it 'would be dangerous for them to ſtay in the town;' and therefore 'he deſired them to depart.' To which their anſwer was, 'that if he deſired them, they could not receive any ſuch deſire; 'and if he commanded them, they could not obey his command 'in that caſe; becauſe they could not depart the town but in the 'will of God; according to which will they came thither.' After much reaſoning they left them, and the next day went to the capuchin friars, and had ſome diſcourſe with the chiefeſt of them in their garden, concerning the light of Chriſt that every man is enlightened withal; and told them, 'that the mighty day of the 'Lord was at hand upon them; and that the Lord was come to 'ſearch and try them; and that he would hew down their idola-'trous ways, worſhips, and works.' The next day Burrough wrote ſome queries to the friars and nuns, in and about that town, which were ſent to them in Latin. The introduction was thus:

1659.

E. Burrough and S. Fiſher viſit Dunkirk.

The end of their going thither.

Diſcourſe with the deputy-governor and officers,

And chief of the capuchins.

Write queries to the friars and nuns.

'The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon you, 'and all the world: awake, awake, ye that ſleep in the earth, for 'the dreadful God is ariſing to plead with you, and to give unto 'all the world the cup of his fierce indignation, becauſe of your 'idolatries and hypocriſies and abominations, which have corrupted the earth, and are come up before him, and have provoked 'him; and the cry of the juſt, who hath been ſmitten, and laid 'ſlain, is entered into the ears of the Moſt High, and his ſword, 'which is the word of his mouth, is awakened to wound and de-'ſtroy all his enemies. And the day of your viſitation is now 'come, wherein the Lord is ſearching you, and trying you, that 'he may recompence you: and this is the word of the Lord to 'you.

'Wherefore I am moved of the Lord to propound ſome few 'queries to you, for the trial of your ſpirits and ways; to which 'I demand your anſwer, that all things may be brought to light 'and true judgment, and that you may be judged juſtly, and by 'the ſpirit of the Lord cleared, or condemned according to your 'deeds.'

Theſe queries were partly concerning the orders of friars and nuns, whether any ſuch were in the church in the apoſtles days; and concerning the popiſh worſhip and ceremonies, demanding proof of their lawfulneſs from the holy ſcriptures. After the delivering of theſe queries to the capuchins, Burrough and Fiſher went alſo to the friars of other orders, and entered into diſcourſe with

Diſcourſe with thoſe of other orders,

1659. with them: but their plain ſpeeches againſt their idolatrous rites and ceremonies, found no entrance. After ſome ſtay in the town, they going to the college of the Jeſuits, got into diſcourſe with their chief rector; and after a conference of about three hours, he grew weary, and pretending other buſineſs, would ſtay no longer with them; and ſo they parted, aſking him, 'whether he would 'admit more diſcourſe at ſome other time?' but he refuſed it. Burrough afterwards wrote a letter to him, which began thus:

And with the chief rector of the Jeſuits.

Writes to him,

'Friend, thy wiſdom and thy knowledge is earthly and ſenſual, 'and thereby canſt thou not know the things of the kingdom of 'God:' and he concluded with this query, 'What is that whore 'that hath ſat upon multitudes of people? and what is that gol-'den cup in her hand? and what are the abominations and forni-'cation of which her cup is full, which ſhe hath cauſed the kings 'and people to drink?' &c.

And concludes with a query.

Neither this, nor others anſwered.

But neither this query, nor the others were anſwered. Burrough and Fiſher did alſo viſit the nuns; and ſpeaking to them through a grate, they aſked, 'if they were of the order of thoſe 'called Quakers;' and ſoon perceiving they were ſuch, they ſaid, 'they might not hear them,' and ſo preſently paſſed away; whereby Burrough and Fiſher were deprived of any opportunity to ſpeak to them; only they witneſſed againſt them. E. Burrough wrote alſo ſome propoſitions to the Jeſuits, prieſts and friars, wherein he particularly repreſented the tyranny of the church of Rome in true colours; and theſe propoſitions were ſent to them in Latin. They ſtaid yet ſome days in town, and had divers meetings among the Engliſh ſoldiers: And Burrough alſo wrote to them, and bid them 'to be faithful to the Lord, and not to ſeek themſelves in their 'ſervice, but the honour of God:' he alſo ſhewed them what their duty was in their military ſtation; and (not to give them too rough a bruſh, but to meet them ſomewhat in their own way; following therein the example of John the Baptiſt, when he ſpoke to the ſoldiers, Luke iii. 14) told them, 'what do you know but 'the Lord may have ſome good work for you to do, if you be 'faithful to him?' And he alſo ſignified to them, 'that ſince the 'Lord one day would avenge the innocent blood ſhed in the pope's 'dominions, and appear againſt Babylon and Rome, the ſeat of 'the whore, and the kingdom of antichriſt, it ſeemed not impro-'bable to him, that the Lord would make way thereto by the Eng-'liſh nation. It is,' ſaid he, 'the Lord's work, I know, to 'make men truly religious; but yet he may work by you, to break 'down the briers and thorns, and the rocks and hills that have 'ſet themſelves againſt the Lord,' &c. He alſo adviſed them, 'if 'ever ſuch a work fell to be their lot, not to be ambitious nor vain-'glorious; but to make it their work to demand the diſannulling 'of the popiſh inquiſition and cruel laws.' And the officers he charged, 'not to be as tyrants and oppreſſors over the poor ſol-'diers, but to be loving and meek, and examples of all goodneſs 'unto them:' to this he added, 'and having no ſin lying up-'on your conſciences, then ſhall ye face your enemies with cou-'rage, and not fear death, but ſhall be ready to lay down your 'lives in a good cauſe.' But leſt any might think he was for the

Propoſitions in Latin ſent to the Jeſuits, &c.

Have meetings among the Engliſh ſoldiers,

E. Burrough writes to them.

His advice to ſoldiers and officers.

bearing

bearing of arms, and not for harmleſſneſs or non-reſiſtance, he told them alſo, that 'the Lord had a more honourable work to work 'after them, viz. to deſtroy the kingdom of the Devil, and the 'ground of wars.' And 'that there was a more honourable vic-'tory to be waited for, to wit, the victory over ſin,' &c. 1659.

Burrough and Fiſher being once ſent for by the governor Lockhart found many officers with him; and after ſome friendly diſcourſe, they adviſed them to moderation and the fear of God, and ſo parted from them. And after having performed their ſervice in the town, they returned to England. Both ſent for by governor Lockhart. Return to England.

Not long after Burrough gave the foreſaid queries out in print, and wrote alſo a paper to the parliament, exhorting thoſe that were members of that aſſembly, to fear God, and not to oppreſs honeſt people, but to free them from oppreſſion and tyranny; 'leſt the Lord come ſuddenly upon them, and break them to pieces.' Burrough writes to the parliament.

The power of the protector Richard Cromwell already declining, he was prevailed upon by the officers of the army to diſſolve this parliament, which began to make inquiry how the ſubſidies were employed: and by the direction of ſome of the chief republicans, the long parliament was called again. This parliament ſet up a committee of ſafety, for apprehending thoſe that diſturbed the peace, and for making an alteration among the military officers, either by caſhiering them, or otherwiſe; and increaſing in power, erected alſo a council of ſtate; and word was ſent to Richard Cromwell, who was now deprived of all power, to remove from Whitehall, which at length he did, the parliament allowing him two thouſand pounds for the charges of removing, and promiſing to pay his debts contracted for the publick: and his brother Henry, who was lord deputy of Ireland, was called back by the parliament. Thus theſe two brothers were again reduced to the ſtate of private men. Affairs of State. R. Cromwell removes from Whitehall.

E. Burrough now wrote a letter to the parliament, and ſeriouſly exhorted them therein, 'to deſiſt from all perſecution for religion, 'and to take away that which gave occaſion thereunto.' About this time there was an inſurrection in Cheſhire for king Charles, under Sir George Booth; who having received a commiſſion from that prince, got ſuch numbers of followers, that he ſeized the city of Cheſter. In the mean-while the parliament ſent Edmund Ludlow to Ireland, to be commander in chief of the army there, inſtead of Henry Cromwell, and general Lambert was ſent with an army againſt Booth. Now ſince ſome raſh people that went under the name of Quakers, were for taking up arms under Lambert, and that the committee of ſafety offered great places and commands to ſome of that perſuaſion, thereby to draw them off from the truth they profeſſed, G. Fox wrote a paper, wherein he ſhewed, 'the unlawfulneſs of wars and fightings, repreſenting it as a work 'not at all becoming the followers of Chriſt: and he exhorted his 'friends not to join with thoſe that took up arms, but to fight 'only with ſpiritual weapons, which took away the occaſion of the 'carnal.' This he alſo recommended in his preaching, for an harmleſs and inoffenſive life, was that which he always aſſerted and practiſed. Booth's inſurrection. G. Fox writes a paper of the unlawfulneſs of wars.

1659.

Booth is defeated, taken, and ſent to the tower.

As for Booth, he was defeated, and endeavouring to make his eſcape in woman's clothes, was diſcovered in an inn, and taken into cuſtody; and being carried to London, by an order of the parliament, he was committed to the tower. The officers of the army, of which George Fleetwood was now commander in chief, were very buſy to get the upperhand of the parliament; which cauſed great diviſion and diſtraction in the nation; for it was well known, that if the ſupreme power was offered up to the army, they then could do what they would; and thus the nation would be governed by the ſword. It was alſo freſh in memory, that it was the army by which Cromwell had been advanced ſo as to become Protector, and ſupreme ruler of the nation: and therefore many oppoſed the deſign on foot.

Contention between the officers of the army and the parliament.

Military officers againſt tithes.

About this time alſo the military officers moved the taking off of the burden of tithes, and to ſettle another maintenance for the national preachers. But being unwilling that the parliament ſhould be maſters of the army, they complained of having been deceived by the parliament; and colonel Deſborough ſaid, 'that 'they had not performed any part of the promiſes they had made 'to the army; that they had taken no care to ſecure a liberty to 'tender conſciences; and that their intention was to remove the 'principal officers, and place others in their commands, who were 'of different principles.'

Now the council of officers was for calling a new parliament; but this met with no ſmall oppoſition. In this buſtle the council of officers began to inſinuate to the clergy, and they agreed with them, that their maintenance by tithes ſhould not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain ſhould be ſettled upon them: that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for thoſe who differed in faith and worſhip from the eſtabliſhed church; but that the Quakers, and ſome others, whoſe principles they ſaid tended to the deſtruction of civil ſociety, ſhould not be tolerated at all. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, when ſome were for, and others againſt the parliament, ſo that it was hardly well known in whom the ſupreme authority reſided, Edward Burrough wrote and publiſhed in print a large ſpeech, which he ſtiled, 'A meſſage to the 'preſent rulers of England, whether committee of ſafety (ſo call-'ed) council of officers, or others whatſoever.' He ſignified by way of introduction, 'that the contents had been upon him to de-'liver by ſpeech and word of mouth, to the men then in power; 'but no way being made for him ſo to do, he had written what 'was upon him.' And then he begins thus with a majeſtic ſtrain:

Quakers, &c. not to be tolerated.

FRIENDS,

E. Burrough's meſſage to the rulers of England.

MY maſter is a high, and mighty, and powerful Prince, and very honourable; and fear, reverence, reſpect and ſubjection belongs to him alone, from you and all mankind; he is wiſe, and underſtanding, and of great ſtrength, and his dominion is from everlaſting to everlaſting, and he can do whatſoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatſoever he ſaith, it is done; for his word is an everlaſting command: if he ſaith to a man, 'live,' it is ſo: if he ſaith to a man 'die,' it cometh to paſs; and if he give peace to

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a man, or a nation, none can make war: and if he make war with a perſon, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace: for why? he hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given; he is the Son of the living God,—the everlaſting Creator: he was, and is, and is to come; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compaſſeth heaven and earth; and what his purpoſe is, he hath always, and will ever bring it to paſs: if he ſet up rulers, they muſt rule; and if he pull them down, none can hinder: whom he will, he honoureth; and if it be his pleaſure, he bringeth men to ſhame: if he break a nation down, none can build it up; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered graſs before him. Behold ye men! he is ſo great and mighty, and of ſo great authority, that whatſoever he ſaith, it is done; and whatſoever he willeth, it cometh to paſs, and none is able to reſiſt him, and overcome his power, when his pleaſure is to accompliſh a work: by him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move, and of his fulneſs every creature in heaven and earth receive. And this, my Maſter, is altogether honourable in birth, and otherwiſe and altogether mighty in all his works; he is juſt and merciful, full of goodneſs, righteouſneſs, and truth; all virtue dwells in him, and his judgment and mercy, his authority and meekneſs, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? or how ſhall ye be able to reſiſt him, or to turn backward what his purpoſe is concerning you, and this nation? for ye have no being nor breath without him. Behold ye men! ye are verily as the duſt before the wind, ſo are ye to him, ſoon blown away, and your place not found; as the graſs before the mower, ſo are ye before him, ſoon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguiſhed; as a potter's veſſel under an iron rod, even ſo are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up; as a drop to the fountain, ſo are you to him, ſoon dried up, and made nothing: wherefore ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant perſons, ſons of a tranſgreſſor, ye duſt and aſhes, for thus you are in compariſon of him, this mighty prince, hearken to his meſſage, which cometh to you from him; hear and fear, and be not ſtout-hearted againſt the Lord God, that is about to ſpeak unto you. 1659.

As for this little iſland of England, wherein your preſent place and being is, it is an iſland which the Lord hath ſhewed great favour unto in ages paſt, and in this preſent time; and I muſt tell you, he hath a purpoſe of love towards it, and to honour it in the view of the world, though through great tribulations; and he hath an intent of great good unto it; for he hath a ſeed, a precious ſeed in it ſcattered abroad, and he hath a people that fear his name, and have walked in his ways, and he hath made them, and elected them, and what they are, it is by him; that he may dwell among them, and have the whole government over them all; yea, he hath a ſpeedy purpoſe verily concerning this nation, and he will purify it in judgment, and refine its inhabitants through the fire of tribulations, that it may be pleaſant to him and fit to do his will: he hath a purpoſe to work ſome great thing in it, I muſt

tell

1659. tell you, as he hath ſaid unto me ſo to do; he will have his name exalted and reverenced in this iſland, and his terror ſhall be ſent out of it through the world, and his branch from it ſhall ſpread over the earth; he doth purpoſe in his ſeaſon to take it into his own hand, and to ſway the government thereof with his own ſcepter, and to ſet up righteouſneſs alone, and to overthrow all oppreſſors and oppreſſions; and the kingdoms of this world muſt become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Chriſt.

True it is, ſuch hath been the coming to paſs of time, and of things, for many ages by-paſt, that my Maſter hath been, as it were, baniſhed from the nation, and hath not been ſuffered to enjoy his right, but hath been expelled, even, as it were, by the force of Satan and Antichriſt, who hath long uſurped authority over the inhabitants of this nation; and in my Maſter's abſence, lamentable injuſtice, cruelty, unmercifulneſs, tyranny, and oppreſſion hath been exerciſed upon the inhabitants, and the poor creatures have been held in great ſlavery by their rulers, that have ruled by the dragon's power, and been kept in great blindneſs and ignorance, and under great oppreſſion, both in body and ſpirit, by antichriſtian teachers for theſe many years, even while the Great King hath been abſent, and as it were gone into a far country; even all this time hath Antichriſt and the Devil ruled and reigned, and have made and executed oppreſſion and tyrannical laws and decrees, both in church and ſtate; and all the nation hath been out of right order, and laid waſte and barren of good fruit, and it hath been as a wilderneſs by reaſon hereof; and men that have ruled for many years, have not ruled ſingly by my Maſter's authority, but by another power, though not without the knowledge of my Lord, neither as though he had not power to have done otherwiſe; but for his own pleaſure he hath ſuffered it thus to be, and let men go on to rule and govern in their own wills, and after their own luſts; and people have walked wickedly towards him, and towards one another; and all this he hath ſuffered, not as if he gave toleration for it; for his meſſengers now and then, and his witneſs in people's conſciences, have been reproving their ungodly ways, and he hath often ſhewed his diſlike by divers ways and tokens, and many judgments, and ſtrange overturning, to the way and proceedings of both rulers, prophets, and teachers of this nation; but yet they have gone on againſt his mind, and contrary to his will, notwithſtanding his reproofs and judgments: not that he had not power to have executed his pleaſure in wrath upon them, and to have deſtroyed them altogether, and to have made the nation a heap, and as nothing long before this day; for power was in his hand to have done it; but he hath been long-ſuffering, and of great patience, and borne all things, and taken the injuſtice, and cruelty, and wickedneſs, and idolatry, and all unrighteouſneſs that hath abounded in the nation upon himſelf, and ſuffered under it, and borne it for its ſeaſon, while woful and lamentable oppreſſions have been practiſed in civil ſtate, even helliſh laws, and deviliſh executors of them; mercileſs tyrants have borne the ſcepter, and reigned for many years over the inhabitants, and in church and ſtate has been heinous idola-

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try and ſuperſtitious vanities committed in a high nature and meaſure, and even all men, and ſtates of men, and orders of men of every degree have been abominably corrupted in the ſight of my Lord, even from the prince to the beggar, even rulers and ſubjects, teachers and people, judges and prophets, they have been corrupted both in heart and hand, and they have dealt falſly and wickedly towards him, and towards one another, even to the great diſpleaſure and vexation of him, and his bleſſed ſpirit, and to the high provocation of him to their own deſtruction, if his long-ſuffering had not prevailed; and all this while he hath lain as it were a ſleep, and at reſt in himſelf; and he hath left men to try them, what they will do, and he hath given them a day; many kings and rulers, he hath let them have a little time, to ſee how they would uſe it, but they have abuſed it and not ruled for him, nor accompliſhed his work, nor fulfilled his will, but acted even in defiance of him, and of his power, and to his great diſhonour. 1659.

Alack! I muſt be plain with you: my Lord hath been utterly exiled, and greatly diſhonoured, and highly provoked and vexed by reaſon of ſuch proceedings, as have been in this nation for theſe many years, through the corruption of all ſorts of men in place and power, who have not ruled for him, but for the Devil to their own corrupted ends; only he hath ſuffered men to go on in their courſe for a ſeaſon; ſome as it were appearing on the ſtage for a time, and ſuddenly caſt down again for their iniquities ſake; and this hand hath been in all theſe things, though very privately and ſecretly, not known and diſcerned by the ſons of men, yet hath he ruled over the kingdoms of men, and pulled down one, and ſet up another. And to forbear the ſeveral actings and proceedings of many by-paſſed ages, and to come to this generation, and to ſpeak of things that have happened within theſe few years, and of the changing and overturning that hath happened in this nation; ſuch was the cruelty, tyranny, oppreſſion and idolatry, both in church and civil ſtate, that the people of this nation were held under, in the days of papal power; ſuch, I ſay, was the exceeding height of the cruelty and tyranny of that time, that not any that feared or reverenced my Lord, in any meaſure, could ſcarce live, or have a being in the nation; even againſt every man that did but incline towards him, and deſire the knowledge of his ways, hell's mouth was opened againſt them, and they were ſwallowed, and many of their lives taken from the earth, by the helliſh power that had in that day uſurped authority in this iſland; and when thus it was, then he looked down from heaven, and his bowels of compaſſion were opened, for the ſake of the oppreſſed people that deſired after him, in ſo much that he broke and threw down the power of their oppreſſors in ſome meaſure, as it ſtood in papal authority, and when the iniquity of that power was filled up, he took vengeance upon it; and I muſt tell you it was he that brought it about, even the deſtroying of that power in this nation, and freeing the nation from it, tho' the men that were inſtruments in the cauſe were not his ſervants, otherwiſe than as Nebuchadnezzar ſerved him; for he hath a ſecret way to have a ſervice from the wicked, and ſuch is his power that

1659. he can turn the wickedneſs of the wicked to his glory, and he can make a rod to whip his adverſaries, and burn it when he hath done, and he hath often deſtroyed one wickedneſs by another.

Well, but to leave that, though he did in ſome meaſure free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty, in the caſting out popiſh authority; yet alack! the nation in a few years was near as much violated by injuſtice and cruelty, under the ſucceeding power, as ever it was once under the papal power; though before there had been ſome ſmall reformation and change in outward appearance, tho' little in ground and nature; yet oppreſſion, and idolatry, and ſuperſtition, in church and ſtate, and all profaneneſs and wickedneſs among people was grown ſo high, like as it had been under the papal power before; and all that deſired after the Lord, and were weary of iniquity, and of the then preſent oppreſſions and idolatries, were perſecuted, and ſlain, and deſtroyed, and injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon them, even almoſt to the rooting out of righteouſneſs, and to the grieving of the Lord's ſpirit: Well then, becauſe of the cry of the people, and the oppreſſion of the nation under that authority, my Lord looked down again, and even for his name's ſake, and for his ſeed's ſake, he had compaſſion on this nation, to ſet it free, and to break off its oppreſſions; and in a great meaſure he did deliver the people of this nation in many things, and there was a part of reformation wrought, and much pretended and looked for; and all this came to paſs through him, and my Lord did accompliſh it, however the inſtruments by which he wrought proved deceitful, and became oppreſſors, as others before them; and though there was in this nation a day of great troubles, and wars, and contention, and great ſtrife, and the waſting of much blood, and earthly treaſure; and none of theſe things, I muſt tell you, fell without the ordering of my Maſter's hand; yet ſo it was, and came to paſs, that after this nation was reſtored to peace, though much unrighteouſneſs and injuſtice was removed, yet there was much alſo left behind; and men that he had uſed as inſtruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wiſdom and underſtanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance; yet they even turned to ſeek themſelves, and became corrupted in the ſpoils of their enemies, and when peace and plenty abounded the Lord was forgotten again; and then the land fell under oppreſſors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the firſt beaſt ſprang up, and went on each of them after his fellow; and though one horn hath ſtriven to break another, yet after one hath been caſt down, another hath riſen, and made an image to the firſt, and ruled and reigned by the ſame ſpirit and authority, derived from the dragon's power in cruelty and oppreſſion, and made laws, and executed them to the diſhonour of the Lord, and to the great oppreſſion of his people, and to the filling of this iſland with injuſtice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, until this day: and thus up and down have times and ſeaſons been altered, powers and authority changed and altered, ſtatutes, laws and decrees, changeable and alterable; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that

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was caſt down, and another had its day, till the meaſure thereof was alſo filled up, that it might partake of the ſame judgments. And in all theſe overturnings, breakings-down and overthrowings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though ſecretly and not diſcerned, yet his power hath brought about, and ſuffered all theſe things to come to paſs; and who ſhall charge him with injuſtice? Or, who ſhall ſay, 'what haſt thou done?' or, 'why haſt thou done it?' for, as I have ſaid, he is a high and mighty prince, and can do whatſoever he will; and he is the ſupreme power and authority, which rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men. And what though he hath uſed wicked men as an inſtrument to accompliſh his work, and made the wicked his rod, and even brought it to paſs, that one wickedneſs ſhould deſtroy another, and one oppreſſor break down another, and the kingdom of antichriſt confound itſelf; yet, what of all theſe things? All fleſh muſt be ſilent before him, and all people, and the whole earth muſt be ſubject unto him; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth is his, and all power and dominion belongeth to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to paſs whatſoever he will, and by whomſoever, as he pleaſeth. 1659.

But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet muſt I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord's meſſage unto you; and as concerning this laſt overturning, there was ſomething of the hand of my Lord in it; and he can and will bring forth his own work and praiſe by it, and it ſhall be for the good of all his people, that wait upon him, though there was much ambition and corrupted ends in the inſtruments, and neither part were perfectly ſingle to the Lord in their proceedings: but their work was tainted with the falſe idolatrous ſpirit of ſelf-ſeeking: yet notwithſtanding, the Lord may bring forth his government, and his pleaſant plant, through and beyond all this, even out of another root, which yet appears not among either of them; and righteouſneſs may ariſe in the nation, contrary to both of them, out of another ſtem, and he will ſet up his kingdom; and in the mean-time, *leave one potſherd of the earth to break another.*

And as for you, that now ſet on the throne and bear rule, whether Committee of Safety (ſo called) chiefly, though it is not without my Maſter; for he hath the knowledge of it, at leaſt; yet you are not the only men of his choice, truly called of him to the place of government, neither is your government the government of the Lamb, neither muſt it be for-ever eſtabliſhed by him; it's foundation is not bleſſed, nor can it's building be proſperous: for why? Alas, it is but another horn of that fourth beaſt, that hath been made to rule over the world, and upon the earth, for many generations, and it is but hitherto a very little refined from the laſt, and is of the laſt, even as the eighth was of the ſeventh, ſpoken of by that ſervant, Rev. xvii. 11. and it may alſo make war with the Lamb and his followers for a little ſeaſon, and it may have a ſmall meaſure of injuſtice and perſecution to bring forth in the land, even till the words of God be fulfilled

1659. filled, and his kingdom be fully come; the way of which is but yet preparing by all theſe overturnings: and this your preſent government originally is leavened with the ſpirit of the old dragon, that hath killed the ſaints, and drank their blood; and, how ſhould the Lord eſtabliſh it?—Nay, your kingdom may prove but ſmall and little, and full of uproars and troubles, and little peace, and ſatisfaction and eſtabliſhment in it to yourſelves, nor the people under you; but confuſion will attend it, and fears will compaſs it about: though this I muſt tell you, as you are men, you have your day of trial what you will do, as many others have had before you; and ſomething you may and ought to do, if but to make the whore (the falſe church) more naked, and to ſcourge her, more than ſome others have done; and indeed my Lord requires ſomething more of you (as ſuch) to do, than others before you could do; and you have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honour, and to the nation's good, and to your own happineſs; which if you be faithful to the Lord, to do what he requires of you, and if you become meek and humble men, and fear his name, and deny yourſelves, and not ſeek your own honours, nor any earthly advantage to yourſelves; —if you do thus, then my Lord will ſhew mercy to you, and you ſhall not ſuddenly fall before your enemies, tho' many may riſe up againſt you; but your days ſhall be lengthened, and the purpoſe of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your ſudden deſtruction; and if you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then ſhall you be honoured as men, if not as an authority, and you and the nation preſerved in peace; and the force of the wicked ſhall be turned backward, and you ſhall not ſuddenly fall. And the late ſundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the ſteps of thoſe that God hath caſt out, leſt you come to the ſame end of confuſion and miſery: for, as concerning that aſſembly of men, that laſt ſat on the throne, ſomething was done by them in their day and time, and in both their aſſemblings, in ſome things they ſerved my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to ſmite his enemies; yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were deſtroyed, but rather joined themſelves to fight againſt the Lord and his people, and were haſtening on towards the way of oppreſſion and perſecution; and it was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aſide as an empty veſſel, ſome time uſeful; and to break them as a rod, ſome time of ſervice to be a ſcourge upon his enemies: and when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being any longer (at preſent) unfit inſtruments for his hand, then he caſt them into the fire; and this his purpoſe came to paſs upon them: ſo that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themſelves ſubject to what he hath done concerning them; for they being entering into the very ſame ſpirit of wickedneſs, of oppreſſion, and perſecution, which the Lord had once reproved through them, and caſt out by them; then was a rod raiſed up againſt them, even as they had been againſt others, and they were dealt withal as they had done to others; and this

The new Committee of Safety (ſo called) is chiefly meant here.

was

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was in the juſtice of my Lord's hand; and what hath mortal man to queſtion his proceedings? And though ſome of you (preſent rulers) be looked upon as great traitors and tyrants in your dealing towards them; and doubtleſs the men of that part will ſeek vengeance againſt you, even by preaching and praying, and they will curſe you in the name of their God, and ſeek continually your deſtruction, as ſuch as have taken away part of their ſtrength, and caſt down their idol; but alas! all this is nothing; for the Lord doth not account as men; for theſe things muſt needs thus come to paſs, for the furtherance of the kingdom and government of Jeſus Chriſt, that it may ariſe through all; and if you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them ſhould not be reckoned on account againſt you, neither by God, nor good men. But if you of the army be always treacherous and diſobedient towards him, and abuſe your power, and diſregard your price, that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and ſuch ſelf-ſeeking matters, and the cauſe of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppreſſed ſufferers under you, as they have long been; even then ſhall you be caſt aſide with ſhameful diſgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord ſhall be upon you in judgment, and you ſhall be ſmitten more than any before you; your eſtates ſhall not be ſpared from the ſpoiler, nor your ſouls from the pit, nor your perſons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe: for if you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cauſe of God, then ſhall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they ſhall charge treachery and treaſon upon you, and your perſons and eſtates ſhall be given for a prey to your enemies; and you ſhall not deliver yourſelves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of mercileſs men; for my Lord ſhall leave the cruel-hearted to plead with you.

A remarkable propheſy.

Wherefore that you may be warned, I adviſe you to be faithful, let not the cauſe of God fall, nor the cauſe of his enemies proſper before you; for there is no other way whereby you can be preſerved, nor no other defence ſhall you ever find from the wrath of the Lord, and from the fury of your devouring enemies, than your faithfulneſs in God's cauſe; and therefore relieve the oppreſſed, and take off all oppreſſions, break down all unjuſt laws, and ſet all people free from unjuſt burdens, and let all oppreſſion ceaſe, both in church and civil ſtate; and even all oppreſſive laws, and unjuſt judges, and evil men in power, let all theſe be removed, and the nation clean quitted and diſcharged even from all men and laws whatſoever, that have held under oppreſſion the perſons, eſtates and conſciences of the good people of this land; and let the nation be corrected, and all orders and places of men, and laws, and decrees be purified; for this my Lord, the Great King, requireth, and he will ſuddenly have it brought to paſs in the nation, if not by you, then contrary to you, and to your utter deſtruction: and this is the very ſubſtance of my meſſage to you, that my Maſter hath given me to ſay unto you; and on his behalf I am come to claim of you my Maſter's long loſt right; let him have his right, from which he hath long been baniſhed: I

1659. demand it of you, all ye whatſoever, that ſeem to bear rule in the nation; I charge you in his name let him have his title and prerogative, let him be Lord and King wholly in his own kingdom, let him have the exerciſe of his people's conſciences by his own ſpirit in all things related to his worſhip and ſervice, and let him have the full authority by his ſpirit in all things pertaining to church, and miniſtry, and faith, and religion; and let his ſpirit have the alone authority to perſuade and diſſuade people from, or to ſuch or ſuch miniſtry, worſhip and practices of religion; and let all forced maintenance to miniſters, and tithes, be ſpeedily taken away; and let all laws and decrees whatſoever, made and practiſed in the days of Antichriſt, upon the bodies, eſtates, and conſciences of the people, in oppreſſion and unjuſtneſs about church, and worſhip, and religion, be utterly repealed, and made void, and never more be in force in this nation: but let my Lord be ſole ruler and governor, and have the full authority in his own kingdom, in all things whatſoever pertaining thereunto; and let no man henceforth hereafter be intruſted with the liberties of the members of Chriſt's kingdom, as they are ſuch, nor to judge over them in any matters of faith and worſhip, but give that right and privilege wholly unto the ſpirit of Jeſus Chriſt; for unto him only it pertaineth, to be whole judge, and to have full power in his own kingdom; and until you give him the right, and deliver up unto him his own kingdom, and the exerciſe of peoples conſciences in all things about RELIGION, you ſhall never proſper, nor none that cometh after you, that ſhall in any meaſure abridge my Maſter of his proper RIGHT, from which he hath long been baniſhed, as I have ſaid; and till his right be given him, in the caſe aforeſaid, he will daſh one man againſt another, and none ſhall ever be eſtabliſhed; but horn after horn ſhall be broken, and one power after another brought into confuſion.

And therefore ye men, do not ſtrive with him in this matter, but yield unto him the exerciſe of your own conſciences by his ſpirit in you, and let him do ſo unto all others, even as ye hope to proſper, and upon the penalty of his ſore diſpleaſure upon you in this world, and in the world to come; and let juſt men, and righteous men, and meek men, and men that have the fear and wiſdom of God in them, without acceptation of birth or otherwiſe; let ſuch men have the power and judgment committed to them, to determine in things between man and man. Down with all the falſe-hearted flatterers that have ruled for man and not for God, and for themſelves, and not for the good of the people; caſt all ſuch out from you; for the good among you is choaked by them: down with all that judge for rewards; and away with all hireling rulers, that execute the law for money, and will not plead the cauſe of the poor without great fees: and down with all that will not ſerve places of truſt without ſo large ſtipends; away with all theſe things out of the land, for they are heinous oppreſſions unto men, and great abominations in the ſight of God, and the land hath long groaned under the weight and burden of theſe things, and the earth is weary of them, and my Lord requires their utter diſſolution, as being iniquities fully ripe, and having

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having the guilt of ſo much cruelty, injuſtice, and oppreſſion lying upon the nation becauſe hereof, therefore is the Lord's ſeaſon to deſtroy them, and remove them out of the land; which if you be the inſtruments in ſuch a work, it will be your greateſt crown, and your perpetual honour; for the Lord's purpoſe is one way or other to cleanſe the land of all theſe and other oppreſſions whatſoever, that the people of this land may be a free people from all the heavy yokes of Antichriſt, which have long ſorely preſſed them down; and the purpoſe of the Lord is to break the yokes of oppreſſion and tyranny from off the necks of this people; and therefore it is that he overturneth, yea, and will overturn all men and authorities that ſhall oppoſe his work, and none ſhall be able to ſtand before him; for the preſence of my Lord is more dreadful to a nation, when he ſhews himſelf in wrath, than any multitude of armed men; and wo is unto you, if you be found oppoſing of him; and if you ſeek to ſtop his work, you ſhall not cumber the earth very long, nor oppreſs the nations many days. Wherefore conſider,—curſed will you be, if you be unfaithful in what you have to do on the Lord's behalf; for your hour paſſeth over that is allotted you, and will be ſuddenly expired, never to be recalled, and then you cannot work.

And whereas there is a great cry about miniſtry, for ſending forth, and maintaining and encouraging a godly miniſtry, as you ſay.

Now to this I do anſwer on my Lord's behalf, and I muſt tell you plainly; as for a true godly miniſtry, truly called and ſent of God, ſuch a miniſtry, and ſuch miniſters, you can never be able to hinder; but the Lord will ſend them out, maintaining them and preſerving them, whether you will or no; and while you are troubling yourſelves about ſuch a matter, you are but meddling with things above your line, and out of your juriſdiction, while you act in ſuch a caſe; for it belongs to his government to ſend out miniſters, whom, and as he will, and to maintain them and defend them according to his own pleaſure, and all this without you; for ſuch miniſters, truly called thereunto, and ſent of the Lord, will not ſeek to you to be ſent forth, or maintained by you, they will not be beholden to you in ſuch a caſe; but even without you, and contrary to you, muſt they be ſent out, and maintained: ſo that the Lord will have a miniſtry in this nation purely of his own, and not of man, nor by man, and ſuch a miniſtry you ſhall not be able to hinder.

And I muſt tell you plainly, as for theſe men called Miniſters, in this nation, the way of their ſetting up, and ſending forth, and the way of their maintenance, and the way of their ſtanding and defence, and in every particular of their being ſuch, they are the greateſt and moſt woful oppreſſion in the nation; even the moſt abominable and unjuſt cruelties and tyrannies are acted through them, of any other thing in the nation; and they are (as ſuch aforeſaid) the woful cauſe of the nation's groaning under mercileſs dealing; and there is upon their account, the guilt of blood, injuſtice, and oppreſſion lying upon this nation; their iniquities, cry for vengeance upon their own heads; for they are full, they are full, and the meaſure thereof is near finiſhed, and

God's

1659. God's eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God. What ſhall I ſay of them, but this? The earth is oppreſſed by them, the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed through them, and they are the very men of high indignation and fierce wrath, and all their practices (as ſuch) are the fewel of his anger, to be conſumed by the fire of his jealouſy; the nation is weary, and its inhabitants, and the Lord is weary, becauſe of theſe men. And is this the miniſtry cried up by you as godly and pious, &c.? Are theſe the men that the nation muſt be forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry? Is this the miniſtry that muſt be encouraged? Well, if theſe be the men, and this the miniſtry which muſt be eſtabliſhed and encouraged by you, in ſo doing you ſhall never proſper, but thereby gain the diſpleaſure of the Almighty unto you, to bring a curſe upon all your doings, even becauſe hereof; for I muſt tell you, the hand of my Lord is againſt them, and whoſoever ſhall ſeek to defend them, ſhall not proſper in their doings, becauſe their oppreſſions, cruelties, deceits, and abominations, are nigh finiſhed and fulfilled: Wherefore take heed unto yourſelves, for this is my Maſter's advice unto you; let this miniſtry alone, and join not yourſelves to Baal, leſt you periſh, neither take part with Antichriſt any longer, neither be ye fighters againſt the Lamb and his kingdom; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed, from the cruel taſks and yokes of ſuch men, and ſuch a miniſtry, as aforeſaid; uphold it not againſt the Lord, for if you do, you ſhall never be eſtabliſhed;—and this is from the mouth of my Lord unto you.

And laſt of all, my Maſter hath a people in this nation, even a ſuffering people, that have borne the burden of the cruelty, and injuſtice, and wickedneſs both of rulers and teachers, who have, as it were, trodden them down, and made them a very prey to their devouring mouths; the very cry of their ſufferings hath reached unto heaven, and the very ſound thereof your ears have heard; and this people are greatly beloved, and my Lord will aſſuredly honour them, and his hand ſhall be continued to preſerve them and defend them againſt all their enemies whatſoever; and he doth reſerve them to himſelf, and for a glorious work that he hath to do by them; and he hath formed them for himſelf, and they cannot join with any of the horns of the great beaſt, neither can a place of honour pervert them from their perfect way; but my Lord, he compaſſeth them about on every ſide, and hath kept them in the midſt of trials, reproaches, and ſufferings, and covered them in the heat, and in the ſtorm, till his pleaſure is to make further uſe of them; they are his, and not their own; and they muſt fulfil his will, and none beſides; and they lie at reſt in him, while mountains are overturned, and while one potſherd of the earth breaks another; and this muſt be even till the appointed time: and to ſay no more of them, tho' much more might be ſaid, they are had in remembrance before the Lord, to do with them even for his own glory, and for this nation's perpetual good; and to the authority of the Moſt High, through them, ſhall kings of the earth, and nations of the world bow and tremble; wherefore ye men, touch them not, neither do ye afflict them, even as you

hope

hope to proſper; remember their cauſe, and ſuffer it not always to be rejected, as it hath long been, but keep yourſelves free from the injuſtice and cruelty of them that have gone before you, who have been mercileſs, and oppreſſors of that people, even till my Lord hath confounded them, and brought them into confuſion; for there is the weight of blood, tyranny and oppreſſion lying upon the nation in that people's cauſe, and my Lord will revenge them in his ſeaſon; and tho' they are not weary of their ſufferings, but are in the patience which beareth all things, yet the nation can never be happy, nor its government ever bleſſed, while this people are held in bondage; and their ſufferings are deeply conſidered of the Lord, and the ſeaſon thereof is expiring towards an end; and when this cometh to paſs, then wo unto the kingdom of Antichriſt, and to the whore and falſe prophet, even when their ſtrength is dried up, by which they have made war againſt the Lamb, and his followers; yea, wo unto them, great fearfulneſs ſhall be upon all the world when the king of that people reigns upon the earth, and the time is at hand; bleſſed is the man that waiteth for it, and bleſſed is he that is not offended in his coming, but is prepared to receive him in his appearing, which ſuddenly cometh upon all the world. 1659.

And thus I have told the Lord's preſent meſſage unto you, which I received from him, and thus far I am clear; and whether you accept it, or reject it, my peace and reward is for-ever with him, who am a ſubject of his kingdom, and a friend to this nation, however otherwiſe judged by ignorant men.

The 9th Month 1659. E. BURROUGH.

Now how ſoon after theſe ſayings of Burrough, 'your eſtates 'ſhall not be ſpared from the ſpoiler, nor your necks from the axe; 'your enemies ſhall charge treaſon upon you, and if you ſeek to 'ſtop the Lord's work, you ſhall not cumber the earth very long,' were fulfilled, we ſhall ſee ſhortly.

About this time alſo he wrote ſeveral epiſtles to his friends, wherein he ſo powerfully exhorted them to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs, that thereby he hath procured to himſelf a name that will never die; as living ſtill in the remembrance of thouſands, tho' he long ago went the way of all fleſh, having laid down his life in bonds for the teſtimony of Jeſus, as will be ſaid in its due place. There's alſo extant a piece of a letter written about this time to the Cavaliers, which, whether done by E. Burrough, or by George Fox the younger, or by George Biſhop, I can't tell; but thus it ſpeaks: 'The very ſame ſpirit of pride and oppreſſion, and idola- 'try, is entered into them, (viz. your enemies) and now lives in 'them in as high a meaſure as ever it lived amongſt you; and 'their iniquities are well nigh finiſhed, and the Lord will one way 'or other correct and reprove them; and they ſhall be dealt with 'in like manner as they have dealt with you; for they were no 'more than a rod in the hand of the Lord for a ſeaſon, and they 'muſt alſo be broken and caſt into the fire; and whether the 'Lord may ever make uſe of you to reprove them, as he did of 'them to reprove you, this I determine not, but leave it to him

A very remarkable letter to the Cavaliers.

1659. 'who can do whatſoever he will, by what inſtrument he pleaſeth. 'It is true, you have made many attempts to be revenged upon 'them, but you have not hitherto proſpered; but could you be 'humbled, and come into the meek ſpirit of the Lord, then might 'you proſper; but hitherto the Lord hath always defeated you, 'and bowed you down under a people as unworthy as others, 'but their time will come to an end. Submit therefore unto the 'will of the Lord in what is come to paſs, and ſeek not vengeance 'to yourſelves; and then the Lord will avenge your cauſe; for 'the iniquities of your adverſaries are ripe.——And Charles Stuart 'muſt either be converted to God, and ruled by him, or elſe he 'can never rightly rule for God in this nation; tho' this I believe, 'it is not impoſſible but that he may be a rod upon them that 'once ſmote him; and their oppreſſions and ambitions may 'receive a check through him.'

S. Criſp goes to preach in Scotland.

Among ſeveral other eminent preachers, Stephen Criſp was now alſo become a publick miniſter of the word of God; and it was about this time that he went to Scotland, to preach the goſpel there, and to edify the churches with his gift.

G. Fox, jun. writes to the army.

G. Fox the younger, this year wrote an exhortation to the military officers, and the army; ſhewing them how they were departed from their firſt integrity, and fallen into pride and wantonneſs.

G. Fox the elder, is at a great meeting at Norwich, where prieſt Townſend oppoſes him:

G. Fox the elder, about the tenth month was at Norwich, where a meeting being appointed, the mayor having got notice of it, intended to have given out a warrant to apprehend him, but he having heard of this, ſent ſome of his friends to the mayor, to ſpeak with him about it. And his anſwer was, 'that he feared 'that ſuch a meeting would cauſe tumults in the town.' But being ſpoken to in a kind way, he behaved himſelf moderately, and a large peaceable meeting was kept; to which, among others, ſeveral prieſts alſo came, and among theſe was one Townſend, who ſtood up and cried, 'Error, blaſphemy,' &c. G. Fox deſired him not to burden himſelf with that which he could not make good. But he aſſerted it to be error and blaſphemy, that G. Fox had ſaid, 'that people muſt wait upon God by his power and 'ſpirit, and feel his preſence when they did not ſpeak words.' On this G. Fox aſked him, 'whether the apoſtles and holy men of 'God, did not hear God ſpeak to them in their ſilence, before 'they ſpake forth the ſcripture, and before it was written?' He replied 'Yes,' and confirmed it, by ſaying plainly, 'that Da-'vid and the prophets did ſo.' Then G. Fox ſhewed the people how abſurd it was, 'that Townſend had called ſuch a practice 'error and blaſphemy.' This ſo puzzled Townſend, that he ſaid, 'O, this is not that George Fox I would ſpeak withal; but 'this is a ſubtle man.' Now when ſome of the auditory called to the prieſt, and bad him, 'prove the blaſphemy and error which 'he had charged G. Fox with,' he went away. And being afterwards ſpoken to by George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn, who were then alſo about Norwich, he was ſoon confounded and brought down.

But is confuted and afterward confounded by G. Whitehead, &c.

The long parliament reſtored.

The committee of ſafety being now in power, Edmund Ludlow continued to urge the reſtoring of the parliament: and general

general Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, aiming at the reſtoration of the king, yet wrote to the ſpeaker, Lenthal, 'that he would act for the parliament, and ſo it was reſtored.' 1659.

G. Fox the younger wrote to this parliament a letter, wherein he told them, 'that their day was turned into darkneſs; and that 'the ſun was gone down over them. Yea, that the decree was 'gone out, and ſealed againſt them, and it could not be recalled:' with many other remarkable expreſſions. He had written at other times to the army, and the parliament, as did alſo Richard Hubberthorn, which to avoid prolixity I paſs by. G. Fox, jun. writes to them prophetically.

Let us now again take a view of the perſecution in New-England. I have already made mention of Lawrence and Caſſandra Southwick, and their ſon Joſiah, of whom more is to be ſaid hereafter; but firſt I'll ſpeak of Daniel and Provided, ſon and daughter of the ſaid Lawrence and Caſſandra. Theſe children ſeeing how unreaſonably their honeſt parents and brother were dealt with, were ſo far from being deterred thereby, that they rather felt themſelves encouraged to follow their ſteps, and not to frequent the aſſemblies of ſuch a perſecuting generation; for which abſence they were fined ten pounds, though it was well known they had no eſtate, their parents being already brought to poverty by their rapacious perſecutors. To get this money, the following order was iſſued in the general court at Boſton. Account of New-England perſecution continued. Daniel and Provided Southwick fined, and ordered to be ſold for payment.

'Whereas Daniel Southwick, and Provided Southwick, ſon and 'daughter of Lawrence Southwick, abſenting themſelves from the 'publick ordinances, have been fined by the courts of Salem and 'Ipſwich, pretending they have no eſtates, and reſolving not to 'work: the court upon peruſal of a law, which was made upon the 'account of debts, in anſwer to what ſhould be done for the ſa-'tisfaction of the fines, reſolves, that the treaſurers of the ſeveral 'counties are, and ſhall be fully impowered to ſell the ſaid perſons 'to any of the Engliſh nation, at Virginia, or Barbados, to 'anſwer the ſaid fines, &c. EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*.'

The ſubject of this order was anſwered effectually at large in print, by G. Biſhop, who ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs of this work very plainly from ſacred writ, as from Amos ii. 6. where the judgments of God are denounced againſt thoſe who *Sold the righteous for ſilver, and the poor for a pair of ſhoes*; and from Levit. xxv. 42. where the making the children of Iſrael bondmen is expreſsly forbidden; this being not lawful, but in the caſe of theft, if the thief had nothing to make ſatisfaction with. But to return to Daniel and Provided, there wanted nothing but the execution of the ſaid order againſt them. Wherefore Edmund Butter, one of the treaſurers, to get ſomething of the booty, ſought out for paſſage, to ſend them to Barbados for ſale; but none were willing to take or carry them: and a certain maſter of a ſhip, to put the thing off, pretended, 'that they would ſpoil 'all the ſhip's company.' To which Butter returned, 'No, 'you need not fear that, for they are poor harmleſs creatures, 'and will not hurt any body.' 'Will they not ſo,' replied the ſhipmaſter? 'and will you offer to make ſlaves of ſuch harmleſs 'creatures?'

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'creatures?' Thus Butter, maugre his wicked intention, the winter being at hand, ſent them home again, to ſhift for themſelves, till he could get a convenient opportunity to ſend them away.

A girl of eleven years ſent to priſon;

It happened alſo in this year, that a girl, about eleven years old, named Patience Scot, whoſe religious mother had been cruelly whipped by theſe people, bore witneſs againſt their wicked perſecution, which ſo incenſed the perſecutors, that they ſent her to priſon; and the child having been examined, ſpoke ſo well to the purpoſe, that ſhe confounded her enemies; ſome of which confeſſed, 'that they had many children, who had been well educat-'ed, and that it were well if they could ſay half ſo much for 'God, as ſhe could for the Devil.' But this child not being of years to be obnoxious to the law, how wicked ſoever they were, it ſeems they could not reſolve to proceed to baniſhment, as they did with others.

Anſwers notably.

All that hitherto I have ſaid of the New-England perſecution, is but curſorily, and only a very ſmall part of thoſe manifold whippings that were inflicted there, beſides the extortions of fines, which were exorbitant to a high degree; as may appear by what was done to William Maſton at Hampton, who was fined ten pounds for two books found in his houſe, five pounds for not frequenting their church, and three pounds beſides, as a due to the prieſt: and he not being free in conſcience to pay this fine, had taken from him what amounted to more than twenty pounds. I find alſo, that not long after this time, above a thouſand pounds was extorted from ſome, only becauſe they had ſeparated themſelves from the perſecuting church: and it ſeems they were deemed ſuch as were ſhut out from the protection of the law; inſomuch that Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth, did not ſtick to ſay, 'that in his conſcience the Quakers were ſuch a 'people, that deſerved to be deſtroyed, they, their wives, and 'children, their houſes and lands, without pity or mercy.' I find alſo that one Humphrey Norton at Newhaven, for being a Quaker, was whipped ſeverely, and burnt in the hand with the letter *H*, to ſignify *Heretick*.

W. Maſton fined unreaſonably.

Exorbitant ſums levied by diſtreſs.

A barbarous expreſſion.

H. Norton burnt in the hand for being a Quaker.

This cruelty of the Engliſh, did alſo ſtir up the Dutch to perſecution: for without inquiring what kind of people the Quakers were, they ſeemed ready to conclude them to be men of pernicious opinions, ſince thoſe of their own nation, who pretended to more purity than other proteſtants, did ſo ſeverely perſecute them.

Dreadful inſtances of cruelty.

It happened that one Robert Hodſhone, being in the Dutch plantation at Hampſtead, had a meeting with ſome of his friends that were Engliſh, and lived there; but as he was walking in an orchard, an officer came and took hold of him, and brought him before one Gilderſleave, an Engliſhman, and a magiſtrate there, who committed him to priſon, and rode to the Dutch governor to acquaint him therewith: and coming back with a guard of muſketeers, the fiſcal ſearched the priſoner, and took away his knife, papers, and bible, and pinioned him, and kept him ſo all night, and the next day. And making inquiry after thoſe that entertained

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tained him, he took into cuſtody two women on that occaſion, one of which had two ſmall children, the one yet ſucking at her breaſt. Then they got a cart and carried the women away in it, and Robert was faſtened to the hinder part of the cart, pinioned, and ſo drawn through the woods in the night ſeaſon, whereby he was much torn and abuſed. And being come to New-Amſterdam, now New-York, he was looſed, and led by the rope, with which he had been faſtened to the cart, to the dungeon, being a filthy place full of vermin; and the two women were carried to another place. Some time after he was examined, there being one captain Willet of Plymouth, who had much incenſed the governor againſt him, who before had been moderate. The concluſion was, that a ſentence was read in Dutch to Robert, to this effect, 'that he was to work two years at the 'wheel-barrow with a negro, or pay, or cauſe to be paid ſix hund-'red guilders.' To this he attempted to make his defence in a ſober way, but was not ſuffered to ſpeak, and ſent to the dungeon again; where no Engliſh were ſuffered to come to him. After ſome days he was taken out, and pinioned, and being ſet with his face towards the court-chamber, his hat was taken off, and another ſentence read to him in Dutch, which he did not underſtand: but that it diſpleaſed many of that nation, did appear by the ſhaking of their heads. Then he was caſt again into the dungeon, where he was kept ſome days.

R. Hodſhone and two women delivered to the Dutch, by the Engliſh, who excite them to perſecution. His cruel and unrighteous ſentence and treatment,

At length, betimes in a morning, he was haled out, and chained to a wheel-barrow, and commanded to work: to which he anſwered, 'he was never brought up, nor uſed to ſuch a work.' Upon which they made a negro to take a pitched rope, nigh four inches about, and to beat him; who did ſo, till Robert fell down. Then they took him up again, and cauſed the negro to beat him with the ſaid rope, until he fell down the ſecond time, and it was believed that he received about one hundred blows. Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the ſun, chained to the wheel-barrow; and his body being much bruiſed and ſwelled with the blows, and he kept without food, grew very faint, and ſat upon the ground, with his mind retired to the Lord, and reſigned to his will, whereby he felt himſelf ſupported. At night he was locked up again in the dungeon; and the next morning he was chained again to the wheel-barrow, and a centinel ſet over him, that none might come ſo much as to ſpeak with him. On the third day he was had forth, and chained in like manner; and no wonder that he ſtill refuſed to work, for beſides the unreaſonableneſs of requiring ſuch a ſervile work of him who had committed no evil, he was not in a condition to perform it, being made altogether unable by the cruel blows given him. In this weak ſtate he was brought before the governor, who demanded him 'to work, otherwiſe,' he ſaid, 'he ſhould be whipped every day.' Robert aſked him, 'what law he had broken? and called for his accuſers, that he 'might know his tranſgreſſion.' But inſtead of an anſwer he was chained to the wheel-barrow again, and threatened, that 'if he 'ſpoke to any one, he ſhould be puniſhed worſe.' Yet he did not forbear to ſpeak to ſome that came to him, ſo as he ſaw meet, and thought convenient. Then ſeeing they could not keep him

Its rigorous and barbarous execution.

1659. ſilent, they put him into the dungeon again, and kept him cloſe there ſeveral days, and two nights, one day and a half of it, without bread or water.

He is hung up by the hands and whipped.

After this he was brought very early in the morning into a private room, and ſtripped to the waſte, and hung up by his hands, and a great log of wood tied to his feet, ſo that he could not turn his body; and then a ſtrong negro was ſet to whip him with rods; who laid many ſtripes upon him, which cut his fleſh very much. Then he was let down again, and put into the dungeon as before, and none ſuffered to come to him. Two days after he was had forth again, and hung up as before, and many more ſtripes were laid upon him by another negro. He almoſt fainting, and not knowing but his life might be taken away, deſired that ſome Engliſh might be ſuffered to come to him: which was granted, and an Engliſh woman came, and waſhed his ſtripes, finding him brought ſo low, that ſhe thought he would not live till the next morning. And ſhe telling this to her huſband, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he went to the fiſcal, and proffered him a fat ox, to ſuffer Robert to be at his houſe until he was well again. But the fiſcal would not permit this, unleſs the whole fine was paid. And though there were ſome that would willingly have paid the fine for him, yet he could not conſent to it; but within three days after he had thus been whipped, he was made whole, and as ſtrong as before, and was free to labour, that he might not be burdenſome to any. Some others of thoſe called Quakers, (who came thither from the plantations in New-England, to enjoy liberty of conſcience, and whoſe names and ſufferings I paſs by for brevity's ſake) met alſo with hard meaſure from the governor, by the inſtigation of the aforeſaid captain Willet. Robert now tho' guiltleſs, being kept like a ſlave to hard work, it raiſed compaſſion in many, and the governor's ſiſter, who was much affected with his ſufferings, became inſtrumental in obtaining his liberty; for ſhe ſo plyed her brother, that he at length ſet him free without paying one penny, or any body for him; by which the governor ſhewed, that though he had been too eaſily wrought upon to commit evil, yet he was not come near to that height of malice, as the New-England perſecutors, who increaſed in their hardheartedneſs, and became inured to cruelty: inſomuch that if any one amongſt them would not give his vote for perſecution, he was counted unworthy to be a magiſtrate; as appears by a letter of one James Cudworth, written ſome time before to one of his friends in Old England, wherein I meet with theſe words:

Is wonderfully made whole.

And diſmiſſed without paying a fine, through the interceſſion of the governor's ſiſter.

New-England perſecutors more cruel than the Dutch.

'As for the ſtate and condition of things amongſt us, it is ſad: 'the antichriſtian perſecuting ſpirit is very active, and that in the 'powers of this world. He that will not whip and laſh, perſe-'cute and puniſh men that differ in matters of religion, muſt not 'ſit on the bench, nor ſuſtain any office in the commonwealth. 'Laſt election Mr. Hatherly and myſelf left the bench, and myſelf 'was diſcharged of my captainſhip, becauſe I had entertained 'ſome of the Quakers at my houſe, that thereby I might be the 'better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to do

'ſo,

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'ſo, than with the blind world to cenſure, condemn, rail at and 'revile them, when they neither ſaw their perſons, nor knew any 'thing of their principles. But the Quakers and myſelf cannot 'cloſe in divers things; and ſo I ſignified to the court I was no 'Quaker, but muſt give my teſtimony againſt ſundry things that 'they held, as I had occaſion and opportunity. But withal, I told 'them, that as I was no Quaker, ſo I would be no perſecutor.'*

* See the ſequel, New-England judged, Part I. p. 168.

They proceed to capital puniſhments.

Now I ſhall enter upon the narrative of their putting ſome to death, who died martyrs; for this was yet wanting to complete the tragedy, which it ſeems could not be done to the ſatisfaction of the actors, without playing a murdering part.

W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon, baniſhed on pain of death. Alſo M. Dyar and N. Davis.

The two firſt that ſealed their teſtimony with their blood, were William Robinſon, merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stevenſon, a countryman of Yorkſhire. Theſe coming to Boſton in the beginning of September, were ſent for by the court of aſſiſtants, and there ſentenced to baniſhment on pain of death. This ſentence was paſſed alſo on Mary Dyar, mentioned heretofore, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boſton. But William Robinſon being looked upon as a teacher, was alſo condemned to be whipped ſeverely; and the conſtable was commanded to get an able man to do it. Then Robinſon was brought into the ſtreet, and there ſtripped; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the goaler held him, the executioner gave him twenty ſtripes with a three-fold-cord whip. Then he and the other priſoners were ſhortly releaſed; and baniſhed, which that it was for no other reaſon but their being Quakers, may appear by the following warrant.

W. Robinſon whipped.

They are releaſed; and baniſhed only on account of their profeſſion.

'You are required by theſe, preſently to ſet at liberty William 'Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas 'Davis, who by an order of the court and council, had been im-'priſoned, becauſe it appeared by their own confeſſion, words, and 'actions, that they are Quakers; wherefore a ſentence was pro-'nounced againſt them, to depart this juriſdiction on pain of 'death, and that they muſt anſwer it at their peril, if they, or 'any of them, after the 14th of this preſent month September, are 'found within this juriſdiction, or any part thereof.

'Boſton, Sept. 12, 1659. EDWARD RAWSON.'

Now though Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis left that juriſdiction for that time, yet Robinſon and Stevenſon, though they departed the town of Boſton, could not yet reſolve (not being free in mind) to depart that juriſdiction, tho' their lives were at ſtake. And ſo they went to Salem, and ſome places thereabout to viſit, and build up their friends in the faith. But it was not long before they were taken and put again into priſon at Boſton, and chains locked to their right legs. In the next month Mary Dyar returned alſo. And as ſhe ſtood before the priſon ſpeaking with one Chriſtopher Holder, who was come thither to inquire for a ſhip bound for England, whither he intended to go, ſhe was alſo taken into cuſtody. Thus they had now three perſons, who according to their ſanguinary law had forfeited their lives. And on the 20th of October theſe three were brought into the court, where

Robinſon, Stevenſon, and Dyar again taken up.

Are brought into court.

1659. where John Endicot and others were aſſembled. And being called to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats, and then ſaid, 'that they had made ſeveral laws to keep the 'Quakers from amongſt them; and neither whipping, nor im-'priſoning, nor cutting off ears, nor baniſhing upon pain of 'death, would keep them from amongſt them.' And further he ſaid, 'that he or they deſired not the death of any of them.' Yet notwithſtanding, his following words, without more ado, were, 'Give ear, and hearken to your ſentence of death.' W. Robinſon then deſired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reaſon why he had not departed that juriſdiction. But Endicot would not ſuffer it to be read, and ſaid in a rage, 'You ſhall not read it, nor will the court hear it read.' Then Robinſon laid it on the table. He had written this paper the day before, and ſome of the contents were, 'that he being in Rhode-If-'land, the Lord had commanded him to go to Boſton, and to lay 'down his life there. That he alſo had felt an aſſurance, that his 'ſoul was to enter into everlaſting peace, and eternal reſt. That 'he durſt not but obey, without inquiring farther concerning it; 'believing that it became him as a child, to ſhew obedience to the 'Lord, without any unwillingneſs. That this was the cauſe, why 'after baniſhment on pain of death, he ſtaid in their juriſdiction: 'and that now with ſincerity of heart he could ſay, Bleſſed be the 'Lord, the God of my life, who hath called me hereunto, and 'counted me worthy to teſtify againſt wicked and unjuſt men,' &c. This paper being handed to Endicot, he read it to himſelf, and after he had done, ſaid to Robinſon, 'You need not keep ſuch ado 'to have it read; for you ſpoke yeſterday more than here is written.' Yet this was not ſo; for it contained a circumſtantial relation of the divine operations on his mind; and that he was not come there in his own will, but in obedience to his Creator: and that travelling in Rhode-Iſland, on the eighth of the eighth month, he had been moved thereto from the Lord, and therefore had ſubmitted to his divine pleaſure without murmuring. W. Robinſon deſiring again that the paper might be read, that ſo all that were preſent might hear it, it was denied him, and Endicot ſaid, 'W. Ro-'binſon, hearken to your ſentence of death; you ſhall be had back 'to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place 'of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead.' This ſentence was not altogether unexpected to W. Robinſon; for it was four months now that he had believed this would be his ſhare.

Robinſon's behaviour.

He receives ſentence of death.

Robinſon being taken away, M. Stevenſon was called, and Endicot ſaid to him, 'If you have any thing to ſay, you may ſpeak.' He knowing how they dealt with his companion, was ſilent, tho' he had alſo written in priſon a paper, containing the cauſe of his being come there; but he kept it with him, and found afterwards occaſion to deliver it to ſome body. Then Endicot pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, ſaying, 'M. Stevenſon you ſhall be 'had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the 'gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead.' Whereupon M. Stevenſon ſpoke thus:—'Give ear ye magiſtrates, and all who are 'guilty; for this the Lord hath ſaid concerning you, and will per-

Stevenſon alſo ſentenced.

His ſpeech to the court.

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'form his word upon you, that the ſame day ye put his ſervants 'to death, ſhall the day of your viſitation paſs over your heads, and 'you ſhall be curſed for ever more. The mouth of the Lord of 'hoſts hath ſpoken it. Therefore in love to you all, I exhort you to 'take warning before it be too late, that ſo the curſe may be re- 'moved. For aſſuredly if you put us to death, you will bring in- 'nocent blood upon your own heads, and ſwift deſtruction will 'come upon you.' 1659.

After he had ſpoken this, he was taken away, and Mary Dyar was called: to whom Endicot ſpoke thus: 'Mary Dyar, you ſhall 'go to the place from whence you came, (to wit the priſon) and 'from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until 'you are dead.' To which ſhe replied, 'The will of the Lord be 'done.' Then Endicot ſaid 'Take her away, marſhal.' To which ſhe replied 'Yea, joyfully I go.' And in her going to the priſon, ſhe often uttered ſpeeches of praiſe to the Lord; and being full of joy, ſhe ſaid to the marſhal, 'he might let her alone, for ſhe would 'go to the priſon without him.' To which he anſwered 'I believe 'you, Mrs. Dyar; but I muſt do what I am commanded.' Thus ſhe was led to priſon, where ſhe was kept a week, with the two other her companions, that were alſo condemned to die.

Mary Dyar receives ſentence.

Her behaviour.

The paper of Marmaduke Stevenſon, mentioned before, which he gave forth after he had received ſentence of death, was thus:

Stevenſon's paper.

IN the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough, in the eaſt parts of Yorkſhire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was, and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and preſence of the living God, which did raviſh my heart when I felt it; for it did increaſe and abound in me like a living ſtream, ſo did the love and life of God run thro' me like precious ointment, giving a pleaſant ſmell, which made me to ſtand ſtill; and as I ſtood a little ſtill, with my heart and mind ſtayed on the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a ſtill ſmall voice, which I did hear perfectly, ſaying to me, in the ſecret of my heart and conſcience,—'I have ordained thee a prophet 'unto the nations.'—And at the hearing of the word of the Lord I was put to a ſtand, being that I was but a child for ſuch a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbados was ſet before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife, and tender children: for the Lord ſaid unto me immediately by his ſpirit, that he would be as a huſband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they ſhould not want in my abſence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had ſpoken, becauſe I was made willing to give up myſelf to his work and ſervice, to leave all and follow him, whoſe preſence and life is with me, where I reſt in peace and quietneſs of ſpirit (with my dear brother) under the ſhadow of his wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for his own name's-ſake, if unmerciful men be ſuffered to take them from us; and if they do, we know we ſhall have peace and reſt with the Lord for-ever in his holy habitation, when they ſhall have torment night and day.—

Stevenſon's account of his call to Boſton, for which he laid down his life, to be upon record, for all to know the ground thereof, and therefore wrote by him, and left in the words within written.

1659. So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to paſs to Barbados, in the fourth month, 1658; and, after I had been ſome time on the ſaid iſland in the ſervice of God, I heard that New-England had made a law to put the ſervants of the living God to death, if they returned after they were ſentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and as I conſidered the thing, and pondered it in my heart, immediately came the word of the Lord unto me, ſaying,—'Thou knoweſt not but that thou 'mayeſt go thither.'—But I kept this word in my heart, and did not declare it to any until the time appointed. So, after that, a veſſel was made ready for Rhode-Iſland, which I paſſed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, viſiting the ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed, the word of the Lord came unto me, ſaying,—'Go to Boſton with thy brother William Robinſon.'—And at his command I was obedient, and gave up myſelf to do his will, that ſo his work and ſervice may be accompliſhed: for he hath ſaid unto me, 'that he hath a great work for me to do;' which is now come to paſs: and for yielding obedience to, and obeying the voice and command of the everliving God, who created heaven and earth, and the fountains of waters, do I, with my dear brother, ſuffer outward bonds near unto death. And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know, who hear it, that we came not in our own wills, but in the will of God.—Given forth by me, who am known to men by the name of

MARMADUKE STEVENSON.

Written in Boſton priſon, in the 8th month, 1659.

But have a new name given me which the world knows not of, written in the Book of Life.

Mary Dyar writes to the magiſtrates of Boſton.

Mary Dyar being returned to priſon, wrote the following letter, which ſhe ſent to the rulers of Boſton:

To the GENERAL COURT in BOSTON.

WHEREAS I am by many charged with the guiltineſs of my own blood; if you mean in my coming to Boſton, I am therein clear, and juſtified by the Lord, in whoſe will I came, who will require my blood of you, be ſure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent ſervants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, 'curſed Quakers;' although, I ſay, and am a living witneſs for them and the Lord, that he hath bleſſed them, and ſent them unto you: therefore be not found fighters againſt God, but let my counſel and requeſt be accepted with you, to repeal all ſuch laws, that the truth and ſervants of the Lord may have free paſſage among you, and you be kept from ſhedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it ſo to be; nor can the enemy that ſtirreth you up thus to deſtroy this holy ſeed, in any meaſure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure. Therefore ſeeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your ſouls, thus to perſuade you. I have no ſelf-ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you,

you, ſo long as I ſhould daily hear or ſee the ſufferings of theſe people, my dear brethren, and the ſeed, with whom my life is bound up, as I have done theſe two years ; and now it is like to increaſe, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profeſs Chriſt come in the fleſh ? And have ſuch no other weapons but ſuch laws to fight againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs withal, as you call it ? Wo is me for you ! of whom take ye counſel ? Search with the light of Chriſt in you, and it will ſhew you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been diſobedient and deceived, as now ye are : which light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifeſt to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from ſhedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I ſeek, (for I chooſe rather to ſuffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of Egypt) but the life of the ſeed, which I know the Lord hath bleſſed, and therefore ſeeks the enemy thus vehemently to deſtroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beſeech you, for the ſeed's-ſake, which is one in all, and is dear in the ſight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot eſcape his wrath ; wherefore I having felt, cannot but perſuade all men that I have to do withal, eſpecially you who name the name of Chriſt, to depart from ſuch iniquity, as ſhedding blood, even of the ſaints of the Moſt High. Therefore let my requeſt have as much acceptance with you, if you be chriſtians, as Eſther's had with Ahaſuerus, whoſe relation is ſhort of that that's between chriſtians ; and my requeſt is the ſame that her's was : and he ſaid not that he had made a law, and that it would be diſhonourable for him to revoke it ; but when he underſtood that thoſe people were ſo prized by her, and ſo nearly concerned her, as in truth theſe are to me, you may ſee what he did for her. Therefore I leave theſe lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witneſs of God, which is one in all conſciences, before whom we muſt all appear ; with whom I ſhall eternally reſt, in everlaſting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar. 1659.

And know this alſo, that if through the enmity you ſhall declare yourſelves worſe than Ahaſuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured juſtly upon you, who now whilſt ye are warned thereof, and tenderly ſought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord, nor his ſervants, yet will he ſend more of his ſervants among you, ſo that your end ſhall be fruſtrated, that think to reſtrain them ye call curſed Quakers, from coming among you by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a ſeed here among you, for whom we have ſuffered all this while, and yet ſuffer ; whom the Lord of the harveſt will ſend forth more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of the devourers of all ſorts, into his fold, where

he

1659. he will lead them into freſh paſtures, even the paths of righteouſneſs, for his name's-ſake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I ſee approaching, even to many in and about Boſton, which is the bittereſt and darkeſt profeſſing place, and ſo to continue ſo long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time paſt therefore ſuffice, for ſuch a profeſſion as brings forth ſuch fruits as theſe laws are. In love and in the ſpirit of meekneſs I again beſeech you, for I have no enmity, to the perſons of any; but you ſhall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye ſow, that ſhall ye reap from him, who will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even ſo be it, ſaith

A copy of this was given to the general court after Mary Dyar had received ſentence of death, about the 8th or 9th month, 1659.

MARY DYAR.

They are led under a guard to execution.

The day appointed to execute the bloody ſentence, was the 27th of October, when in the afternoon the condemned priſoners were led to the gallows by the marſhal Michaelſon, and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, beſides many horſe-men; as if they were afraid that ſome of the people would have reſcued the priſoners: and that no actors on the ſtage might be wanting, the prieſt Wilſon joined to the company, who, when the court deliberated how to deal with the Quakers, ſaid, 'Hang them, or elſe,' (drawing his finger athwart his throat) as if he would have ſaid, 'diſpatch 'em this way.' Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, eſpecially when any of them attempted to ſpeak. Glorious ſigns of heavenly joy and gladneſs were beheld in the countenances of theſe three perſons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemoſt, which made the marſhal ſay to her, who was pretty aged and ſtricken in years, 'Are not you 'aſhamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?' 'No,' replied ſhe, 'this is to me an hour of the greateſt joy I could 'enjoy in this world. No eye can ſee, no ear can hear, no tongue 'can utter, and no heart can underſtand the ſweet incomes, or in-'fluence, and the refreſhings of the ſpirit of the Lord, which now 'I feel.' Thus going along, W. Robinſon, ſaid, 'This is your 'hour, and the power of darkneſs.' But preſently the drums were beaten; yet ſhortly after, the drummers leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenſon ſaid, 'This is the day of your viſitation, 'wherein the Lord hath viſited you.' More he ſpoke, but could not be underſtood, by reaſon of the drums being beaten again. Yet they went on with great cheerfulneſs, as going to an everlaſting wedding-feaſt, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to ſuffer death for his name's-ſake.

Prieſt Wilſon ſcornfully reproaches them.

When they were come near the gallows, the prieſt ſaid in a taunting way to W. Robinſon, 'Shall ſuch jacks as you come in 'before authority with their hats on?' To which Robinſon replied, 'Mind you, mind you, it is for the not putting off the hat we are 'put to death!' Now being come to the ladder, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and then Robinſon went cheerfully up the ladder, and being got up, ſaid to the people,

'This

1659.

'This is the day of your viſitation, wherein the Lord hath viſited 'you: this is the day the Lord is riſen in his mighty power, to 'be avenged on all his adverſaries.' He alſo ſignified, that 'he 'ſuffered not as an evil-doer;' and deſired the ſpectators, 'to mind 'the light that was in them, to wit, the light of Chriſt, of which 'he teſtified, and was now going to ſeal it with his blood.' This ſo incenſed the envious prieſt, that he ſaid, 'Hold thy tongue, be 'ſilent; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth.' The rope being now about his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neckcloth about his face: which being done, Robinſon ſaid, 'Now ye are made manifeſt;' and the executioner being about turning him off, he ſaid, 'I ſuffer for Chriſt, in whom 'I live, and for whom I die.' He being turned off, Marmaduke Stevenſon ſtepped up the ladder, and ſaid, 'Be it known unto all 'this day, that we ſuffer not as evil-doers, but for conſcience-'ſake.' And when the hangman was about to turn him off, he ſaid, 'This day ſhall we be at reſt with the Lord:' and ſo he was turned off.

Robinſon's laſt words.

As alſo Stevenſon's.

Mary Dyar ſeeing her companions hanging dead before her, alſo ſtepped up the ladder; but after her coats were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which the prieſt Wilſon lent the hangman, juſt as ſhe was to be turned off, a cry was heard, 'Stop, for ſhe is re-'prieved.' Her feet then being looſed, they bad her come down. But ſhe, whoſe mind was already, as it were in heaven, ſtood ſtill, and ſaid, 'ſhe was there willing to ſuffer as her brethren did, un-'leſs they would annul their wicked law.' Little heed was given to what ſhe ſaid, but they pulled her down, and the marſhal and others taking her by the arms, carried her to priſon again. That ſhe thus was freed of the gallows this time, was at the interceſſion of her ſon, to whom it ſeems they could not then reſolve to deny that favour. She now having heard why ſhe was reprieved, wrote the next day, being the 28th of October, the following letter to the court:

Mary Dyar reprieved.

She writes again to the court of Boſton.

The 28th of the 8th month, 1659.

Her letter to the court, after ſhe was taken the firſt time from the tree.

ONCE more to the general court aſſembled in Boſton, ſpeaks Mary Dyar, even as before: my life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in compariſon of the lives and liberty of the truth and ſervants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekneſs I ſought you: yet nevertheleſs, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty; I rather chooſe to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore, ſeeing my requeſt is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and ſearcher of all hearts, who, with the pure meaſure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you ſee whoſe ſervants you are, and of whom you have taken counſel, which I deſire you to ſearch into: but all his counſel hath been ſlighted, and you would none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you ſhall aſſuredly fall to your own maſter. In obedience to the Lord, whom I ſerve

1659. with my ſpirit, and pity to your ſouls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no leſs than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings, and kiſs the ſon, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if theſe things be not ſo, then ſay, 'there hath been no prophet from the 'Lord ſent amongſt you.' Though we be nothing, yet it is his pleaſure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your laſt order read, it was a diſturbance unto me, that was ſo freely offering up my life to him that gave it me, and ſent me hither ſo to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriouſly accompanied with his preſence, and peace, and love in me, in which I reſted from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was ſo far diſturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I ſhould return to priſon, and there remain forty and eight hours; to which I ſubmitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleaſure and counſel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I ſaid before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

MARY DYAR.

Is ſent homewards, and left at liberty.

The magiſtrates now perceiving that the putting William Robinſon and Marmaduke Stevenſon to death, cauſed great diſcontent among the people, reſolved to ſend away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And ſo ſhe was put on horſeback, and by four horſe-men conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode-Iſland, where ſhe was left with a horſe and a man, to be conveyed the reſt of the way; which ſhe ſoon ſent back, and ſo repaired home. By the ſtile of her letters, and her undaunted carriage, it appears that ſhe had indeed ſome extraordinary qualities; I find alſo, that ſhe was of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and eſtate, and a mother of ſeveral children: but her huſband it ſeems was of another perſuaſion.

Some account of her.

J. Chamberlain and E. Wharton whipped, the laſt alſo fined.

Whilſt I now leave her at home, I am to ſay that one John Chamberlain, an inhabitant of Boſton, having ſeen the execution of W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon, was ſo reached by their pious ſpeeches, that he received the doctrine of the truth, for which they died: but his viſiting thoſe in priſon was ſo ill reſented, that afterwards he was whipped ſeveral times ſeverely; as was alſo Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, who having ſaid, 'that the guilt of Robinſon's and Stevenſon's blood was ſo great 'and heavy, that he was not able to bear it,' was, for this his pretended ſaucineſs, whipped with twenty laſhes, and fined twenty pounds.

The bodies of the executed inhumanly uſed.

But before I quite leave the perſons that were hanged, I muſt ſay, that being dead, their countenances ſtill looked freſh; (for the terror of death had not ſeized them.) But being cut down, they were very barbarouſly uſed, none taking hold of their bodies; which ſo fell down on the ground, that thereby the ſkull of W. Robinſon was broken: and even their ſhirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies caſt into a hole which was digged,

without

without any covering. And when ſome of their friends would have laid the bodies into coffins, it was denied them. Neither would they ſuffer the place where the bodies were caſt, to be fenced with pales, leſt ravenous beaſts might prey upon them. 1659.

When the people returned from the execution, many ſeemed ſad and heavy; and coming to the draw-bridge, one end of it fell upon ſome, and ſeveral were hurt, eſpecially a wicked woman, who had reviled the ſaid two perſons at their death; but now ſhe was ſo bruiſed, that her fleſh rotted from her bones, which made ſuch a noiſome ſtink, that people could not endure to be with her; in which miſerable condition ſhe remained till ſhe died. But the magiſtrates, inſtead of taking notice of this, grew more hardened; and the prieſt Wilſon did not ſtick to make a ballad on the executed.

The miſerable end of a woman who reviled them at their death.

Prieſt Wilſon makes a ballad on them.

Now I return again to Mary Dyar, who being come to Rhode-Iſland, went from thence to Long-Iſland, where ſhe ſtaid the moſt part of the winter, and then coming home again, ſhe was moved to return to the bloody town of Boſton, whither ſhe came on the 21ſt of the third month, in the year 1660, and on the 31ſt ſhe was ſent for by the General Court. Being come, the governor John Endicot ſaid, 'Are you the ſame Mary Dyar that was here before?' And it ſeems he was preparing an evaſion for her, there having been another of that name returned from Old England. But ſhe was ſo far from diſguiſing, that ſhe anſwered undauntedly, 'I am 'the ſame Mary Dyar that was here the laſt general court.' Then Endicot ſaid, 'You will own yourſelf a Quaker, will you not?' — To which Mary Dyar ſaid, 'I own myſelf to be reproachfully 'called ſo.' Then the gaoler, (who would alſo ſay ſomething) ſaid 'ſhe is a vagabond.' And Endicot ſaid, 'the ſentence was paſt 'upon her the laſt general court, and now likewiſe: you muſt re-'turn to the priſon, and there remain till to-morrow at nine 'o'clock; then from thence you muſt go to the gallows, and there 'be hanged till you are dead.' To which Mary Dyar ſaid, 'This 'is no more than what thou ſaidſt before.' And Endicot returned, 'but now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourſelf to 'morrow at nine o'clock.' She then ſpoke thus: 'I came in obe-'dience to the will of God the laſt general court, deſiring you to 'repeal your unrighteous laws of baniſhment on pain of death; 'and that ſame is my work now, and earneſt requeſt; altho' I 'told you, that if you refuſed to repeal them, the Lord would ſend 'others of his ſervants to witneſs againſt them.' Hereupon Endicot aſked her, 'whether ſhe was a propheteſs?' And ſhe anſwered, 'ſhe ſpoke the words that the Lord ſpoke in her; and now the 'thing was come to paſs.' And beginning to ſpeak of her call, Endicot cried, 'Away with her, away with her.' So ſhe was brought to the priſon-houſe where ſhe was before, and kept cloſe ſhut up until the next day.

M. Dyar returns to Boſton.

1660.

Is ſent for by the court and examined

And is again ſentenced to death by Endicot.

Why ſhe returned to Boſton.

About the appointed time the marſhal Michaelſon came, and called for her to come haſtily; and coming into the room where ſhe was, ſhe deſired him to ſtay a little; and ſpeaking mildly, ſaid, 'ſhe ſhould be ready preſently.' But he being of a rough temper, ſaid, 'he could not wait upon her, but ſhe ſhould now wait upon 'him.'

1660.

'him.' One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to ſee ſuch hard-heartedneſs, ſpoke ſomething againſt their unjuſt laws and proceedings: to which he ſaid, 'You ſhall have your 'ſhare of the ſame.' Then Mary Dyar was brought forth, and with a band of ſoldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and ſo continued, that none might hear her ſpeak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. With this guard ſhe came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, ſome ſaid to her, 'that if ſhe would return, 'ſhe might come down, and ſave her life.' To which ſhe replied, 'Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, 'and in his will I abide faithful to the death.' Then captain John Webb ſaid, 'that ſhe had been there before, and had the ſentence 'of baniſhment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in 'coming again now; and therefore ſhe was guilty of her own blood.' To which ſhe returned. 'Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltineſs 'from you, deſiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjuſt law 'of baniſhment upon pain of death, made againſt the innocent 'ſervants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your 'hands, who wilfully do it: but for thoſe who do it in the ſimpli-'city of their hearts, I deſire the Lord to forgive them. I came to 'do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will I ſtand 'even to death.' Then prieſt Wilſon ſaid, 'Mary Dyar, O repent, 'O repent, and be not ſo deluded, and carried away by the deceit 'of the Devil.' To this Mary Dyar anſwered, 'Nay, man, I am not 'now to repent:' and being aſked by ſome 'whether ſhe would have 'the elders pray for her,' ſhe ſaid, 'I know never an elder here.' Being further aſked, 'whether ſhe would have any of the people to 'pray for her?' ſhe anſwered, 'ſhe deſired the prayers of all the people 'of God.' Thereupon ſome ſcoffingly ſaid, 'it may be ſhe thinks 'there is none here.' She looking about, ſaid, 'I know but few 'here.' Then they ſpoke to her again, 'that one of the elders 'might pray for her.' To which ſhe replied, 'Nay, firſt a child, 'then a young man, then a ſtrong man, before an elder in Chriſt 'Jeſus.' After this, ſhe was charged with ſomething which was not underſtood what it was, but ſhe ſeemed to hear it; for ſhe ſaid, 'it's falſe; it's falſe; I never ſpoke thoſe words.' Then one mentioned that ſhe ſhould have ſaid, 'ſhe had been in paradiſe.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'Yea, I have been in paradiſe ſeveral days.' And more ſhe ſpoke of the eternal happineſs into which ſhe was now to enter. In this well diſpoſed condition ſhe was turned off, and died a martyr of Chriſt, being twice led to death, which the firſt time ſhe expected with undaunted courage, and now ſuffered with chriſtian fortitude.

Is led forth to execution.

Her behaviour at the place of ſuffering.

Where ſhe dies a martyr for Chriſt.

Thus this honeſt, valiant woman finiſhed her days: but ſo hardened were theſe perſecutors, that one of the court ſaid ſcoffingly, 'ſhe did hang as a flag for others to take example by.' And putting to death for religion did not yet ceaſe, as will be related hereafter: but firſt I'll take a turn again to Old England, where there was now great diviſion and a revolution in the ſtate.

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough wrote the following letter to the parliament, which then had the power again in their hands:

FRIENDS,

1660.

E. Burrough's warning to the parliament.

FRIENDS,

ALL theſe overturnings, and almoſt wonderful changings, were effected through the juſtice of the Lord's hand.—— You are now again at the ſtern of government, and on the throne; and I dare not but ſay, it is of and by the Lord, and that he hath done it contrary to the expectations of many; and what his end is in it, remains with him. But I am ſure one cauſe is, that you may execute part of his wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men, ſome of the army I mean.——— I need not ſay to you, how that many of them were raiſed up from a low eſtate; and inſtead of ſerving the nation, became their lords and oppreſſors: they have abuſed the Lord's mercy to them, and exalted themſelves, and become as great oppreſſors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them; and ſome of them took the very titles and eſtates of their enemies, and followed their evil ſpirit alſo, tho' the Lord was long ſuffering to them, and gave them a day; and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good; but they alſo neglected to ſerve God and the nation, to ſerve themſelves; and becauſe of the ambition and pride of ſome of them, the Lord ſuffered them to make this laſt interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man's account, that thereby their meaſure might be filled up, and that he might give you occaſion againſt them, and ſuffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces: and what you do to ſome of them, in caſting them out, and afflicting them, you are but God's executioners therein; you are the executioners of his anger, in what you do to them; and who ſhall prevent you, or forbid you to go on? for they have long enough diſſembled with this nation, in profeſſing more than others, and doing leſs; and their downfal is now. And God hath looked upon you to be hard-hearted and cruel enough, and very fit executioners of vengeance upon ſuch men, as I have mentioned.

But now concerning you, and your preſent ſtate, as you are in preſent place and power, I have ſomething to ſay to you; tho' they are fallen, and you yet ſtand, and you have a little time after them; but this I ſay, do not glory over their fall, neither glory as though you ſhould ſtand for-ever; for they were not greater ſinners than you are, neither are you one whit more righteous than ſome of them; but you are as ſure to fall, as they are fallen, with no leſs meaſure of diſhonour and affliction than is come upon them; and you are in your laſt hour; and I dare not ſay that God expects much more from you, than for the end aforeſaid, (viz.) to be the executioners of juſtice upon men as ſinful as yourſelves: ſo do not glory over them that are fallen; but know that your time alſo is but ſhort, and your fall may prove to your deſtruction, and theirs may prove to make them better, and refine them: and if God hath choſen you to execute ſome part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedneſs, he will doubtleſs find inſtruments to execute his wrath upon you, elſe he will do it with his own hands; for he purpoſeth not to ſpare you; for your ſins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppreſſions are as great under you, as under them whom you condemn. And I deſire, if there be any good men

1660. amongſt you, that ſuch who are wiſe may conſider, and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all theſe things that are come to paſs; for God is working as well as you, he is ſeeking to ſet up a kingdom as well as you, and his government and yours cannot ſtand together; and he will make you know that he is ſtronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot ſtand in place with his.

Therefore, Oh that you would take heed! Oh that you would be wiſe, if ſo be ſome of you may be ſpared! and be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but to others as you intend to receive from others, and from the Lord; and go not beyond your commiſſion; for a permiſſion at leaſt you have had from God, even to ſcourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, ſeeming religious generation of men aforeſaid, which have many a time as it were mocked God, and pretended love to him with their lips, when their hearts have yearned after ſelf-honour, and treaſures of this world: I ſay, your preſent hour and permiſſion is for this end, but not to perſecute the people of the Lord, nor to deſtroy God's heritage; but if you ſhall extend your power unto ſuch a work, and if you do perſecute the innocent without cauſe, and make war againſt the Lamb and his followers, and make laws, and execute them to the oppreſſion of the ſaints of the Moſt High, then you go beyond your commiſſion; for God hath not called you unto this, but to be inſtruments in another cauſe. And the children of Zion they truſt in the living God, and fear not the terror of mighty men, neither can they be afraid at the roaring of the ſea, nor at the preſent threatening of the Heathen, for God is with them. And I ſay unto you, the ſervant of the Lord hath pondered and conſidered all theſe proceedings, and viewed the preſent ſtate of things at this day, and there is no viſion from God unto you of peace and comfort, nor of a happy and laſting government, as you now ſtand: if any prophet ſhall divine this unto you, he ſpeaks what he hath not from the Lord, but the viſion of his own heart, and he deceives you and himſelf; for you are not eſtabliſhed upon a right foundation, neither are you acted by a right ſpirit, which can truly govern for God; but the ſpirit of wrath and fury is put into you, for the work to which you are called. And I know not how to warn you, that you do not perſecute the people of God: For why? It may be you muſt fill up your meaſure of wickedneſs thereby, that God may break you perpetually; yet the leſs will be your judgment, if you do it not: but if you do it, the Lord will take occaſion againſt you to wound you, and you ſhall never be healed; and as you do afflict others, ſo and much more ſhall it be done unto you from the Lord.

Wherefore conſider what I have ſaid; for this is the viſion of the Almighty unto you, that ſhall not go unfulfilled: and what you do, you muſt do it quickly; for your time is ſhort, and your power will God ſubdue; and his kingdom and power will he ſpeedily exalt over your heads, and make you and the nations know, that he is God; and that all power is with him, and that he can do whatſoever he will; and it is his right alone to reign,

and

and his childrens portion to poſſeſs the kingdom with him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof, bow and tremble before him: let not your hearts be ſtout and rebellious againſt him; for he can grind you to powder, and ſink you into confuſion and miſery, as a ſtone into the ſea. E. B. 1660.

This was directed for the hands of the ſpeaker in parliament, and accordingly was given to William Lenthal, being incloſed to him with theſe lines following:

FRIEND,

THE incloſed I do commend unto thee to preſent unto the houſe, and to endeavour ſincerely the reading of it in your aſſembly; for it is of ſpecial concernment to you all; and in the name of the Lord, and by his ſpirit, I do charge thee not to be negligent in this matter, as though it were not of worth to you; and I do lay it upon thee, as a work of righteouſneſs and truth, to be done by thee, as thou wilt anſwer the contrary at the dreadful day of God, when the King of Righteouſneſs ſhall judge thee and all mankind.

The 24th of the 11th month, 1659. E. BURROUGH.

This parliament did ſo lord it, that about fifteen hundred military officers were caſhiered, and others put into their places. About this time George Fox, the younger, wrote alſo a letter to the parliament and the army, which was as followeth:

YOUR day into darkneſs is turned; the ſun is gone down over you; you have had a large day, and power given unto you, to have done the will of God; but you have abuſed the power, and ſlighted your day; and you have refuſed to do the Lord's work, and have ſought to ſerve yourſelves, and not the Lord; therefore in juſtice and righteouſneſs, is the day wherein you might have wrought for God taken from you, and the thick dark night of confuſion is come upon you, wherein you are groping and ſtumbling, and cannot work; the decree is gone out, and ſealed againſt you, and it cannot be recalled; you are not the men (as ye ſtand) in whom God will appear to work deliverance for his people, and creatures; (and yet deliverance ſhall come, but not according to man's expectation) but as for you, ye have rejected the counſel of the Lord, and grieved his ſpirit, and he hath long borne with you; yea, you are departed from the Lord, and his preſence is departed from you; indeed he hath hewed with you (and if you had been faithful to the end, he would have honoured and proſpered you, and would have been your ſufficient reward) ye were his axe, but you have boaſted yourſelves againſt him; therefore as you have beaten, hewed, and broken others, even ſo muſt you be beaten, hewed and broken; for you have grievouſly provoked the Lord; and if he ſhould now ſuffer that tree, which ye have cut, to fall upon you, and to break part of you, it were juſt. Another very remarkable from G. Fox, jun.

O ye treacherous, wilful, proud, ſelf-ſeeking people, who have deſpiſed the counſel of the Lord, and would not take warning, tho' he

1660. he hath ſent his prophets and ſervants early and late among you, ſome of whom you have impriſoned and deſpitefully uſed; what will ye do now? Whom will ye now flee unto for help? ſeeing ye are departed from the Lord, and are now rending and tearing, biting and devouring one another, for proud, ambitious, ſelf ends: (mark) if you would now build again the thing that you once deſtroyed, that ſhall not be able to hide or ſhelter you from the wrath of the Lamb; that way whereby you think to ſtrengthen yourſelves, thereby ſhall you make yourſelves much weaker, and help forward your own deſtruction; you are now but a rod, remember your end, which haſtens greatly; now breach upon breach, inſurrection upon inſurrection, overturning upon overturning, heaps upon heaps, diviſion upon diviſion ſhall there be, until he come to reign, whoſe right it is; and all nations muſt bow before him, elſe he will break them with his iron rod.

They that truſt in, or lean upon you for help, it is as if they leaned upon a broken reed which is not able to help itſelf, nor others; indeed you have been made to do many good things, but you would not go through with the work which God will have accompliſhed, and therefore are theſe things come upon you; therefore tremble and dread before the Lord, ye who have been as ſtrong oaks, and tall cedars, for now ſhall your ſtrength fail you, and you ſhall be weak, even as the weakeſt of men; but if you would yet believe in the light, and truly ſubmit to God's righteous judgments, many of you might come to witneſs your ſouls ſaved, in the day of the Lord; though many of your bodies are to be thrown by (becauſe of your grievous backſlidings) as not counted worthy to be the Lord's workmen.

There is a ſmall remnant yet among you (for whom my ſoul breathes) who may be winnowed out; and if they will own the judgments of the Lord, and truly and thoroughly deny themſelves, and follow his leadings, he will heal their backſlidings, and purge them, that ſo they may be inſtruments in his hand: but they that will continue with you in your ſins, ſhall partake with you of your judgments.

The rod of the wicked ſhall not always reſt upon the back of the righteous; yet even as gold is tried, ſo ſhall they be, that they may be white, and without ſpot before the lamb; but God will avenge their cauſe, and wo then will be to their oppreſſors; and then ſhall the majeſty and the glory of the Lord fill his people (who have long been trodden under) and they ſhall be the dread of all nations—the zeal of the Lord of hoſts ſhall perform this.

11th month (1659) GEORGE FOX, the younger.

This letter being printed, a copy of it was given to each parliament-man, before Monk with his army came into London: and how ſoon the predictions contained therein, as well as thoſe of E. Burrough, in the foregoing year, came to be fulfilled, when many of the great ones were hanged and quartered, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

General Monk came now, with part of the army he commanded, out of Scotland into England, and made great alterations among

among the officers, putting in ſuch as were believed to be no enemies to Charles Stuart; for whatſoever Monk ſaid of his reſolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to promote the intereſt of a commonwealth, yet it appeared ere long that he aimed at ſomething elſe; which he could do the eaſier, becauſe he wanted not adherents in the parliament; though he did not ſtick to ſay to Edmund Ludlow, 'We muſt live and die for, and with a commonwealth:' and to others he declared, 'that he would oppoſe 'to the utmoſt the ſetting up of Charles Stuart.' In the mean-while he ſo ordered it, that many members of the parliament, that had been long excluded as unqualified, took ſeſſion again in that aſſembly; and theſe brought it about, that Sir George Booth, who was confined to the tower, for having carried on a deſign for Charles Stuart, was ſet at liberty. Neither was the city of London in a condition to oppoſe Monk; for he cauſed the port-cullies, and doors of the city gates, and the poſts to be pulled down; and the royaliſts were now become ſo bold, that they printed a liſt of the names of the judges that condemned king Charles the firſt to death; and ſome of them were ſecured, whilſt others fled away. General Lambert was alſo ſent to the tower, and Monk, whoſe authority now increaſed, ſent for the lords, who until the year 1648, had ſat in parliament, and bad them return to the houſe where they formerly uſed to ſit.

1660.

General Monk pretends to be true to the parliament and commonwealth, but ſerves the intereſt of Cha. Stuart.

His ſaying to Ludlow, and to others.

Excluded members return: Sir G. Booth ſet at liberty, and Lambert ſent to the tower.

In theſe overturnings G. Fox came to London, to wit, in the time when they were breaking the city gates. He then wrote a paper to thoſe that were now ſinking, and told them, 'that now 'the prophecies were fulfilling upon them, which had been ſpoken 'to them; and that they who uſed to call the Quakers fanaticks, 'and giddyheads, now ſeemed themſelves giddy, and fugitives or 'wanderers.'

G. Fox writes to thoſe yet in power.

From London G. Fox went to Suſſex, and from thence to Dorſetſhire. At Dorcheſter he had a great meeting in the evening at the inn where he lodged, and there came many ſoldiers who were pretty civil. But the conſtables and officers of the town came alſo under pretence to look for a Jeſuit, whoſe head (they ſaid) was ſhaved. So they took off G. Fox's hat, but not finding any bald place on his head, they went away with ſhame. This was of good ſervice among the ſoldiers and others, and it affected the people, who were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

And from London goes into Suſſex, and Dorſetſhire, has a great meeting at Dorcheſter where he is ſuſpected for a Jeſuit, then paſſes into Somerſetſhire.

Then he paſſed into Somerſetſhire, where his friends meetings were often diſturbed. One time there came a wicked man, who having a bear's-ſkin on his back, played ugly pranks in the meeting; and ſetting himſelf oppoſite to the perſon that was preaching, lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and ſo made ſport for his wicked followers, and cauſed great diſturbance in the meeting. But as he went back from thence, an eminent judgment overtook him; for there being a bull-baiting in the way, he ſtaid to ſee; and coming within his reach, the bull puſhed his horn under the man's chin, into his throat, and forced his tongue out of his mouth, ſo that it hung out in the ſame manner as before he lolled it out in deriſion in the meeting: and the bull running his horn into the man's head, ſwung him about in a moſt fearful manner.

A dreadful judgment on a ſcoffer.

1660.

From Somerſetſhire G. F. comes into Devonſhire, ſo to the land's end in Cornwal, and writes againſt the wicked practice of making ſpoil of ſhipwrecks.

G. Fox travelling through Somerſetſhire, came into Devonſhire, and ſo went into Cornwal, till he came to the land's end. Whilſt he was in Cornwal, there were great ſhipwrecks about the land's end. Now it was the cuſtom of that country, that at ſuch times both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to ſave the people's lives; and this cuſtom ſo prevailed, that in ſome parts of the country they called ſhipwrecks, 'God's grace.' This grieved G. Fox not a little, conſidering how far theſe profeſſed chriſtians were below the heathen at Melita, who courteouſly received Paul, and the others that had ſuffered ſhipwreck with him, and made him a fire. On this conſideration he was moved to write a paper to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and others, both high and low; in which he ſhewed them, 'the wickedneſs of their deeds, and reproved them for ſuch 'greedy actions, telling them how they were ready to fight with 'one another for the ſpoil, and ſpend what they got in taverns, 'or ale-houſes, letting thoſe that eſcaped drowning, go a begging 'up and down the country. Therefore he ſeriouſly exhorted them, 'to do unto others, what they would have done to themſelves.'

Several eminent people in Cornwal convinced by G. Fox, who goes thence to Briſtol, where friends meetings had been exceedingly diſturbed, which by his counſel and encouragment were kept quiet a good while after.

This paper he ſent to all the pariſhes thereabouts. And after having had many meetings in Cornwal, and ſeveral eminent people being convinced of the truth preached by him, he went to Briſtol, where the meetings of his friends were exceedingly diſturbed by the ſoldiers. Having heard this, he deſired George Biſhop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, to go to the mayor and aldermen, and deſire them to let his friends have the town-hall to meet in, provided it ſhould not be on ſuch days when the mayor and aldermen had buſineſs to do in it; and that for this uſe they would give twenty pounds a year, to be diſtributed amongſt the poor. Theſe four perſons were aſtoniſhed at this propoſal, and ſaid, 'the mayor and aldermen would think 'them mad; for the mayor and the commander of the ſoldiers had 'combined together to make a diſturbance in their meetings.' But G. Fox ſo encouraged them, that at laſt they conſented to what he deſired: being come to the mayor, he was moderate beyond expectation; and when they had laid the thing before him, he ſaid, 'for his part, he could conſent to it; but he was but one.' So they left him in a loving frame of mind; and coming back, G. Fox deſired them to go alſo to the colonel that commanded the ſoldiers, and to acquaint him of their rude carriage, and how they diſturbed the meetings. But the aforeſaid four perſons were backward to go to him. Next morning being the firſt day of the week, a meeting was kept in an orchard, where many people came; and after G. Fox had been preaching a pretty while, there came ſeveral rude ſoldiers, ſome with drawn ſwords, and ſome drunk, and among theſe, one that had bound himſelf with an oath, 'to cut 'down, and kill the man that ſpoke.' But when he came preſſing in through the croud, and was within two yards of G. Fox, he ſtopped at thoſe four perſons before mentioned, and fell a jangling with them; but at length his ſword was put up again. The next day they went and ſpoke with the colonel, and he having heard how miſchievous his ſoldiers had been, ſent for them, and cut and

ſlaſhed

1660.

ſlaſhed ſome of them. When this was told G. Fox, he blamed thoſe his friends, thinking they might have prevented the cutting of the ſoldiers, if they had gone to the colonel when he would have had them. Yet this had ſuch effect, that the meeting there was kept without diſturbance a good while after.

G. Fox then alſo had a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Briſtol, at which were ſeveral thouſands of people, and ſo many of Briſtol, that ſome ſaid, 'the city looked naked;' and all was quiet.

But in other places about this time, things were not ſo quiet; for the ſoldiers under general Monk's command, were often very rude in diſturbing of meetings. But when complaint was made to him, who was then at Weſtminſter, he ſhewed, that he would not countenance ſuch wickedneſs, and did in that reſpect better than ſeveral other generals had done; for he gave forth the following order.

General Monk gives out an order againſt ſoldiers diſturbing friends meetings.

St. James's, March 9, 1659-60.

I DO require all officers and ſoldiers, to forbear to diſturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

GEORGE MONK.

Monk having thus long declared for a commonwealth, and againſt a king, began now to take off the maſk; for the old lords had now taken their places again in the houſe of peers, out of which they had been kept ſo many years; and by the advice of Monk, Charles Stuart (who for ſeveral years had lived at Cologn, and having made a voyage to Spain, was from thence come by France to Bruſſels) repaired to Breda: and in England it being reſolved upon to call him back, and to reſtore him, he gave forth the following declaration at Breda, thereby to perſuade thoſe that were yet backward, to acknowledge him.

It being reſolved to call back Charles Stuart, he gives out his

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. If the general diſtraction and confuſion which is ſpread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire and longing that thoſe wounds which have for ſo many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe. However, after this long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we deſire to contribute thereunto: and that, as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the poſſeſſion of that right which God and Nature hath made our due, ſo we do make it our daily ſuit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compaſſion to us and our ſubjects, after ſo long miſery and ſufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is poſſible. Nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our ſubjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full

Declaration from Breda.

1660. full and entire adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deſired.

And to the end that the fear of puniſhment may not engage any, conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future, by oppoſing the quiet and happineſs of their country, in the reſtoration both of king, peers, and people, to their juſt, ancient, and fundamental rights: we do by theſe preſents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand to paſs under our great ſeal of England, to all our ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, who within forty days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and ſhall by any publick act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good ſubjects, excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by parliament; thoſe only excepted, let all our ſubjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the word of a king, ſolemnly given by this preſent declaration, that no crime whatſoever committed againſt us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in judgment, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or eſtates, or as far forth as lies in our power, ſo much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of diſtinction, from the reſt of our beſt ſubjects; we deſiring and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation and difference of parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our ſubjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themſelves, under our protection, for the reſettlement of our juſt rights, and theirs in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be adviſed.

And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animoſities againſt each other, which, when they ſhall hereafter unite, in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood: we do declare a liberty to tender conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

And becauſe in the continual diſtractions of ſo many years, and ſo many and great revolutions, many grants and purchaſes of eſtates, have been made to, and by many officers, ſoldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to actions at law upon ſeveral titles: we are likewiſe willing that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to ſuch grants, ſales and purchaſes, ſhall be determined in parliament, which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any act, or acts of parliament, to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all arrears due to the officers, and ſoldiers of the army, under the command of general Monk; and that they

ſhall

ſhall be received into our ſervice, upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy. 1660.

Given under our ſign manual and privy ſignet, at our court at Breda, this 4-14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The original of this declaration was ſent to the houſe of lords, and a duplicate in a letter to the houſe of commons, and repeated and ſent in a letter to general Monk, the council of ſtate, and the officers of the army. Hereupon it was reſolved by the parliament, to prepare an anſwer; and both in the houſe of lords, and in the houſe of commons, it was voted to proclaim king Charles at Whitehall, and in London, as lawful ſovereign of his kingdoms, which was done on the eighth of the month called May.

Is proclaimed king.

Now the king, who by the Spaniards was invited to return to Bruſſels, and by the French to come to Calais, choſe, at the preſſing invitation of the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, to go by Holland, and ſo he went with the yachts of the ſtates to Rotterdam, and from thence with coaches to the Hague; where having ſtaid ſome days, he took ſhipping at Schevelinghen for England, and made his entry at London on the anniverſary of his birth-day. Thus we ſee Charles the ſecond, who not long after he was crowned, reſtored not by the ſword, but by the marvellous hand of the Lord.

And from Holland arrives in England, and comes to London on the anniverſary of his birth-day.

About this time, G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, where he was haled out of a meeting, and impriſoned under a pretence of having cauſed a tumult. But to give to the reader a true ſight of the matter, I muſt go back a little.

The ſtory at large of G. F. jun. being impriſoned at Harwich, on pretence of a tumult.

About four years before this time, ſome of the people called Quakers, being come into the ſaid town, one of them ſpoke a few words by way of exhortation to the people that came from the ſteeple-houſe; and paſſing on, he and thoſe with him went to an inn. The mayor hearing thereof, ſent to them, commanding that they ſhould depart the town, which they did after a ſhort ſpace; but about night they returned, and lodged at their inn, and the next day paſſed away peaceably. Not long after, the woman that kept the inn, was commanded to come before the magiſtrates, who threatened to take away her licence, unleſs ſhe promiſed to lodge no more ſuch perſons. But how eager ſoever they were for keeping out the Quakers, yet it proved ineffectual; for it ſeems ſome of thoſe that had been ſpoken to in the ſtreets, were ſo reached, that they came to be obedient to the inward teachings of the Lord they had been recommended to. And ſo a way was made for meetings there, whereby the number of thoſe of that ſociety began to increaſe. And becauſe they could no longer comply with ſuperſtitious burials, they bought a piece of ground to bury their dead in, but met with great oppoſition at their burials; and once, when ſeveral came along to bury a corps, it was by force taken from them, and ſet by the ſea-ſide, where having lain above ground part of two days and one night, it was privately covered by ſome with ſmall ſtones.

In the month called May, G. Fox the younger came to Har-

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R. Graſſingham goes freely with G. F. to the priſon.

Robert Graſſingham, who was ſhipwright of the admiralty in that port, being at the meeting, out of which G. Fox was haled, in love went freely along with him to priſon. This ſeemed to pleaſe the mayor, who ſome days before had been heard to ſay concerning Graſſingham, 'If I could but get him out of the town, I 'ſhould know what courſe to take with the other Quakers.' Some time after G. Fox was impriſoned, a mittimus was ſent to the gaoler, in which the priſoner was charged with 'cauſing a tumult in that 'borough, and diſturbing the peace thereof.' This mittimus was ſigned by Miles Hubbard, mayor, Anthony Woolward, and Daniel Smith; and theſe magiſtrates ſent notice of what they had done to the parliament, under a ſpecious pretence, that ſo they might not fall into diſgrace. The parliament receiving this information, iſſued forth the following order:

Monday, May 21, 1660.

THE houſe being informed, that two Quakers, that is to ſay, George Fox and Robert Graſſingham, have lately made a diſturbance at Harwich, and that the ſaid George Fox, who pretends to be a preacher, did lately in his preaching there, ſpeak words much reflecting on the government and miniſtry, to the near cauſing of a mutiny, and is now committed by the mayor and the magiſtrates there.

Ordered, That the ſaid George Fox and Robert Graſſingham be forthwith brought up in cuſtody; and that the ſheriff of the county of Eſſex do receive them, and give them his aſſiſtance for the conveying them up accordingly, and delivering them into the charge of the ſergeant at arms attending this houſe.

Ordered, That the thanks of this houſe be given to the mayor and magiſtrates of Harwich for their care in this buſineſs.

WILLIAM JESSOP, *clerk of the commons houſe of parliament.*

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By this it appeared that the magiſtrates of Harwich had ſpecial friends in the parliament. R. Graſſingham being at liberty, was gone to London; and when this order came to Harwich, G. Fox was delivered to the ſheriff of Eſſex and his men: theſe went with him to London, and upon the road they met Graſſingham, who was coming from London to Harwich, in purſuance of an order which he had received from the commiſſioner of the admiralty and navy, for refitting one of the king's frigates. But notwithſtanding Graſſingham ſhewed his order to the ſheriff, yet he brought him back to London with Fox, and delivered them into the cuſtody of the ſergeant at arms attending the houſe, who committed them to Lambeth-houſe. They having been there about three weeks, wrote a letter to the houſe of commons, wherein they gave ſome account of the manner of their impriſonment, and deſired, 'that they with their accuſers might be brought face 'to face before the parliament, ſaying, that if any thing could be 'proved againſt them, worthy of puniſhment, they ſhould not 'refuſe it. But they thought it to be unjuſt and unreaſonable, 'that a man ſhould be haled out of a peaceable meeting, and ſent 'to priſon, without being examined, only for declaring againſt the 'curſing and the wickedneſs of the rude people, and againſt ſuch 'as ſuffered ſuch ungodlineſs, and did not ſeek to ſuppreſs it.

Are both committed to the ſergeant at arms, and write to the houſe of commons.

This was the chief contents of their paper, which they encloſed in a letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in theſe words:

For the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons:

FRIEND,

WE deſire thee to communicate this encloſed to the houſe of commons, it being a few innocent, juſt, and reaſonable words to them, tho' not in the eloquent language of man's wiſdom, yet it is in the truth which is honourable.

We are friends to righteouſneſs and truth, and to all that are found therein.

ROBERT GRASSINGHAM,
GEORGE FOX.

But the ſpeaker did not deliver the paper, under pretence that it was not directed with the ordinary title, 'To the right honourable 'the houſe of commons.' Therefore by the help of their friends they got it printed, that ſo each member of parliament might have a copy of it. Now after they had lain about fourteen weeks in Lambeth gate-houſe without being examined, one of the members of parliament moved this buſineſs in the houſe; whereupon the following order was made:

After about 14 weeks im priſonment at Lambeth, the houſe ordered their diſcharge.

Thurſday, October 30, 1660.

ORDERED that George Fox and Robert Graſſingham, who, by virtue of a former order of this houſe, were taken into cuſtody by the ſergeant at arms attending this houſe, for ſome diſturbance at Harwich, be forthwith releaſed, and ſet at liberty, upon bail firſt given to render themſelves, when they ſhall be in that behalf required. WILLIAM JESSOP, *clerk of the houſe of commons.*

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Who are yet a good while detained for their fees.

Shortly after this order was iſſued forth, the ſergeant at arms ſent his clerk to demand fees and chamber-rent of the priſoners, aſking fifty pounds for fees, and ten ſhillings a week for chamber-rent. But ſince no evil was laid to their charge, they could not reſolve to ſatisfy this unreaſonable demand, yet offered to pay two ſhillings and ſixpence a week, tho' the chamber where they had lain, was the higheſt room in a lofty tower, and all the windows open, until they had gotten them glazed, without any charge to the ſergeant. Matters ſtanding thus, their cauſe was referred to the king's privy council. But it laſted yet a good while before they were releaſed; for ſeveral evaſions were made uſe of to keep them in cuſtody.

Memorable exhortations to k. Ch. 2d. by G. Fox.

Whilſt G. Fox was priſoner, he wrote a little book, which he called 'A noble ſalutation to king Charles Stuart.' Wherein he ſhewed him how matters had gone in England, viz. 'that his fa-'ther's party ſcorned thoſe that appeared in arms againſt them be-'cauſe of their meanneſs; for they were tradeſmen, ploughmen, 'ſervants, and the like; which contemptible inſtruments God 'made uſe of to bring down the loftineſs of the others. But thoſe 'of the parliament party growing from time to time ſucceſsful and 'prevailing got into the poſſeſſions of thoſe they conquered, and 'fell into the ſame pride and oppreſſion which they had cried out 'againſt in others; and many of them became greater oppreſſors 'and perſecutors than the former had been.' Moreover, the author exhorted the king to obſerve the hand of the Lord in the reſtoring of him. 'Therefore,' ſaid he, 'let no man deceive thee, by 'perſuading thee that theſe things are thus brought to paſs, be-'cauſe the kingdom was thy own proper right, and becauſe it was 'withheld from thee contrary to all right; or becauſe that thoſe 'called royaliſts are much more righteous than thoſe who are now 'fallen under thee. For I plainly declare unto thee that this king-'dom, and all the kingdoms of the earth are properly the Lord's. 'And this know, that it was the juſt hand of God, in taking away 'the kingdom from thy father and thee, and giving it unto 'others; and that alſo it is the juſt hand of the Lord to take it 'again from them, and bring them under thee; tho' I ſhall not 'ſay, but that ſome of them went beyond their commiſſion againſt 'thy father, when they were brought as a rod over you; and well 'will it be for thee, if thou becomeſt not guilty of the ſame tranſ-'greſſions.'

The author further exhorts the king to conſider, 'this his ſta-'tion was not without danger, becauſe of the changeableneſs of 'the people, a great part of which were perfidious, ſince one while 'they had ſworn for a king and parliament; and ſhortly after 'they ſwore againſt a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords: and 'afterwards again they ſwore for a ſingle perſon. Some time after 'they cried up a parliament again. And when O. Cromwell had 'turned out the parliament, and ſet up himſelf, then the prieſt 'prayed for him, and aſſerted his authority to be juſt; and when 'he died, they fawned upon his ſon Richard, and blaſphemouſly 'termed his father "the light of their eyes and the breath of their "noſtrils;" and they told him, "that God had left him to carry on

"that

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" that glorious work which his father had begun." Nay, ſome ' prieſts compared Oliver to Moſes, and Richard to Joſhua, who ' ſhould carry them into the promiſed land. Thus they conti- ' nually would flatter thoſe that were at the helm. For when ' George Booth made a riſing, and they thought there would be ' a turn, then ſome of the prieſts cried out againſt the parliament, ' and curſed ſuch as would not go out againſt them. But when ' Booth was taken, then many began to petition the parliament, ' and to excuſe themſelves, that they had no hand in that riſing.'

Next the author ſet forth the wickedneſs of the people, ' by ex- ' ceſſive drinking and drunkenneſs, thereby as it were to ſhew their ' loyalty to the king :' and he relates alſo, ' how having preached at ' Harwich, againſt the grievous wickedneſs of the people, he was ' haled to priſon in the king's name.' Finally, he exhorts the king ' to take heed of ſeeking revenge ; and to ſhew mercy.'

This paper, which was not a ſmall one, for it took up ſeveral ſheets, was delivered in writing by Richard Hubberthorn, into the king's hand at Whitehall, and was not long after by the author publiſhed in print.

Which were delivered to the king by R. H. and afterward printed.

Now one of the moſt eminent royaliſts drew up divers queries to the Quakers, deſiring them to anſwer them, and to direct their anſwer with this ſuperſcription, ' Tradite hanc amico regis,' that is ' deliver this to the king's friend.' For it was clearly ſeen, that ſeveral of their predictions came to be fulfilled, of which thoſe of Edward Burrough were not the leaſt. And therefore ſome (as it ſeems) thought that by the Quakers they might get ſome knowledge whether any ſtability of the king's government was to be expected. By the queries it appeared, that the author of them was a man of underſtanding, and of ſome moderation alſo ; and tho' I don't know who he was, yet I am not without thoughts that Edward earl of Clarendon, and high chancellor, may have been the penman thereof. The tendency of theſe queries chiefly was to know from the Quakers, ' what their judgment was concerning ' the king's right to the crown ; and whether they ever did fore- ' ſee his return ; and alſo whether they could judge that his reign ' and government ſhould be bleſſed or not.' Moreover, ' whether ' he might juſtly forgive or avenge himſelf? and whether he might ' allow liberty of conſcience to all ſorts of people,' &c. Edward Burrough anſwered theſe queries, and publiſhed his anſwer in print. It was directed to the king and the royaliſts. In it he ſhewed, ' that in ſome of their writings it had been ſignified, that ' they had ſome expectations of the king's reſtoration. That the ' king's coming to the throne was reaſonable and equitable, be- ' cauſe through the purpoſe of the Lord. That his reign and go- ' vernment might be bleſſed, or not bleſſed, according to his car- ' riage. And that he might juſtly forgive his and his father's ene- ' emies ; for though he and his father might have been injured ; ' yet for as much as they had applied to the ſword to determine ' their controverſy with the nation, the ſword went againſt them ; ' and by that whereby they thought to ſtand, they did fall ; and ' who then ſhould they blame for that which befel them, ſeeing ' the ſword, which they themſelves did chooſe, deſtroyed them.

Divers queries propoſed to the Quakers, ſuppoſedly by the E. of C.

Anſwered by E. Burrough.

1660. 'However, the author ſignified that this was not meant of the 'king's death; that being quite another caſe. And if ſuch, who 'had deſtroyed kingly government in name and title, and pre-'tended to govern better, and did not make reformation, but be-'came oppreſſors, having broke their promiſes, came to be pu-'niſhed on that account, with death, or otherwiſe, ſuch could not 'be ſaid to ſuffer for a good conſcience, nor for righteouſneſs ſake; 'but it was becauſe they were oppreſſors; and ſuffering for that 'cauſe could not be called perſecution.' 'But none of us' (thus ran Edward Burrough's words) 'can ſuffer for that cauſe, as not 'being guilty thereof. If we ſuffer in your government, it is for 'the name of Chriſt; becauſe nothing can be charged againſt us in 'this capacity as we now ſtand, and in this ſtate unto which we 'are now gathered and changed, nor in any matter of action or 'rebellion againſt the king, nor his father; nor in any thing con-'cerning the law and worſhip of our God, and the matters of his 'kingdom, and our pure conſciences. And if any that are now 'amongſt us were any way engaged in the parliament ſervice in 'the wars, it was not in rebellion againſt the king or his father, 'or that we ſought their deſtruction as men; but upon ſober 'and reaſonable principles, and not for corrupt ends, nor to get 'honour and riches to ourſelves, as ſome others might do, who 'went into the war for ſelf-ends, and continued in action, after the 'cauſe which was once engaged for was utterly loſt. And that 'principle, which ſome time led ſome into action to oppoſe oppreſ-'ſion, and ſeek after reformation, that principle is ſtill juſtified, 'though we are now better informed than once we were. For 'though we do now more than ever oppoſe oppreſſion, and ſeek after 'reformation; yet we do it not in that way of outward warring 'and fighting with carnal weapons and ſwords; and you ought 'to put a difference between ſuch as ſome time acted in the wars 'againſt you, in and upon ſober and reaſonable principles, and 'that did not make themſelves rich and high in the world thro' 'your ſufferings, and between ſuch as have acted againſt you for 'ſelf-ends, and have inſulted over you, and have made themſelves 'great and rich in this world thro' your afflictions and ſufferings.' To the query, 'Whether the great afflictions ſuſtained by the 'king divers years, from ſubjects of his own nation, and the 'guilt thereof, did lie upon all the ſubjects in general? Or whether 'upon any, or ſome particular ſorts of people, who were ſuch 'more than others?' E. Burrough made this anſwer, 'So far 'as his ſufferings were unjuſt, the guilt thereof doth not lie upon 'all the ſubjects in general, but upon ſome more than others; 'and ſuch are eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from others, if it be conſi-'dered who they are that raiſed the war in this nation againſt the 'king, and who firſt preached and prayed up the war, and proſe-'cuted it againſt the king's father, and who caſt out the biſhops 'and prelates from their places, and took their revenues and be-'nefices, and are become men as corrupted, as covetous and ſelf-'ſeeking, as proud and ambitious, as unjuſt perſecutors, as even 'the men were which they caſt out: and who it is that hath gotten 'great eſtates in the nation, and worldly honour, and raiſed them-

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'ſelves from nothing by the wars, and by your ſufferings; and 'who got the eſtates and titles of their enemies, and pretended to 'free them from all oppreſſions, but have not done it, but have 'continued the old oppreſſions, and have been ſtriving among 'themſelves who ſhould rule, and who ſhould be great. And as 'for us, who are called Quakers, we are clear from the guilt of 'all the king's ſufferings. We have not caſt out others, and taken 'their places of great benefices, neither have we made war with 'carnal weapons againſt any, never ſince we were a people. 'Neither have we broken oaths and engagements, nor promiſed 'freedom and deliverance, and for ſelf-ends and earthly riches 'betrayed as others have done. And in many particulars it doth 'appear, that we are clear from his ſufferings, for we have been a 'ſuffering people as well as they, by the ſame ſpirit which cauſed 'them to ſuffer, which hath been much more cruel, wicked, and 'unjuſt towards us, than it hath been towards them, though our 'perſecution hath been in another manner. But what they have 'done againſt us we can freely forgive them, and would have you 'to follow the ſame example. For if you could accuſe them in 'many things, ſo could we: but this is not a time to accuſe one 'another, but to forgive one another, and ſo to overcome your 'enemies. When they had gotten the victory, they did not re-'form, but became oppreſſors, as well as others, and became cruel 'towards others, that would not ſay and do as they: and for this 'cauſe the Lord hath brought them down, and may juſtly ſuffer 'others to deal with them as they have dealt with others. Yet 'notwithſtanding I muſt ſtill ſay, and it is my judgment, that 'there was very great oppreſſion and vexation under the govern-'ment of the late king, and biſhops under his power, which the 'Lord was offended with, and many good people oppreſſed by; 'for which cauſe the Lord might and did juſtly raiſe up ſome to 'oppoſe, and ſtrive againſt oppreſſions and injuſtice, and to preſs 'after reformation in all things. This principle of ſincerity, 'which in ſome things carried them on in oppoſing oppreſſions, 'and preſſing after reformation, I can never deny, but acknow-'ledge it; though many ſoon loſt it, and became ſelf-ſeekers, for-'getting the cauſe pretended to,' &c.

This is but a ſmall part of the queries, and the anſwers thereunto, which E. Burrough concluded with a bold exhortation to the king, to fear and reverence the Lord.

G. Fox, ſen. goes to Glouceſter, Worceſter, Drayton and Yorkſhire, and has a meeting at Balby where ſome thouſands are preſent. A troop of horſe comes from York to diſperſe them.

Now we return again to G. Fox the elder, whom we left about Briſtol; from whence he paſſed to Glouceſter, Worceſter, Drayton, (the place of his nativity) and Yorkſhire. In that country at that time a yearly meeting was kept at Balby, in an orchard, where ſome thouſands of people were met together. At York, about thirty miles off, notice being given of this meeting, a troop of horſe came from thence; and when G. Fox ſtood preaching in the meeting on a ſtool, two trumpeters came riding up, ſounding their trumpets, pretty near him: and then the captain bid him, 'come 'down, for he was come,' he ſaid, 'to diſperſe the meeting.' G. Fox then ſpeaking told him, 'he knew they were peaceable people: 'but

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but the capt. tho' a deſperate man gives them but little diſturbance.

'but if he did queſtion that they met in an hoſtile manner, he 'might make ſearch among them; and if he found either ſword 'or piſtol about any there, ſuch may ſuffer.' But the captain told G. Fox, 'he muſt ſee them diſperſed, for he came all night on 'purpoſe to diſperſe them.' G. Fox aſked him, 'what honour it 'would be to him to ride with ſwords and piſtols amongſt ſo ma-'ny unarmed men and women? but if he would be ſtill and 'quiet the meeting probably might not continue above two or 'three hours: and when it was done, as they came peaceably, ſo 'they ſhould part: for he might perceive, the meeting was ſo 'large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, 'but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night.' But the captain ſaid, 'he could not ſtay ſo long.' G. Fox deſired then, 'that if he himſelf could not ſtay to ſee the meeting ended, 'he would let a dozen of his ſoldiers ſtay.' To this the captain ſaid, 'he would permit them an hour's time;' ſo he left ſix ſoldiers to ſtay there, and then went away with his troop; he being gone, the ſoldiers that were left, told thoſe that were met together, 'they might ſtay till night if they would.' This they were not for, but parted about three hours after, without any diſturbance. But if the ſoldiers had been of ſuch a temper as their captain, perhaps the meeting would not have ended thus quietly: for he was a deſperate man, having once told G. Fox in Scotland, that 'he would obey his ſuperiors command; and if it 'were to crucify Chriſt, he would do it; or execute the great 'Turk's commands againſt the chriſtians, if he were under him.'

G. Fox is at a general meeting at Skipton, which when officers came to diſturb and ſaw the accounts of their care for the poor, they commend their practice and leave them.

Now G. Fox went to Skipton, where there was a general meeting concerning the affairs of the church. For many of his friends ſuffered much, and their goods being taken from them, and ſome brought to poverty, there was a neceſſity to provide for them. This meeting had ſtood ſeveral years; for when the juſtices and captains came to break it up, and ſaw the books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, and how care was taken that one county ſhould help another, and provide for the poor, they commended ſuch practice, and paſſed away in love. Sometimes there would come two hundred poor people belonging to other ſocieties, and wait there till the meeting was done; and then the friends would ſend to the bakers for bread, and give every one of thoſe poor people a loaf, how many ſoever there were: for they were taught to *do good unto all*, though *eſpecially to the houſhold of faith*.

George Fox is taken from M. Fell's, had to Ulverſtone, and ſo to juſtice Porter's at Lancaſter, who ſends him cloſe priſoner to the common gaol, where he is long continued.

From hence G. Fox went to Lancaſter, and ſo to Swarthmore, where he was apprehended at the houſe of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, judge Thomas Fell, her huſband, having been deceaſed about two years before. Now ſome imagined they had done a remarkable act; for one ſaid, 'he did not think a thouſand 'men could have taken G. Fox.' They led him away to Ulverſtone, where he was kept all night at the conſtable's houſe, and a guard of fifteen or ſixteen men were ſet to watch him; ſome of which ſat in the chimney, for fear he ſhould go up the funnel. Next morning he was carried to Lancaſter, but exceedingly abuſed by the way; and being come to town, was brought to the houſe of a juſtice,

juſtice, whoſe name was Henry Porter, and who had granted the warrant againſt him. He aſked Porter, 'for what, and by whoſe 'order, he had ſent forth his warrant?' And he complained to him of the abuſe of the conſtables and other officers: for they had ſet him upon a horſe behind the ſaddle, ſo that he had nothing to hold by; and maliciouſly beating the horſe, made him kick and gallop, and throw off his rider. But Porter would not take any notice of that, and told G. Fox, 'he had an order, but would not 'let him ſee it, for he would not reveal the king's ſecrets.' After many words were exchanged, he was carried to Lancaſter priſon. Being there a cloſe priſoner in the common gaol, he deſired two of his friends, one of which was Thomas Green, the other Thomas Commings, a miniſter of the goſpel, (with whom I was very familiarly acquainted) to go to the gaoler, and deſire of him a copy of his mittimus. They went, but the gaoler told them, 'he could not 'give a copy of it;' but yet he gave it them to read; and to the beſt of their remembrance, the matters therein charged againſt him were, 'that G. Fox was a perſon generally ſuſpected to be a 'common diſturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the 'king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers ſect. And that he, 'together with others of his fanatick opinion, had of late endea-'voured to raiſe inſurrections in theſe parts of the country, and 'to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the gaoler 'was commanded to keep him in ſafe cuſtody, till he ſhould be 'releaſed by order from the king and parliament.' No wonder that the gaoler would not give a copy of this mittimus, for it contained almoſt as many untruths as words. G. Fox then wrote an apology, wherein he anſwered at large to all thoſe falſe accuſations. And Margaret Fell, conſidering what injury was offered to her, by haling G. Fox out of her houſe, wrote the following information and ſent it abroad: 1660.

To all magiſtrates, concerning the wrong taking up, and impriſoning of George Fox at Lancaſter:

I DO inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaſter, ſent a warrant with four conſtables to my houſe, for which he had no authority, nor order. They ſearched my houſe, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of any offence againſt any in the nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before the ſaid Henry Porter, there was bail offered, what he would demand for his appearance, to anſwer what could be laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept of any bail; and put him up in cloſe priſon. After he was in priſon, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any priſoner, that ſo he may ſee what is laid to his charge: but it was denied him; a copy he could not have: only they were ſuffered to read it over. And every thing that was there charged againſt him, was utterly falſe; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be proved and manifeſted to the nation. So, let the governors conſider of it. I am concerned in this thing, in as much as he was apprehended in my

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houſe; and if he be guilty, I am ſo too. So I deſire to have this ſearched out.

MARGARET FELL.

M. Fell reſolves on a journey to London.

After this, Margaret determined to go to London, to ſpeak with the king about this matter: which Porter having heard of, 'ſaid 'he would go too;' and ſo he did. But becauſe he had been a zealous man for the parliament againſt the king, ſeveral of the courtiers put him in mind of his plundering of their houſes. And this ſo troubled him, that he quickly left the court and returned home, and then ſpoke to the gaoler about contriving a way to releaſe G. Fox. But in his mittimus he had overſhot himſelf, by ordering, 'G. Fox to be kept priſoner, till he ſhould be deli-'vered by the king, or parliament.' G. Fox alſo ſent him a letter, and put him in mind, 'how fierce he had been againſt the king, 'and his party, though now he would be thought zealous 'for the king.' And among other paſſages, he called to his remembrance, how, when he held Lancaſter-Caſtle for the parliament againſt the king, he was ſo rough and fierce againſt thoſe that favoured the king, that he ſaid, 'he would leave them neither 'dog nor cat, if they did not bring him in proviſion to his caſtle.'

Porter a turncoat.

One Ann Curtis coming to ſee G. Fox, and underſtanding how he ſtood committed, reſolved alſo to go to the king about it; for her father, who had been ſheriff of Briſtol, was hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king: upon which conſideration, ſhe was in hopes to be admitted to the king's preſence to ſpeak with him. Coming to London, ſhe and Margaret Fell went together to the king, who, when he underſtood whoſe daughter Ann was, received her kindly. She having acquainted the king with the caſe of G. Fox, deſired, 'that he would be 'pleaſed to ſend for him up, and hear the cauſe himſelf.' This the king promiſed her he would do, and commanded his ſecretary to ſend down an order for the bringing up G. Fox. But it was long before this order was executed, for many evaſions were ſought, as well by carping at a word, as by other craft; whereby the ſending up of G. Fox was retarded above two months. He thus continuing priſoner, wrote ſeveral papers, and among the reſt this:

A. Curtis and M. Fell, repreſent G. F's caſe to the king, whoſe order is long evaded.

Whereupon G. F. writes alſo.

To the KING.

King CHARLES,

THOU cameſt not into this nation by ſword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord: now if thou doſt not live in it, thou wilt not proſper. And if the Lord hath ſhewed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou doſt not ſhew mercy, and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee: and if thou do not ſtop perſecution, and perſecutors, and take away all laws that do hold up perſecution about religion; but if thou do perſiſt in them, and uphold perſecution, that will make thee as blind as them that have gone before thee: for perſecution hath always blinded thoſe that have gone into it; and ſuch God by his power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth ſalvation to his oppreſſed ones: and if thou doſt bear the ſword in vain, and let drunkenneſs, oaths, plays, maygames,

games, (with fiddlers, drums, trumpets, to play at them) with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpuniſhed; as ſetting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown a top of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them: and ſo he will you, if theſe things be not ſuddenly prevented. Hardly was there ſo much wickedneſs at liberty before now, as there is at this day; as though there was no terror, nor ſword of magiſtracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praiſe to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodlineſs by them. So hear, and conſider, and do good in thy time, whilſt thou haſt power; and be merciful, and forgive, that is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Chriſt.

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The ſheriff of Lancaſter ſtill refuſed to remove G. Fox, unleſs he would become bound, and pay for the ſealing of the writing, and the charge of carrying him up. But this he would not. Then they conſulting how to convey him, it was at firſt propoſed to ſend a party of horſe with him. But he told them, 'if he was ſuch a 'man as they had repreſented him to be, they had need to ſend a 'troop or two of horſe to guard him.' But conſidering that this would be a great charge to them, they concluded to ſend him up guarded only by the gaoler, and ſome bailiffs. On further conſideration, they found that this alſo would be very chargeable, and thereupon told him, 'if he would put in bail, that he would be in 'London ſuch a day of the term, he ſhould have leave to go up 'with ſome of his own friends.' G. Fox told them, 'he would 'neither put in any bail, nor give any money: but if they would 'let him go up with one or two of his friends, he would go up, 'and be in London ſuch a day, if the Lord did permit.' So at laſt when they ſaw they could not make him bow, the ſheriff conſented that he ſhould go up with ſome of his friends, without any other engagement than his word, 'to appear before the judges at Lon-'don ſuch a day of the term, if the Lord did permit.' Whereupon they let him go out of priſon, and after ſome ſtay, he went with Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers to London, whither he came on a day that ſome of the judges of king Charles the firſt, were hanged and quartered at Charing-Croſs, for now what E. Burrough and others had plainly foretold, was fulfilling on them.

He is ſtill detained.

And at laſt is permitted to come to London, in company with two of his friends, in order to appear before the judges.

The next morning G. Fox, and thoſe with him, went to judge Thomas Mallet's chamber, who then was putting on his red gown, to ſit upon ſome more of the king's judges, and therefore told him, 'he might come another time.' G. Fox did ſo, being accompanied by——Marſh, Eſq. one of the king's bed-chamber. When he came to the judge's chamber, he found there alſo the lord chief juſtice Foſter, and delivered to them the charge that was againſt him: but when they read thoſe words, 'that he and his friends 'were embroiling the nation in blood,' &c. they ſtruck their hands on the table: Whereupon G. Fox told them, 'that he was the man

'whom

And being accompanied by — Marſh, Eſq. one of the king's bed-chamber, is examined by the judges.

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So he was diſmiſt for that time, and the next day appeared at the king's bench bar at the hour appointed, being accompanied by Richard Hubberthorn, Robert Withers, and Eſquire Marſh, before-named. And being brought into the middle of the court, he look-ed about, and turning to the people, ſaid, 'Peace be among you.' Then the charge againſt him was read, and coming to that part which ſaid, 'that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in 'blood, and raiſing a new war, and that he was an enemy to the king,' &c. thoſe of the bench lifted up their hands. He then ſtretching out his arms, ſaid, 'I am the man whom that charge is againſt; 'but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have 'never learned any war-poſtures. Do ye think, that if I and my 'friends had been ſuch men as the charge declares, that I would 'have brought it up myſelf againſt myſelf? Or that I ſhould have 'been ſuffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with 'me? for had I been ſuch a man as this charge ſets forth, I had 'need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horſe: 'but the ſheriff and magiſtrates of Lancaſhire had thought fit to let 'me and my friends come up by ourſelves, almoſt two hundred 'miles, without any guard at all, which we may be ſure they 'would not have done, if they had looked upon me to be ſuch a 'man.' Then the judge aſked him, 'Whether it ſhould be filed, 'or what he would do with it?' and he anſwered, 'Ye are judges, 'and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what 'ye will.' The judges ſaid, 'they did not accuſe him, for they 'had nothing againſt him.' Whereupon Eſquire Marſh ſtood up and told the judges, 'it was the king's pleaſure, that G. Fox 'ſhould be ſet at liberty, ſeeing no accuſer came againſt him.'— Then they aſked him, 'whether he would put it to the king and 'council?' he anſwered 'Yes, with a good will.' Thereupon they ſent the ſheriff's return, which he made to the writ of Habeas Corpus, to the king, and the return was thus:

BY virtue of his majeſty's writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the ſaid writ, George Fox, in the ſaid writ mentioned, was committed to his majeſty's

majeſty's gaol, at the caſtle of Lancaſter, in my cuſtody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, Eſq. one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace within the county palatine aforeſaid, bearing date the fifth of June now laſt paſt; for that he, the ſaid George Fox, was generally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our ſovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers ſect; and that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to make inſurrections in theſe parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cauſe of his taking and detaining. Nevertheleſs, the body of the ſaid George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majeſty's juſtices, aſſigned to hold pleas before his ſaid majeſty, at his chamber in Sergeants-Inn, in Fleet-ſtreet, to do and receive thoſe things which his majeſty's ſaid juſtice ſhall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforeſaid writ is required. 1660.

GEORGE CHETHAM, Eſq. ſheriff.

The king upon peruſal of this, and conſideration of the whole matter, being ſatisfied of G. Fox's innocency, commanded his ſecretary to ſend the following order to judge Mallet for his releaſe. The king orders his releaſe.

IT is his majeſty's pleaſure, that you give order for the releaſing, and ſetting at full liberty, the perſon of George Fox, late a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and commanded hither by an Habeas Corpus. And this ſignification of his majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

For ſir Thomas Mallet, knight, one of the juſtices of the king's bench.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith ſent his warrant to the marſhal of the king's bench, for G. Fox's releaſe; which warrant was thus:

BY virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honourable ſir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries, for the releaſing and ſetting at liberty of George Fox, late a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and from thence brought hither by Habeas Corpus, and yeſterday committed unto your cuſtody; I do hereby require you accordingly to releaſe, and ſet the ſaid priſoner, George Fox, at liberty: for which this ſhall be your warrant and diſcharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660.

To ſir John Lenthal, knight, marſhal of the king's bench, or his deputy.

THOMAS MALLET.

G. Fox having been priſoner now above twenty weeks, was thus very honourably ſet at liberty by the king's command. After it was known he was diſcharged, ſeveral that were envious and wicked, were troubled, and terror ſeized on juſtice Porter; for he was afraid G. Fox would take the advantage of the law againſt him for his wrong impriſonment, and thereby undo him: and indeed G. Fox was put on by ſome in authority, to have made him And accordingly he is ſet at liberty, which makes juſtice Porter afraid.

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and the reſt examples. But he ſaid, 'he ſhould leave them to the 'Lord; if the Lord did forgive them, he ſhould not trouble him-'ſelf with them.'

R. Hubberthorn has a long diſcourſe with the king.

About this time Richard Hubberthorn got an opportunity to ſpeak with the king, and to have a long diſcourſe with him, which ſoon after he publiſhed in print. Being admitted into the king's preſence, he gave him a relation of the ſtate of his friends, and ſaid,

'Since the Lord hath called us, and gathered us to be a people, 'to walk in his fear, and in his truth, we have always ſuffered 'and been perſecuted by the powers that have ruled, and been 'made a prey of, for departing from iniquity; and when the 'breach of no juſt law could be charged againſt us, then they made 'laws on purpoſe to enſnare us; and ſo our ſufferings were unjuſt-'ly continued.'

King. 'It is true, thoſe that have ruled over you, have been 'cruel, and have profeſſed much which they have not done.'

R. H. 'And likewiſe the ſame ſufferings do now abound in 'more cruelty againſt us in many parts of this nation: as for in-'ſtance, one at Thetford in Norfolk, where Henry Fell (miniſtring 'unto the people) was taken out of the meeting and whipped, and 'ſent out of the town, from pariſh to pariſh, towards Lancaſhire; 'and the chief ground of his accuſation in his paſs (which was 'ſhewn to the king) was, becauſe he denied to take the oath of 'allegiance and ſupremacy; and ſo becauſe that for conſcience-ſake 'we cannot ſwear, but have learned obedience to the doctrine of 'Chriſt, which ſaith, *Swear not at all*;—hereby an occaſion is tak-'en againſt us to perſecute us; and it is well known that we 'have not ſworn for any, nor againſt any, but have kept to the 'truth, and our Yea, hath been Yea, and our Nay, Nay, in all 'things, which is more than the oath of thoſe that are out of the 'truth.'

King. 'But why can you not ſwear? for an oath is a common 'thing amongſt men to any engagement.'

R. H. 'Yes, it is manifeſt, and we have ſeen it by experience; 'and it is ſo common amongſt men to ſwear, and engage either for 'or againſt things, that there is no regard taken to them, nor fear 'of an oath; that therefore which we ſpeak of in the truth of our 'hearts, is more than what they ſwear.'

King. 'But can you not promiſe before the Lord, which is the 'ſubſtance of the oath?'

R. H. 'Yes, what we do affirm we can promiſe before the Lord, 'and take him to our witneſs in it; but our ſo promiſing hath not 'been accepted, but the ceremony of an oath they have ſtood for, 'without which all other things were accounted of no effect.'

King. 'But how may we know from your words that you will 'perform?'

R. H. 'By proving of us; for they that ſwear, are not known 'to be faithful, but by proving of them; and ſo we by thoſe that 'have tried us, are found to be truer in our promiſes, than others 'by their oaths; and to thoſe that do yet prove us, we ſhall ap-'pear the ſame?'

King.

King. 'Pray what is your principle?' 1660.

R. H. 'Our principle is this, *That Jeſus Chriſt is the true 'light which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, 'that all men through him might believe*; and that they were 'to obey and follow this light as they have received it, whereby 'they may be led unto God, and unto righteouſneſs, and the 'knowledge of the truth, that they may be ſaved.'

King. 'This do all chriſtians confeſs to be truth; and he is 'not a chriſtian that will deny it.'

R. H. 'But many have denied it both in words and writings, 'and oppoſed us in it; and above an hundred books are put forth 'in oppoſition unto this principle.'

Then ſome of the lords ſtanding by the king, ſaid, 'that none 'would deny that every one is enlightened.'

Lord. And one of the lords aſked, 'how long we had been 'called Quakers, or did we own that name?'

R. H. 'That name was given to us in ſcorn and deriſion, 'about twelve years ſince; but there were ſome that lived in this 'truth before we had that name given unto us.'

King. 'How long is it ſince you owned this judgment and way?'

R. H. 'It is near twelve years ſince I owned this truth, accord-'ing to the manifeſtation of it.'

King. 'Do you own the ſacrament?'

R. H. 'As for the word ſacrament, I do not read of it in the 'ſcripture; but as for the body and blood of Chriſt I own, and 'that there is no remiſſion without blood.'

King. 'Well that is it: but do you not believe that every one 'is commanded to receive it?'

R. H. 'This we do believe, that according as it is written in 'the ſcripture, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper took bread and brake 'it, and gave to his diſciples, and alſo took the cup and bleſſed it, 'and ſaid unto them, *And as often as ye do this*, (that is as often 'as they break bread) *you ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come*; 'and this we believe they did; *and they did eat their bread in 'ſingleneſs of heart from houſe to houſe*; and Chriſt did come again 'to them according to his promiſe; after which they ſaid, *We 'being many, are one bread, for we are all partakers of this one 'bread.*'

King's friend. Then one of the king's friends ſaid, 'It is true; 'for as many grains make one bread, ſo they being many mem-'bers, were one body.'

Another of them ſaid, 'If they be the bread, then they muſt be 'broken.'

R. H. 'There is a difference between that bread which he 'brake at his laſt ſupper, wherein they were to ſhew forth, as in 'a ſign, his death until he came; and this whereof they ſpake, 'they being many, are one bread; for herein they were come 'more into the ſubſtance, and to ſpeak more myſtically, as they 'knew it in the ſpirit.'

King's friends. Then they ſaid, 'It is true, and he had ſpoken 'nothing but truth.'

King. 'How know you that you are inſpired by the Lord?'

R. H.

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R. H. 'According as we read in the ſcriptures, that *the inſpi-*
'*ration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding*; ſo by his inſpiration
'is an underſtanding given us of the things of God.'

Lord. Then one of the lords ſaid, 'How do you know that you
'are led by the true ſpirit?'

R. H. 'This we know, becauſe the ſpirit of truth reproves the
'world of ſin, and by it we were reproved of ſin, and alſo are
'led from ſin unto righteouſneſs, and obedience of truth, by
'which effects we know it is the true ſpirit; for the ſpirit of the
'wicked one doth not lead into ſuch things.'

King and lords. Then the king and his lords ſaid, 'it was truth.'

King. 'Well, of this you may be aſſured, that you ſhall none of
'you ſuffer for your opinions or religion, ſo long as you live
'peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I have
'alſo given forth a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, that none
'ſhall wrong you nor abuſe you.'

King. 'How do you own magiſtrates, or magiſtracy?'

R. H. 'Thus we do own magiſtrates: whoſoever is ſet up by
'God, *whether king as ſupreme*, or any ſet in authority by him,
'who are *for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and the praiſe of them that*
'*do well*, ſuch we ſhall ſubmit unto, and aſſiſt in righteous and
'civil things, both by body and eſtate: and if any magiſtrates
'do that which is unrighteous, we muſt declare againſt it; only
'ſubmit under it by a patient ſuffering, and not rebel againſt any
'by inſurrections, plots, and contrivances.'

King. Then the king ſaid, 'that is enough.'

Lord. Then one of the lords aſked, 'Why do you meet toge-
'ther, ſeeing every one of you have the church in yourſelves?'

R. H. 'According as it is written in the ſcriptures, the church
'is in God, Theſ. i. 1. *And they that feared the Lord, did meet*
'*often together in the fear of the Lord*, and to us it is profitable, and
'herein we are edified and ſtrengthened in the life of truth.'

King. 'How did you firſt come to believe the ſcriptures were
'truth?'

R. H. 'I have believed the ſcriptures from a child to be a de-
'claration of truth, when I had but a literal knowledge, natural
'education and tradition; but now I know the ſcriptures to be
'true, by the manifeſtation and operation of the ſpirit of God
'fulfilling them in me.'

King. 'In what manner do you meet, and what is the order in
'your meetings?'

R. H. 'We do meet in the ſame order as the people of God did,
'waiting upon him; and if any have a word of exhortation from
'the Lord, he may ſpeak it; or if any have a word of reproof or
'admonition, and as every one hath received the gift, ſo they may
'miniſter one unto another, and may be edified one by another,
'whereby a growth into the knowledge of the truth is adminiſtred
'to one another.'

One of the lords. 'Then you know not ſo much as you may
'know, but there is a growth then to be admitted of?'

R. H. 'Yes, we do grow daily into the knowledge of the truth,
'in our exerciſe and obedience to it.'

King.

1660.

King. 'Are any of your friends gone to Rome?'
R. H. 'Yes, there is one in priſon in Rome.'
King. 'Why did you ſend him thither?'
R. H. 'We did not ſend him thither, but he found ſomething 'upon his ſpirit from the Lord, whereby he was called to go to 'declare againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry, which is contrary to 'the will of God.'
King's friend ſaid, 'There were two of them at Rome, but one 'was dead.'
King. 'Have any of your friends been with the great Turk?'
R. H. 'Some of our friends have been in that country.'

Other things were ſpoken concerning the liberty of the ſervants of the Lord, who were called of him into his ſervice, that to them there was no limitation to pariſhes or places, but as the Lord did guide them in his work and ſervice by his ſpirit.

So the king promiſed that we ſhould not any ways ſuffer for our opinion or religion; and ſo in love paſſed away.

Who promiſes on his word, friends ſhould not ſuffer for their opinion.

The king having promiſed Richard Hubberthorn over and again, that his friends ſhould not ſuffer for their opinion, or religion, they parted in love. But though the king ſeemed a good-natured prince, yet he was ſo miſled, that in proceſs of time he ſeemed to have forgot what he ſo ſolemnly promiſed 'on the word of a king.'

J. Perrot and J. Love come to Leghorn, are examined by the inquiſition, and diſmiſſed.

Now in this diſcourſe mention being made of Rome, &c. I'll ſay by the by, that one John Perrot and John Love being come to Leghorn in Italy, and having been examined there by the inquiſition, they anſwered ſo well that they were diſmiſſed. Being come afterwards to Venice, Perrot was admitted to the doge, or duke, in his palace, ſpoke with him, and gave him ſome books: and from thence he went with his fellow-traveller to Rome. Here they bore teſtimony againſt the idolatry committed there, in ſuch a publick manner, that they were taken into cuſtody. John Love died in the priſon of the inquiſition; and though it was divulged, that he had faſted to death, yet ſome nuns have told, that he was diſpatched in the night, for fear he ſhould annoy the church of Rome. However it was, he died in ſincerity of heart, and ſo was more happy than Perrot, who though then perhaps he was in a pretty good frame of mind, yet afterwards turned an eminent apoſtate, having continued priſoner at Rome a great while, and at length got his liberty: he was a man of great natural parts, but not continuing in true humility, ran out into exorbitant imaginations, of which more may be ſaid hereafter. About this time Samuel Fiſher and John Stubbs were alſo at Rome, where they ſpoke with ſome of the cardinals, and teſtified againſt the Popiſh ſuperſtition. They alſo ſpread ſome books amongſt the friars, ſome of whom confeſſed the contents thereof to be truth: but ſaid they, if we ſhould acknowledge this publickly, we might expect to be burnt for it. Notwithſtanding Fiſher and Stubbs went free, and returned unmoleſted.

At Venice Perrot ſpeaks with the duke and then with Love goes to Rome, where Love dies in priſon, and Perrot afterwards turns apoſtate.

S. Fiſher and J. Stubbs ſpread books at Rome, and return unmoleſted.

The caſe of Mary Fiſher, a maiden, and one of the firſt Quakers (ſo called) that came into New-England (as hath been mentioned before) I cannot paſs by in ſilence. She being come to

1660.

M. Fiſher comes to Smirna, from whence ſhe is ſent back to Venice; thence ſhe goes to ſultan Mahomet's camp, ſends to the vizier, who procures admittance to the ſultan, and he favourably receives her meſſage, offers her a guard, and diſmiſſes her with reſpect: ſhe then goes to Conſtantinople and returns ſafe to England.

Smirna, to go from thence to Adrianople, was ſtopped by the Engliſh conſul, and ſent back to Venice, from whence ſhe came by another way to Adrianople, at the time that ſultan Mahomet the fourth was encamped with his army near the ſaid town. She went alone to the camp, and got ſomebody to go to the tent of the grand vizier, to tell him that an Engliſh woman was come, who had ſomething to declare from the great God to the Sultan. The vizier ſent word, that next morning he ſhould procure her an opportunity for that purpoſe. Then ſhe returned to the town, and repaired next morning to the camp again: where being come, ſhe was brought before the ſultan, who had his great men about him, in ſuch a manner as he was uſed to admit ambaſſadors. He aſked by his interpreters (whereof there were three with him) 'whether 'it was true what had been told him, that ſhe had ſomething to 'ſay to him from the Lord God?' She anſwered, 'Yea.' Then he bad her ſpeak on: and ſhe not being forward, weightily pondering what ſhe might ſay, and he ſuppoſing that ſhe might be fearful to utter her mind before them all, aſked her, 'whether ſhe 'deſired that any might go aſide, before ſhe ſpoke?' ſhe anſwered 'No.' He then bad her 'ſpeak the word of the Lord to them, and 'not to fear, for they had good hearts and could hear it.' He alſo charged her to 'ſpeak the word ſhe had to ſay from the Lord, nei-'ther more nor leſs, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it 'would.' Then ſhe ſpoke what ſhe had upon her mind.

The Turks hearkened to her with much attention and gravity, till ſhe had done; and then the ſultan aſking her, 'whether ſhe had 'any thing more to ſay?' ſhe aſked him, 'whether he underſtood 'what ſhe ſaid?' and he anſwered 'Yes, every word,' and further ſaid, 'that what ſhe had ſpoken was truth.' Then he deſired her, to ſtay in that country, ſaying, 'that they could not but reſpect 'ſuch an one as ſhould take ſo much pains to come to them ſo far 'as from England with a meſſage from the Lord God.' He alſo proffered her a guard to bring her into Conſtantinople, whither ſhe intended. But ſhe not accepting this offer, he told her, 'it was 'dangerous travelling, eſpecially for ſuch an one as ſhe; and 'wondered that ſhe had paſſed ſo ſafe ſo far as ſhe had:' ſaying alſo, 'it was in reſpect to her, and kindneſs that he proffered it, 'and that he would not for any thing ſhe ſhould come to the leaſt 'hurt in his dominions.' She having no more to ſay, the Turks aſked her, 'what ſhe thought of their prophet Mahomet?' She anſwered warily, 'that ſhe knew him not; but Chriſt the true 'prophet, the Son of God, who was the light of the world, and 'enlightened every man coming into the world, him ſhe knew.' And concerning Mahomet, ſhe ſaid, 'that they might judge of him 'to be true or falſe, according to the words and prophecies he 'ſpoke;' ſaying further, 'if the word that a prophet ſpeaketh 'come to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the Lord hath ſent that 'prophet; but if it come not to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the 'Lord never ſent him.' The Turks confeſſed this to be true; and Mary having performed her meſſage, departed from the camp to Conſtantinople, without a guard, whither ſhe came without the leaſt hurt or ſcoff. And ſo ſhe returned ſafe to England.

Concerning

1660.

Concerning Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, two women, who at this time lay in the priſon of the inquiſition at Malta, and were not releaſed, till after three years confinement, where they ſuffered moſt grievous hardſhips; I intend to ſpeak hereafter, when I am come to the time of their deliverance; and then I purpoſe to make a large and very remarkable deſcription concerning it.

A ſhort hint concerning C. Evans and S. Cheevers.

In the mean-while I return to the affairs of England, where the government was now quite altered. Many of the late king's judges were now hanged and quartered: among thoſe was alſo colonel Francis Hacker, of whom about ſix years before this time it hath been ſaid that he took G. Fox priſoner. But he now himſelf was in priſon, and impeached not only as one of thoſe that kept the king priſoner, but alſo that he ſigned the warrant for the king's execution, and had conducted him to the ſcaffold. To all which and more, he ſaid little, but that what he did was by order of his ſuperiors; and that he had endeavoured to ſerve his country. But this did not avail him, for he was condemned for high treaſon, and hanged and quartered in October. A day or two before his death, Margaret Fell viſited him in priſon; and when he was put in mind of what formerly he had done againſt the innocent, he remembered it, and ſaid, 'he knew well whom ſhe meant, and had 'trouble upon him for it.' For G. Fox, (who had compared him to Pilate) bad him, 'when the day of his miſery and trial ſhould come 'upon him, to remember what he ſaid to him.' And as Hacker's ſon-in-law Needham then did not ſtick to ſay, 'that it was time 'to have G. Fox cut off:' ſo it came to be the lot of Hacker himſelf to be cut off at Tyburn, where he was hanged. Such now was the end of many, who were not only guilty of the king's death, and the putting to death of others who were for king Charles the ſecond, but had alſo tranſgreſſed againſt God by perſecuting godly people. They had been often warned, and ſeveral times told that God would hear the cries of the widows and fatherleſs, that had been cruelly oppreſſed by them; and as they had made ſpoil of the goods of thoſe whom in ſcorn they called Quakers, ſo now fear and quaking was brought upon them, and their eſtates became a ſpoil to others. How plainly E. Burrough had foretold this, hath been ſaid before; and not to mention others, I'll only ſay, that one Robert Huntington came into the ſteeple-houſe at Brough, near Carliſle, with a white ſheet about him, and a halter about his neck, to ſhew the Preſbyterians and Independents there, that the ſurplice was to be introduced again, and that ſome of them ſhould not eſcape the halter. Now how mad ſoever this was ſaid to be, yet time ſhewed it a preſage of the impending diſaſter of the cruel perſecutors: for when king Charles had aſcended the throne, his moſt fierce enemies were diſpatched out of the way.

Affairs in England.

Col. Hacker is executed for treaſon: a little before his death, he owns trouble for what he had done to the innocent.

A wicked ſaying of Hacker's ſon Needham.

God hears the oppreſſed, and diſtreſs is brought on the perſecutors.

R. Huntington's remarkable paſſage to the Preſbyterians and Independents.

The parliament ſitting at this time, ſome of thoſe called Quakers were admitted to appear in the houſe of lords, where they gave reaſons why they could not frequent the publick worſhip, nor ſwear, nor pay tithes; and they were heard with moderation. The king alſo about this time ſhewed himſelf moderate; for being ſolicited by ſome, and more eſpecially by Margaret Fell, he ſet

Quakers heard before the houſe of lords with moderation.

1660.

The king ſets about 700 of them at liberty, who had been impriſoned under O. and R. Cromwell, and an order is drawn up to permit them the exerciſe of their worſhip.

ſet at liberty about ſeven hundred of the people called Quakers, who had been impriſoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. This paſſed the eaſier, becauſe thoſe that were now at the helm, had alſo ſuffered under the former government: there ſeemed likewiſe ſome inclination to give liberty of conſcience; but there being among thoſe that were now in authority, ſome alſo of a malicious temper, they always found means to hinder this good work: and it juſt now fell out ſo that ſomething ſtarted up which put a ſtop to the giving ſuch a liberty as aforeſaid; though it was advanced ſo far, that an order was drawn up for permitting the Quakers the free exerciſe of their worſhip; only the ſigning and ſeal to it was wanting, when all on a ſudden the fifth-monarchy-men made an inſurrection. There was at that time a great number of this turbulent people in England: who perceiving that their exorbitant opinion was inconſiſtent with kingly government, which now had taken place, thought it not meet for their cauſe to ſit ſtill while the government, which was yet but new, ſhould be fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed. Perhaps they had alſo ſome intent to free ſome of the late king's judges, who were impriſoned; for among theſe was alſo ſir Henry Vane, who having been one of the chief of the common-wealth party, was likewiſe ſaid to be one of the heads of the fifth-monarchy-men. It was in the night when theſe people made a riſing; which cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that the king's ſoldiers ſounded an alarm by the beating of drums.

Inſurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men.

Sir H. Vane in priſon.

The train-bands appeared in arms, and all was as in an uproar, and both the mob and ſoldiers committed great inſolences for ſeveral days; ſo that the Quakers, though altogether innocent, became the object of the fury of their enemies, and many were haled to priſon out of their peaceable meetings.

, G. F. ſeized at his lodgings, to whom -- Marſh, eſq. ſhows extraordinary reſpect and love, and at laſt gets him diſcharged.

At that time George Fox was at London, and being lodged in the Pall-mall, at night a company of troopers came, and knocked at the door where he was; which being opened, they ruſhed into the houſe, and laid hold on him. One of theſe that had formerly ſerved under the parliament, clapped his hand to G. Fox's pocket, and aſked, 'whether he had any piſtol?' G. Fox told him, 'he 'knew he did not uſe to carry piſtols, why then did he aſk ſuch a 'queſtion of him, whom he knew to be a peaceable man?' Others of theſe fellows ran up into the chambers, and there found Eſquire Marſh, before-mentioned, in bed, who, though he was one of the king's bed-chamber, yet out of love to G. Fox, came and lodged where he did. When the troopers came down again they ſaid, 'Why ſhould we take this man away with us? we will let him 'alone.' 'Oh!' ſaid the parliament ſoldier, 'he is one of the 'heads, and a chief ringleader.' Upon this the ſoldiers were taking him away; but Eſquire Marſh hearing of it, ſent for him that commanded the party, and deſired him to let G. Fox alone, ſince he would ſee him forthcoming in the morning, and then they might take him. Early in the morning there came a company of foot to the houſe; and one of them drawing his ſword, held it over G. Fox's head, which made him aſk, 'wherefore he drew his ſword at a 'naked man?' At which his fellows being aſhamed, bid him, put

up

up his ſword; and ſome time after they brought him to Whitehall, before the troopers came for him. As he was going out, he ſaw ſeveral of his friends going to the meeting, it being then the firſt-day of the week; and he intended to have gone thither himſelf, if he had not been ſtopped: but now it being out of his power to keep them company, he commended their boldneſs, and encouraged them to perſevere therein. When he was come to Whitehall, ſeeing the ſoldiers and people were exceeding rude, he began to exhort them to godlineſs. But ſome great perſons coming by, who were envious to him, ſaid, 'What do ye let him 'preach? Put him into ſuch a place where he may not ſtir.' So he was put into that place, and the ſoldiers watched over him: but G. Fox told them, 'though they could confine his body, and 'ſhut that up, yet the word of life they could not ſtop.' Some then aſked him, 'what he was?' he told them, 'he was a preach-'er of righteouſneſs.' After he had been kept there two or three hours, Eſquire Marſh ſpoke to the lord Gerard, who came, and bid them ſet G. Fox at liberty. When he was diſcharged, the marſhal demanded fees, G. Fox told him, 'he could not give him any:' and he aſked him, 'how he could demand fees of him who was inno-'cent?' Nevertheleſs he told him, that 'in his own freedom he 'would give them two pence, to make him and the ſoldiers drink.' But they ſhouted at that, which made him ſay, 'if they would 'not accept it, they might chooſe; for he ſhould not give them 'fees.' Then he went through the guards, and came to an inn, where ſeveral of his friends at that time were priſoners under a guard, and about night he went to the houſe of one of his friends. 1660.

This inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men cauſed great diſturbance in the nation; and tho' the Quakers did not at all meddle with thoſe boiſterous people, yet they fell under great ſufferings becauſe of them; and both men and women were dragged out of their houſes to priſon, and ſome ſick men off their beds by the legs; among which was one Thomas Pachyn, who being in a fever, was dragged by the ſoldiers out of his bed to priſon, where he died.

On occaſion of the ſaid inſurrection friends ſuffer much through the nation. T. Pachyn dies in priſon; ſeveral thouſands are impriſoned, of which M. Fell gives the k. an account.

This perſecution going on throughout the nation, Margaret Fell went to the king, and gave him an account how her friends, that were in nowiſe concerned in the ſaid inſurrection and riots, were treated; for ſeveral thouſands of them were caſt into priſon. The king and council wondered how they could have ſuch intelligence, ſince ſtrict charge was given for the intercepting of all letters, ſo that none could paſs unſearched. But notwithſtanding this, ſo much was heard of the numbers of the impriſoned, that Margaret Fell went a ſecond time to the king and council, and acquainted them of the grievous ſufferings of her friends. G. Fox then wrote a letter of conſolation to his ſuffering friends; and alſo publiſhed in print a declaration againſt all ſedition, plotters and fighters, wherein he manifeſted, that they were an harmleſs people, that denied wars and fightings, and could not make uſe of the outward ſword, or other carnal weapons. This declaration was preſented to the king and his council, and was of ſuch effect, that the king gave forth a proclamation, 'that no ſoldier ſhould go to ſearch

G. F. prints a paper declaring againſt ſedition, &c. which was preſented to the king.

1660.

The Fifth monarchy-men clear the Quakers, and the k. ſets them at liberty without fees.

'any houſe, but with a conſtable.' When afterwards ſome of the Fifth-monarchy-men were put to death becauſe of their inſurrection, they did the Quakers, ſo called, that right, that they cleared them openly from having a hand in, or knowledge of their plot. This and other evidences cauſed the king, being continually importuned thereunto, to iſſue forth a declaration, 'that the Quakers 'ſhould be ſet at liberty without paying fees.'

Many Preſbyterian preachers conform, on which ſome of their hearers join with the Quakers.

Many of the Preſbyterian preachers now temporized, and for keeping their benefices, joined with the Epiſcopalians, and did not ſtick to put on the ſurplice. But this gave occaſion to many of their hearers to leave them, and join with the Quakers, ſo called, who could not comply with the times. Others, who were a little more ſtedfaſt, made uſe of their money to get liberty, tho' under the government of Cromwell they would permit no liberty of conſcience to others; inſomuch that one Hewes, an eminent prieſt at Plymouth in Oliver's days, when ſome liberty was granted, prayed 'that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magiſ-'trates of the nation, to remove this curſed toleration.' But this Hewes, after the king was come in, being aſked by one, 'whether 'he would account toleration accurſed now,' anſwered only by the ſhaking of his head.

And one Hewes who before had called toleration curſed, knew not what to ſay now.

Now tho' many of the Quakers, as hath been ſaid, were releaſed from priſon, yet they ſuffered exceedingly in their religious aſſemblies. Once a company of Iriſhmen came to the Pall-Mall, when G. Fox was there; but the meeting was already broke up; and he being gone up into a chamber, heard one of thoſe rude perſons, who was a colonel, ſay, 'he would kill all the Quakers.' Whereupon G. Fox came down, and told him, 'the law ſaid, *an 'eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth*; but thou threateneſt to kill 'all the Quakers, tho' they have done thee no hurt:' but ſaid he further, 'here is goſpel for thee: *here's my hair, here's my cheek, and 'here's my ſhoulder*,' turning it to him. This ſo ſurprized the colonel, that he and his companions ſtood amazed, and ſaid, 'if 'this be your principle as you ſay, we never ſaw the like in our 'lives.' To which G. Fox ſaid, 'what I am in words, I am the 'ſame in life.' Then the colonel carried himſelf lovingly; tho' a certain ambaſſador who ſtood without, and then came in, ſaid, that this Iriſh colonel was ſuch a deſperate man, that he durſt not come in with him, for fear he ſhould have done great miſchief.

At Pall-Mall a deſperate Iriſh colonel calmed by G. Fox.

Notwithſtanding ſuch like rude encounters, yet by the change of the government, ſome ſtop was put to the fierce current of perſecution; for the king being but newly ſettled on the throne, ſhewed yet an inclination to lenity. But this quiet did not laſt long, and was but a time of reſpiration: for the churchmen inſtigated (as it ſeems very probable) by the favourers of Popery, continued envious, and ſtaid but for an opportunity to ſhew their malice. An inſtance of which hath been ſeen already on the inſurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, and in the ſequel will be ſeen much clearer: ſince tho' they did not ſeem to perſecute for conſcience-ſake, yet under a colour of juſtice laws were made uſe of, that had formerly been enacted for the ſuppreſſion of Popery, and to ſecure the kingdom againſt Jeſuits, and other traitorous Papiſts;

Laws made againſt Papiſts are executed upon proteſtant diſſenters.

theſe

theſe being the laws, of which G. Fox in his letter to the king had ſaid, that 'they held up perſecution about religion.' 1660.

That it may be known what laws thoſe were, and that it may alſo appear what an unreaſonable uſe hath been made thereof, I ſhall here ſet them down, or abſtracts of them; that ſo it may be more plainly ſeen, what aukward means have been made uſe of, and how ſiniſtrouſly the laws were executed. Sometimes I may interweave among theſe abſtracts, ſome obſervations, or an account of a caſe, which, tho' not placed in due time, may yet be ſerviceable to give a true notion of things. I now repair to thoſe laws.

In the 27th year of king Henry the eighth, a law was made for payment of tithes: for that king having either given or ſold many chapels, and abbeys to laymen, thoſe laymen had no right, as prieſts claimed to have, to ſummon to eccleſiaſtical courts thoſe that failed in paying of tithes. But for this a law was provided, by virtue of which, a judge of an eccleſiaſtical court might be helpful to laymen, and in that law it was ſaid, For inſtance.

'If the judge of an eccleſiaſtical court make complaint to two 'juſtices of peace (quorum unus) of any contumacy, or miſde- 'meanor committed by a defendant in any ſuit there depending for 'tithes, the ſaid juſtices ſhall commit ſuch defendant to priſon, 'there to remain till he ſhall find ſufficient ſurety to be bound be- 'fore them by recognizance, or otherwiſe to give due obedience to 'the proceſs, proceedings, decrees, and ſentences of the ſaid court.' 27 Hen. 8. cap. 20. about tithes.

By this law (which is pretended to be ſtill in force) many honeſt people have ſuffered, and been kept very long in priſon: for they refuſing to find ſurety for the payment of tithes, which for conſcience-ſake they could not give to ſuch miniſters who lived from a forced maintenance, and did not (as they judged) profit the people; it was in the power of the prieſts to detain them priſoners, till the pretended debt was paid; which the perſecuted judged ſo unreaſonable, that ſome have therefore continued in priſon for many years, chooſing rather to die in gaol, than to uphold ſuch preachers by paying tithes to them. And the Quakers ſo called, have never offered reſiſtance, but ſuffering and forbearance have always been their arms, tho' they were almoſt continually vexed with laws that were never made againſt them; and more eſpecially were they moleſted with the oath of ſupremacy, which was made in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, tho' it (may be) projected in the time of Henry the eighth, which runs thus: ——

I A. B. do utterly teſtify and declare in my conſcience, that the [king's] highneſs is the only ſupreme governor of this realm, and of all other [his] highneſſes dominions and countries, as well in all ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical things or cauſes, as temporal. And that no foreign prince, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all foreign juriſdictions, powers, Oath of ſupremacy, 1 Eliz. cap. 1.

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In the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, an act was made for uniformity of common-prayer, and church-ſervice, having this clauſe:

1 Eliz. cap. 1. for not going to church every Sunday, 12d.

'Every perſon ſhall reſort to their pariſh-church, or, upon let 'thereof, to ſome other, every Sunday and holiday, upon pain to 'be puniſhed by cenſures of the church, and alſo to forfeit twelve 'pence, to be levied by the church-wardens there, for the uſe of 'the poor, upon the offenders goods, by way of diſtreſs.'

Here is to be noted, that ſome have proſecuted the pretended offenders on this clauſe, to obviate greater ſeverities; altho' this law was made becauſe of the Papiſts, thereby to force them to come to church; for about that time there were not ſo many proteſtant diſſenters in England, as afterwards; but theſe appearing in time, were as well under the laſh of this law as the Papiſts; for their religious aſſemblies were not reckoned to be churches, as the ſteeple-houſes by a metonymy generally have been called, at the ſame rate as the Jews meeting-houſes have been called Synagogues, tho' the word itſelf properly ſignifies the aſſembly of the people.

Now ſince the aforeſaid law was not ſtrictly obeyed, not only by Papiſts, but alſo by others, who aiming at a further reformation, could not longer comply with the rites of the church of England, in the 23d year of Elizabeth, a more ſevere law was made, with this clauſe:

23 Eliz. c. 1. 20 l. per month.

'Every perſon not repairing to church, according to the ſtatute 'of 1 Eliz. 2. ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for every month they ſo 'make default; and if they ſo forbear by the ſpace of twelve 'months, after certificate thereof, made by the ordinary unto the 'king's bench, a juſtice of aſſize, gaol-delivery, or peace of the 'county where they dwell, ſhall bind them with two ſufficient 'ſureties in two hundred pounds at leaſt, to their good behaviour, 'from which they ſhall not be releaſed, until they ſhall repair to 'church according to the ſaid ſtatute.'

This law it ſeems was not thought ſevere enough; therefore in the 29th year of the ſaid queen, another law was made with this clauſe:

29 Eliz. c. 6. Seize all the offender's goods, and two-thirds of lands and leaſes.

'The queen may ſeize all the goods, and two-third parts of 'the lands and leaſes of every offender not repairing to church as 'aforeſaid, in ſuch of the terms of Eaſter and Michaelmas, as 'ſhall happen next after ſuch conviction, for the ſum then due for 'the forfeiture of twenty pounds a month, and yearly after that '(in the ſame terms) according to the rate of twenty pounds a month,

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'month, for ſo long time as they ſhall forbear to come to 'church, according to the ſaid ſtatute of 23 Eliz. 1.'

Many proſecuted on theſe acts, but thro' the ſolicitation of George Whitehead and G. Latey, ſome ſtay of proceſs obtained.

Upon theſe acts many were proſecuted; but in the height of this proceeding, George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, and others ſolicited king Charles the ſecond in the behalf of their friends; which had ſuch effect, that the king ordered ſtay of proceſs in divers counties; yet afterwards the perſecution was continued till after his death, both as to impriſonment, as well as ſeizing of goods: and other old laws were alſo made uſe of; for in the 35th year of queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Papiſts ſometimes were forming plots againſt the queen, an act was made, containing the effect of this clauſe:

35 Eliz. c. 1. To abjure the realm.

'If any of above ſixteen years of age ſhall be convicted to have 'abſented themſelves above a month from church, without any 'lawful cauſe, impugned the queen's authority in cauſes eccleſiaſ-'tical, or frequented conventicles, or perſuaded others ſo to do, 'under pretence of exerciſe of religion, they ſhall be committed to 'priſon, and there remain until they ſhall conform themſelves, 'and make ſuch open ſubmiſſion as hereafter ſhall be preſcribed: 'and if within three months after ſuch conviction, they refuſe to 'conform, and ſubmit themſelves, being thereunto required by a 'juſtice of the peace, they ſhall in open aſſize, or ſeſſions, abjure 'the realm: and if ſuch abjuration happen to be before juſtices of 'the peace in ſeſſions, they ſhall make certificate thereof at the 'next aſſize, or gaol-delivery.

'And, if ſuch an offender refuſe to abjure, or going away ac-'cordingly, doth return without the queen's licence, he ſhall be 'adjudged a felon, and ſhall not enjoy the benefit of clergy; but 'if before he be required to abjure, he makes his ſubmiſſion, the 'penalties aforeſaid ſhall not be inflicted upon him.'

Tho' it may be ſuppoſed this act was made chiefly againſt Papiſts, yet ſome few of the Quakers, ſo called, have been proſecuted thereupon, which was for their lives; for if they had been willing to depart the realm, yet ſuch, who for conſcience-ſake could not ſwear at all, could not oblige themſelves by oath that they would do ſo. And this being very well known, it once happened, that one William Alexander of Needham in Suffolk, being with ſeveral more indicted upon this act, was aſked, 'guilty, or not guil-'ty.' He not being haſty to anſwer, the judge ſaid, 'why don't 'you plead guilty, or not guilty?' to which Alexander replied, 'what wouldeſt thou adviſe us to plead? The judge (who ſometimes uſed to be ſevere enough) ſaid, 'do you aſk my advice?' 'Yes,' ſaid Alexander. 'Then,' returned the judge, 'you ſhall 'have it; and I'll adviſe you to plead not guilty.' So the priſoners accordingly pleaded, 'not guilty.' Then ſaid the judge to the proſecutors, 'Now you muſt prove theſe men, neither to have been 'at their own pariſh-church, nor at any other church or chapel, 'elſe they are not within this act, which is a ſanguinary law.' Thus the judge carried on his diſcourſe, to a diſcharge of Alexander and his friends from that ſevere indictment; for the proſecutors were not able to prove this with evidence, as the law required,

W. Alexander, &c. indicted on this act, thro' the favourable advice of the judge, is diſcharged.

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W. Bennet and R. Vickris, long impriſoned on the ſame.

quired. One William Bennet had alſo been long in priſon at Edmondſbury in Suffolk, on this act, and one Richard Vickris near Briſtol. But now I go back again.

After the demiſe of queen Elizabeth, when James the firſt had aſcended the throne, the Papiſts ſtill continued their wicked deſigns, of which the gunpowder-plot may ſerve for an inſtance. To ſuppreſs therefore theſe malicious people, and for the better diſcovering of them, in the third year of that king's reign, an act was made, in which was contained the following oath, which was to be taken by popiſh recuſants:

Oath of allegiance made 3 Jac. c. 4.

I A. B. do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify, and declare in my conſcience before God and the world, that our ſovereign lord king James, is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majeſty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church, or ſee of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or to diſpoſe of any of his majeſty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade, or annoy him, or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects from their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majeſty's royal perſon, ſtate, or government, or to any of his majeſty's ſubjects within his majeſty's dominions. Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtanding any declaration, or ſentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee, againſt the ſaid king, his heirs, or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their perſons, their crown and dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence or declaration, or otherwiſe: and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe, and make known unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all treaſons and traitorous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him, or any of them. And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious, and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may be depoſed, or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in my conſcience am reſolved, that neither the pope, nor any perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge, by good and full authority to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge, and ſwear according to the expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation

vation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a chriſtian. So help me God. 1660.

This oath, commonly called, 'the oath of allegiance,' was afterwards called by the name of the 'teſt'; and the introduction of it makes mention of the gunpowder-plot, and ſignifies that this expedient was contrived to diſcover Papiſts; and yet many of the people called Quakers, have ſuffered thereby many years; for though they did not refuſe to declare their allegiance, yet becauſe it was well known they were not for 'ſwearing at all,' this oath was continually made uſe of as a ſnare to impriſon them.—Now the puniſhment ſtated againſt the Recuſants, was a premunire: and how grievouſly many Quakers have been oppreſſed on that account, tho' not eaſily related, yet I may give inſtances in due places of ſeveral in the ſequel. Other ſevere laws for perſecution have been made ſince, as will be ſeen in their proper time. Afterward called the Teſt, and the penalty a premunire.

At the cloſe of this year, E. Burrough wrote a conſolatory epiſtle to his fellow-labourers in the miniſtry of the GOSPEL, which I cannot omit to inſert here, becauſe it ſhews very evidently how valiant he was in the ſervice of TRUTH, which epiſtle is as followeth: E. Burrough writes a conſolatory epiſtle.

DEARLY and well-beloved brethren, in the heavenly relation, and bleſſed immortal birth, of which we are born moſt dearly in our Father's love; my ſalutation extendeth unto you all, as one with you perfectly in ſufferings and in rejoicings, in faith and patience, and even in all things which you do and ſuffer for the name of the Lord our God; and my ſoul greets you, and embraces you, and fervently wiſhes peace, love, and unity, and the increaſe of every good gift unto you all; for I am perfectly one with you; if you receive of our Father's fulneſs, I am refreſhed; and if you rejoice, I am glad; and if you ſuffer and be in heavineſs, I freely partake with you; whatſoever is yours, whether liberty or bonds, whether life or death, I partake of the ſame; and whatſoever I enjoy, the ſame alſo is yours; we are of one birth, of one ſeed, of one line, even of the generation of him who is without beginning of days, or end of life, who is an high prieſt, made after the power of an endleſs life; and as he was bleſſed of the Father, ſo are we, becauſe we are of the ſame birth, and are partakers of his nature, and he lives in us, and we in him.

Well, my dear companions, I need not multiply words unto you, as if you knew not theſe things; for, what know I that you know not? or, what can I ſay, but you know the ſame? Yet, bear with me, for my heart is very full, and my ſoul ready to be poured forth, that I may once more expreſs a little quantity of what is abounding in my heart; for love, even perfect love, even that love wherewith we are beloved of the Father, filleth my heart at this time towards all of you, from the leaſt to the greateſt; and I know nothing but love towards you all; and I doubt not but in the ſame love you do receive this my ſalutation, which is from the fountain of love, which at this time is opened in my heart.

Now, dearly beloved, the preſent conſiderations of my heart are very many concerning the great love of the Father, which hitherto hath

1660. hath been ſhewed unto us; we all know how that he called us by his grace, and turned our hearts from the vanities and evil ways of this world, and ſanctified us by his word, and put his image upon us, and called us by his name, and redeemed us unto himſelf, and gave us the teſtimony of his holy ſpirit in our own hearts, *That we ſhould be his people, and he would be our God*; he taught us, and inſtructed us, and fed us, and gave us peace and reſt in himſelf, and freed us from the bondage of ſin and corruption, and from his terror becauſe of ſin; and he removed our tranſgreſſions, and blotted them out, and ceaſed to ſmite us any more, but brought us into the land of reſt, flowing with mercy, and peace, and knowledge, and all good things: this did the Lord our God do for us in the days of our infancy, even when we were yet in our ſins he called us forth, and cleanſed us from them; and when we were ſtrangers to him, he made himſelf known unto us; and when we were wholly ignorant, he gave us knowledge; and when we were not a people, he raiſed us up, and made us worthy to be called by his name; and thus, and after this manner, did the Father love us, and ſhew his love unto us: this you know, even as I do, and the conſideration of it cauſeth me thus to expreſs it.

Again, when he had thus wrought for us, and ſhewed love unto us, he was pleaſed to call us out into his work, to the turning and converting of others unto the way of life; he put his ſpirit into us, and gave us gifts of knowledge and utterance, and armed us with wiſdom and ſtrength, and courage, and every way fitted us for that work and ſervice in which he hath carried us on; he, I ſay, fitted us for his work, and called us into it, and carried us on joyfully in it, and all this of his free love, and infinite power; and what we have been, and what we have done, it hath been only of the Lord, and not of ourſelves, even of his love, which to us may be admirable: for alas! what were we but children, and neither prophets, nor prophets ſons, and our education unanſwerable for theſe things, and to perform this calling? And therefore it is the Lord, and only he that hath effected his own purpoſe through us, and by us, as inſtruments mean of ourſelves, but by him very excellent.

Again, he hath mightily proſpered us in his work, and a glorious effect we have beheld of our labours, and travels, and teſtimony; yea, the Lord hath been with us abundantly, and his arm hath compaſſed us about, and he hath often given us great victory over the wiſe and prudent of this world; he hath made his own word often very powerful in our mouths, to the wounding of the conſciences of our enemies; and the Lord hath bleſſed our teſtimony, to the confounding the wiſdom of this world, and to the gathering of many unto himſelf; and he hath gone forth before us in his authority, and been always with us in his own work; and our teſtimonies, labours, and travels, have been very precious and pleaſant unto the Lord, and all his people; and the effect thereof cauſeth my ſoul to rejoice, becauſe the Lord hath been with us, and proſpered us unto a great people, who have received our witneſs, and accepted thereof unto their ſalvation; and unto the Lord alone the glory of all this appertaineth.

And

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And for theſe eight years and upward, the hand of the Lord hath carried us through great labours and travels in his ſervice, and many dangers, and perſecutions, and afflictions have attended us all this time; and ye know that many a time hath the Lord delivered us from the hands of ſuch as would have deſtroyed us; and we have been delivered again, and again, out of dangers and difficulties, and the Lord hath been a preſent help unto us in the time of our trouble; for the plotting of the wicked, and the purpoſe of ungodly men, hath often been broken for our ſakes, even many a time have we been delivered out of the ſnare that hath been laid for us, and we have ſeen our enemies fall before us on the right hand and on the left, even the wiſe in their worldly wiſdom, and the fooliſh in their brutiſhneſs, both profeſſors and profane hath our God often cut ſhort in their deſires and endeavours for our deſtruction; and we have been wonderfully preſerved unto this day; and all this I attribute to the infinite love and power of the Lord God, who is bleſſed for ever-more.

And through all theſe things we are yet alive, and the Lord doth not fail us unto this hour, but he lives and walks in us, and with us, and his teſtimony is with us, even the ſeal of his good ſpirit in our hearts, that we are his ſons and ſervants, and we are confirmed by many tokens that he is our God, and we are his people, and that great oppreſſion which we have met withal, hath not reſtrained us, but through it all have we grown, and proſpered unto this day: and concerning the things whereof we have teſtified theſe divers years, I am no way doubtful but our God will fulfil them, neither can my confidence be ſhaken by what is or can come to paſs; for antichriſt muſt fall, falſe miniſtry and worſhip, falſe ways and doctrines God will confound, falſe power and falſe church the Lord will lay low, and truth and righteouſneſs muſt reign; and God will gather his people more and more, and glorious days will appear; God will exalt his kingdom upon earth, and throw down the kingdom of the man of ſin; all oppreſſion muſt ceaſe, and the oppreſſors ſhall be no more; and God will free his people, and they ſhall be happy in this world, and for-ever: theſe things have we propheſied from day to day; and my faith is conſtant and unmoveable, that God will effect theſe things in his ſeaſon; for the Lord never yet deceived me, but what he hath ſaid will ſurely come to paſs.

And therefore, brethren, let us be in hope and patience, and live in the word of patience, and not be faint-hearted, as tho' the Lord had forgotten us, or was unmindful of us, or as though he would not perform what he had teſtified of by us; *for he is not a man that he ſhould lie*, nor as a man, that he is given to change: but lift up your heads, for the Lord is with us, even in our greateſt tribulations and afflictions, and he will accompliſh his purpoſe; for he is mighty to ſave his people, and to deſtroy his enemies.

It is true, the gates of hell at this time ſeem to be open againſt us, and we are a people like to be ſwallowed up of our enemies, and floods of wickedneſs ſeem to overflow, and the waves of the great ſea ſeem to be void of mercy, and the hope of our adverſaries is to extinguiſh us from being a people, and to deſtroy us from

1660. the face of the earth; and the hands of our perſecutors are highly exalted at this day, as tho' all that we have done for the Lord, by our labours and travels, ſhould now be made of none effect.

Well, dear brethren, though it be thus, yet our God can deliver us, and confound our adverſaries; and we can appeal unto our God, and can ſpread our cauſe before him; and he knows that our ſufferings and afflictions are altogether unjuſt, and unequal; and unrighteous, and that our perſecutors do afflict us out of their envy, and without any juſt cauſe adminiſtred unto them by us; our God knows it, angels and ſaints know it, that we are at this day a perſecuted people, for religion's-ſake; and this our preſent affliction is not any juſt puniſhment, either from the juſtice of God, or from the juſtice of men.

For God hath given us the witneſs of his eternal ſpirit, that wrath is not in him towards us; his wrath be to his enemies, but unto us is joy and peace for ever-more: and the Lord clears us, and he juſtifies us, who then ſhall condemn us? He chargeth no guilt upon us, as if we were unto ourſelves the cauſe, by our evil deeds, of theſe our preſent ſufferings, and as if this were come to paſs upon us, as puniſhment from the hand of God: I ſay, it is not ſo; theſe our preſent ſufferings are not out of God's anger towards us, for his love is to us, let his wrath be to his enemies: and as I ſaid, neither is this ſuffering in the juſtice of men; for unto all the world we can ſay, (and God himſelf ſhall plead our cauſe) whom have we wronged or done evil to? What evil have we done to any man's perſon? Whoſe goods have we falſely taken or coveted? Againſt whom have we deſigned miſchief? Even the Lord himſelf be judge between us and our perſecutors in this matter; for unto him we are known that we do deſire the good of all, and not the hurt of any, and yet we are dealt with as evil doers; when as the God of heaven is witneſs in our conſciences, that we neither plot nor contrive, nor agitate in thought or word the hurt of any man's perſon; but we walk juſtly towards all, it being our principle to do to others as we would be done unto; and we can plead our cauſe unto our God, and he ſhall plead our cauſe with our enemies, and this is the preſent ſtate of our caſe; what we ſuffer at this time it is ſingly in the cauſe of God, and for righteouſneſs-ſake, and for the teſtimony of Jeſus, which we hold; therefore freely let us commit our cauſe unto the God of heaven, and if we die, it is for him, and if we live, it is to him; and we ſeek not vengeance againſt our enemies, but leave it to the Lord to plead with them.

And, dearly beloved, I hope I need not exhort you to be patient and faithful in this day of our trial, knowing that the cauſe is ſo excellent in which we are tried, it is God's cauſe, and not our own; and I hope you all have the teſtimony of his ſpirit in your conſciences, verifying the truth of the cauſe for which we ſuffer; and having that evidence, we need not to be doubtful as towards God, nor aſhamed before men, if ſo be that every one feels the evidence of the ſpirit of God bearing witneſs that we ſuffer for righteouſneſs-ſake, and for the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

And ſo, dear brethren, lift up your heads, and be aſſured, that

we

we are the Lord's, and in his cauſe we are tried, and he will judge and avenge our perſecutors in his ſeaſon, and we ſhall be a people when the Egyptians lie dead upon the ſea-ſhore, and when the raging ſea is dried up, this ſame people ſhall be ſafe. For hath the Lord done ſo excellent things for us? Hath he led us forth and bleſſed us unto this day? and hath he preſerved us hitherto thro' many tribulations and dangers? Hath he ſhewed infinite love and favour unto us to this hour? and will he now ſuffer us to be deſtroyed from being a people? Surely no. Will he give our enemies their heart's deſire to cut us all off, that they may blaſpheme his name? Surely no. And if it be the pleaſure of the Lord, that ſome of us ſhould ſeal our teſtimony with our blood, good is the will of the Lord; not ours, but his will be done; for the teſtimony that we have borne for theſe divers years, hath been ſo excellent in itſelf, and in its fruits and effects, that the finiſhing of it deſerves the beſt ſeal that poſſibly we can ſign it with, which is indeed our heart's blood; and this dwells upon my ſpirit; and yet, tho' it ſhould be thus, my confidence is ſure, that the work of the Lord ſhall proſper, and our teſtimony ſhall be glorious for-ever, and this people ſhall never be extinguiſhed from being a people. 1660.

And I know not any thing that remains upon our part at this day, but that we commit ourſelves into the hand of the Lord, living in the ſeed of God, wherein our election is ſure, before the world was, and for-ever: and let us remember one another, and pray one for another; and let us ſtir up all the children of our Father to faithfulneſs and patience, while we have time. I ſay, let us walk to the glory of the Lord, keeping faith and a good conſcience to our laſt end; our teſtimony ſhall never die, nor our memories ever periſh when we are ceaſed to be; and tho' we ſuffer now the loſs of life, and all we have, yet the effects thereof will be glorious in ages to come, and our preſent ſufferings will haſten the glory of God's work throughout the world: receive this as my ſalutation to you all.

It is now eight days ſince I left Ireland, where my ſervice hath been precious for the Lord for full ſix months, all which time the Lord carried me in much faithfulneſs and diligence in his ſervice, to the confirming of many in the Truth of God, and to the converting of others; and through and becauſe of the preſence of the Lord, which was with me, I had a very precious time, and was wonderfully preſerved through many dangers and trials; and I travelled near two thouſand miles to and fro in that land, and had very free paſſage in the principal cities and towns, till my work for the preſent was fully ended there, having more time than could be expected to clear my conſcience to all people. It would be too large to mention every particular tranſaction, wherein I perceived the eminent hand of God with me; and alſo many things I obſerved concerning the preſent ſtate of things which I ſhall not mention; for what have we to do with the affairs of worldly kingdoms? But as for friends, it was well with them, they grow and increaſe in the bleſſings and fulneſs of the Father; and when I came thence all was quiet, and very few in priſon, tho' (I ſuppoſe) the

tidings

1660. tidings of things as they are here, will produce the ſame ſufferings upon them: but I hope they will be bold and valiant for the truth, in giving their teſtimony by faithful ſufferings, till theſe things be finiſhed.

Thus I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlaſting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and ſuffering for the name of the Lord and his truth. I am well, and at liberty, as yet.

11th of the 12th month, 1660.

E. B.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

1661. THE year 1661 being come, the government was altogether changed. Charles the ſecond was now ſeated on the throne of England in peace, and the power of perſecution ſeemed ſomewhat reſtrained; ſo that there was an appearance of ſome quiet and calm. Therefore I'll now take a turn to New-England, to draw back the curtains of the bloody ſtage at Boſton. We have already ſeen in the foregoing relation, how William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, and Mary Dyar were put to death by their perſecutors, but their blood-thirſtineſs was not yet quenched.

Perſecution in New-England continued.

William Leddra, who was baniſhed from Boſton on pain of death, was under ſuch neceſſity of conſcience, that he could not forbear returning thither; where he came about the concluſion of the foregoing year; but was ſoon taken priſoner, and being faſtened to a log of wood, was kept night and day locked in chains, in an open priſon, during a very cold winter; where we will leave him for the preſent, and in the mean-while inſert here an apology of the Boſton perſecutors concerning their cruel carriage, which may ſerve to confirm the truth of what hath been already related of their wicked dealings. For it ſeems, that fearing their bloody deeds would be diſapproved by the court of England, they thought it ſafeſt for them to gild their tranſactions with a ſpecious pretence; tho' this was of no other effect than that thereby they yet more expoſed their own ſhame to publick view, and in proceſs of time they alſo incurred the king's diſpleaſure; for tho' Charles the ſecond was inclined to voluptuouſneſs, yet he was good-natured, and the perſecution in his reign proceeded chiefly from the inſtigation of other malicious men. But to come to the apology or declaration of the bloody perſecutors, it was as followeth:

W. Leddra, tho' baniſhed, returns to Boſton, is taken and locked in chains in an open priſon in a cold winter.

The Boſton perſecutors, apprehending their cruel proceedings would be complained of and diſapproved in England, ſend over an apology.

ALTHO' the juſtice of our proceedings againſt William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, and Mary Dyar, ſupported by the authority of this court, the laws of this country, and the law of God, may rather perſuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any neceſſity to apologize for the ſame: yet for as much as men

of

of weaker parts; out of pity, and commiſeration, a commendable and Chriſtian virtue, yet eaſily abuſed, and ſuſceptible of ſiniſter and dangerous impreſſions, for want of a full information, may be leſs ſatisfied; and men of perverſer principles led to calumniate us, and render us as bloody perſecutors; to ſatisfy the one, and ſtop the mouths of the other, we thought it requiſite to declare, that about three years ſince, divers perſons, profeſſing themſelves Quakers, (of whoſe pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands from Barbados and England) arrived at Boſton, whoſe perſons were only ſecured to be ſent away the firſt opportunity, without cenſure or puniſhment, altho' their profeſſed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have juſtified a ſeverer animadverſion; yet the prudence of this court was exerciſed, only in making proviſion to ſecure the peace and order here eſtabliſhed, againſt their attempts, whoſe deſign (we were well-aſſured by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predeceſſors in Munſter) was to undermine and ruin the ſame. 1661.

And accordingly a law was made and publiſhed, prohibiting all maſters of ſhips to bring any Quakers into this juriſdiction, and themſelves from coming in on penalty of the houſe of correction, till they ſhould be ſent away. Notwithſtanding which, by a back-door they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themſelves proving inſufficient to reſtrain their impudent and inſolent obtruſions, was increaſed by the loſs of the ears of thoſe who offended the ſecond time; which alſo being too weak a defence againſt their impetuous frantick fury, neceſſitated us to endeavour our ſecurity; and upon ſerious conſideration, after the former experiments by their inceſſant aſſaults, a law was made, that ſuch perſons ſhould be baniſhed upon pain of death, according to the example of England, in their proviſion againſt Jeſuits; which ſentence being regularly pronounced at the laſt court of aſſiſtants, againſt the parties above-named, and they either returning, or continuing preſumptuouſly in this juriſdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themſelves to be the perſons baniſhed, were ſentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforeſaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyar (upon petition of her ſon, and the mercy and clemency of this court) had liberty to depart within two days; which ſhe hath accepted of. The conſideration of our gradual proceeding will vindicate us from the clamorous accuſations of ſeverity, our own juſt and neceſſary defence calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the point, which theſe perſons have violently and wilfully ruſhed upon, and thereby become felons de ſe; which, might it have been prevented, and the ſovereign law, 'ſalus populi,' been preſerved, our former proceedings, as well as the ſparing Mary Dyar upon an inconſiderable interceſſion, will manifeſtly evince, that we deſire their lives abſent, rather than their deaths preſent.

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

In this apology, wherein the Quakers (who always were an harmleſs people, and never made reſiſtance with outward arms)

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are compared to the mutinous and riotous Anabaptiſts of Munſter, it is alſo ſaid of them, that 'by a back-door they found en-'trance.' And this reflects on ſome who unexpectedly came into New-England by land, ſince they could find no opportunity to come by ſea, becauſe the ſhip-maſters fearing the ſeverity of the Boſton laws, were unwilling to carry any Quakers thither. This gave occaſion to Thomas Thirſtone (who having been already at Boſton, was ſent away on board a ſhip) to think on other means; for finding himſelf moved in ſpirit to go thither again, he and Joſiah Coale (of whom mention hath been made before, and who may be further ſpoken of hereafter) went from England to Virginia, from whence they with one Thomas Chapman travelled ſeveral hundreds of miles on foot thro' vaſt wilderneſſes and woods, and ſo at length came into New-England, which made the perſecutors there aſtoniſhed; for they thought this impoſſible, that way having been accounted impaſſable for other men than the Indians, many of whom in thoſe parts are warlike men, who behaved themſelves well towards our travellers, whoſe journey, however was very hard; for they had not only hunger and cold (it being winter time) to encounter with, but they were alſo in danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, or of periſhing in unknown marſhes or bogs. But they were preſerved by an Almighty Hand; tho' this marvellous paſſage was repreſented like a criminal faucineſs, by theſe New-England perſecutors.

T. Thirſtone, and J. Coale go from England to Virginia, from whence with T. Chapman they travel on foot to New-England, thro' many dangers.

It ſeems to me that the aforeſaid apology, (which was publiſhed in print, and likewiſe anſwered) was given forth before Mary Dyar was put to death; but after her death the general court of Boſton ſent over an addreſs to king Charles the ſecond, ſigned by their governor, John Endicot, to juſtify their cruel proceedings. Herein they ſaid, 'that they had choſen rather the pure ſcripture 'worſhip, with a good conſcience, in that remote wilderneſs among 'the Heathen, than the pleaſures of England with ſubjection to 'the impoſition of the then ſo diſpoſed, and ſo far prevailing hier-'archy, which they could not do without an evil conſcience.'

The ſubſtance of an addreſs from the general court at Boſton, to k. Ch. II.

Concerning the Quakers, they ſaid, that they were 'open capi-'tal blaſphemers, and ſeducers from the glorious trinity, the 'Lord Chriſt, the bleſſed goſpel: open enemies to the govern-'ment itſelf; and malignant promoters of doctrines directly 'tending to ſubvert both church and ſtate.'

Moreover they ſaid, that 'at laſt they had been conſtrained for 'their own ſafety to paſs a ſentence of baniſhment againſt them 'on pain of death, ſince the magiſtrate in conſcience judged him-'ſelf called for the defence of all to keep the paſſage with the point 'of the ſword held towards them; and that this could do no 'harm to them that would be warned thereby. But the Quakers 'ruſhing themſelves thereupon was their own act, and a crime, 'bringing their blood upon their own heads.'

Could they have made the king believe this, they would willingly have done it; but he had too much ſenſe to be thus impoſed upon, though they did whatever they could to prevent his hearing the other party, in order whereunto they ſaid, 'Let not 'the king hear mens words; your ſervants are true men, fearers

'of

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'of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of go-'vernment and order; not ſeditious to the intereſt of Cæſar.'

How ſmooth and plauſible ſoever this ſeemed, yet it could not ſtand the teſt; and E. Burrough, who anſwered it in print, addreſſed the king thus:

To which E. Burrough returns an anſwer in print, addreſſed to the king.

'O king, this my occaſion to preſent thee with theſe conſidera-'tions is very urgent, and of great neceſſity, even in the behalf 'of innocent blood, hoping that my work will find ſuch favour 'with thee, as to induce thee to the reading and ſerious conſidera-'tion thereof.'

E. Burrough then examining all their pretended reaſons, repreſented alſo to the king how ſome of theſe petitioners ſome time before had not ſtuck to write in a letter from Boſton to one Gordon, 'There is more danger in theſe Quakers to trouble, and overcome 'England, than in the king of Scots, and all the popiſh princes in 'Germany;' which plainly denoted, that they reputed the king a troubler of England, whom they numbered with the popiſh princes of Germany. What E. Burrough obtained of the king for his friends, we may ſee hereafter.

W. Leddra brought with his log and chains before the court.

But firſt I return to William Leddra, whom I left in priſon. It was on the 9th of the firſt month of this year, that he was brought into the court of aſſiſtants, with his chains and log at his heels. And he aſking the gaoler 'when he intended to take off the irons 'from his legs?' The gaoler roughly anſwered, 'when thou art 'going to be hanged.' W. Leddra then being brought to the bar, it was told him by the rulers, ſpeaking of their law, 'that he was 'found guilty, and ſo, that he was to die.' He ſaid, 'What evil 'have I done?' The anſwer was, 'his own confeſſion was as good 'as a thouſand witneſſes.' He aſked, 'what that was?' To which they anſwered, 'that he owned thoſe Quakers that were put to 'death, and that they were innocent.' Beſides, 'that he would 'not put off his hat in court,' and that he ſaid 'thee' and 'thou.' Then ſaid William to them, 'You will put me to death for ſpeak-'ing Engliſh, and for not putting off my clothes?' To this major-general Deniſon returned, 'A man may ſpeak treaſon in Engliſh.' And William replied, 'Is it treaſon to ſay Thee and Thou 'to a ſingle perſon?' But none anſwered, only Simon Broadſtreet, one of the court, aſked him, 'whether he would go for England?' To which he anſwered, 'I have no buſineſs there.' Hereupon Broadſtreet, pointing to the gallows, ſaid, 'then you ſhall go that 'way.' To which William returned, 'What, will ye put me to 'death for breathing in the air in your juriſdiction? And for what 'you have againſt me, I appeal to the laws of England for my tri-'al; and if by them I am guilty, I refuſe not to die.' Of this no notice was taken, but inſtead thereof, they endeavoured to perſuade him 'to recant his error,' as they ſtiled it, and 'to conform;' to which, with a grave magnanimity he anſwered, 'what! to join 'with ſuch murderers as you are? then let every man that meets 'me ſay, "Lo this is the man that hath forſaken the God of his "ſalvation."

Whilſt the trial of W. Leddra was thus going on, Wenlock Chriſtiſon, who was already baniſhed upon pain of death, came into

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W. Chriſtiſon under ſentence of baniſhment on pain of death appears in court.

into the court. This ſtruck a damp upon them, inſomuch that for ſome ſpace of time there was ſilence in the court: but at length one of the bloody council cried, 'Here is another; fetch him up 'to the bar.' Which the marſhal performing, the ſecretary Rawſon ſaid, 'Is not your name Wenlock Chriſtiſon? 'Yea,' ſaid Wenlock. 'Well,' ſaid the governor John Endicot, 'What doſt 'thou here? Waſt thou not baniſhed upon pain of death?' To which Wenlock anſwered, 'Yea, I was.' And to the queſtion, 'What doſt thou here then?' he anſwered, 'I am come here to 'warn you that you ſhould ſhed no more innocent blood; for the 'blood that you have ſhed already, cries to the Lord God for ven-'geance to come upon you.' Whereupon it was ſaid, 'Take him 'away gaoler.'

It having been told William Leddra, 'that the laſt general 'court he had liberty given him to go for England, or to go out 'of their juriſdiction; and that promiſing to do ſo, and come there 'no more, he might ſave his life:' he anſwered, 'I ſtand not in 'my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my free-'dom, I ſhall go, but to make you a promiſe I cannot.' But this was ſo far from giving content, that they proceeded to pronounce ſentence of death againſt him; which being done, he was led from the court to priſon again, where the day before his death he wrote the following letter to his friends:

Sentence of death pronounced againſt W. Leddra.

His letter to his friends.

Moſt dear and inwardly beloved,

THE ſweet influences of the Morning-Star, like a flood diſtilling into my innocent habitation, hath ſo filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holineſs, that my ſpirit, is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly ſwallowed up in the boſom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

Alas, alas, what can the wrath and ſpirit of man, that luſteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and ſtrength of the king of the locuſts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the ſecret places of the Almighty? Or, unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the prince of peace? under whoſe armour of light they ſhall be able to ſtand in the day of trial, having on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is their weapon of war againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, both within and without! Oh my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have ſtood ſtill in that watch, which the Maſter (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulneſs of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God ſpeak a few words to you ſealed with the ſpirit of promiſe, that the taſte thereof might be a ſavour of life, to your life, and a teſtimony in you of my innocent death: and if I had been altogether ſilent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have ſealed my innocency with the ſtreams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, whom, and in whoſe preſence there is life; in which, as you abide, you ſtand upon the pillar

and

and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one ſtep without it, leſt you ſhould *compaſs a mountain in the wilderneſs*; for, *unto every thing there is a ſeaſon.* 1661.

As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulneſs, and leaves a ſavour behind it, ſo doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a ſweet ſavour behind it, that many can ſay, *they are made clean through the word that he hath ſpoken to them:* in which innocent condition you may ſee what you are in the preſence of God, and what you are without him. Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the life alone be your hope, your joy and conſolation, and let the man of God flee thoſe things that would lead the mind out of the croſs, for then the ſavour of the life will be buried: and altho' ſome may ſpeak of things that they received in the life as experiences; yet the life being veiled, and the ſavour that it left behind waſhed away by the freſh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, boaſted of by the airy thing, will be like the manna that was gathered yeſterday, without any good ſcent or ſavour: for, it was only well with the man while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the preſence of the Lord into the earth; what can he boaſt of? And although you know theſe things, and (many of you) much more than I can ſay; yet, for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and tender deſire of my ſoul to thoſe that are young; that they may read me in that from which I write, to ſtrengthen them againſt the wiles of the ſubtle ſerpent that beguiled Eve, I ſay, ſtand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the very entrance of wiſdom; and the ſtate where you are ready to receive the ſecrets of the Lord: hunger and thirſt patiently, be not weary, neither doubt: ſtand ſtill, and ceaſe from thy own working, and in due time thou ſhalt enter into the reſt, and thy eyes ſhall behold thy ſalvation, whoſe teſtimonies are ſure and righteous altogether: let them be as a ſeal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may ſee what the Lord hath done for your ſouls: confeſs him before men, yea, before his greateſt enemies; fear not what they can do unto you: *greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world:* for he will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekneſs you ſhall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favour of God; wherein, as you ſtand in faith, ye are the ſalt of the earth; for, many ſeeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their viſitation.

Take heed of receiving that which you ſaw not in the light, leſt you give ear to the enemy. *Bring all things to the light*, that *they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God;* the love of the world, the luſt of the fleſh, and the luſt of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore poſſeſs your veſſels in all ſanctification and honour, and let your eye look at the mark: *he that hath called you is holy:* and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and caſt it from you: let not a temptation take hold,

1661. for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a ſad ſtate; for, without grace poſſeſſed, there is no aſſurance of ſalvation: by grace you are ſaved; and the witneſſing of it is ſufficient for you, to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

Your brother,

WILLIAM LEDDRA.

Boſton gaol, the 13th of the firſt month. $16\frac{60}{61}$.

The day before he ſuffered death.

The next day after this letter was written, the execution of W. Leddra was performed, which was on the 14th of the firſt month. After the lecture was ended, the governor John Endicot came with a guard of ſoldiers to the priſon, where W. Leddra's irons were taken off, with which he had been chained to a log both night and day during a cold winter; and now they were knocked off, according to what the gaoler once ſaid, as hath been related before. William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Chriſtiſon, and others then in bonds, when called, went forth to the ſlaughter, encompaſſed with a guard to prevent his ſpeaking to his friends; which Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, and alſo baniſhed on pain of death, ſeeing, and ſpeaking againſt, one amongſt the company ſaid, 'O Edward, it will be your turn next!' To which captain Oliver added, 'If you ſpeak a word I'll ſtop your mouth.' Then W. Leddra being brought to the foot of the ladder, was pinioned, and as he was about to aſcend the ſame, he took leave of his friend E. Wharton, to whom he ſaid, 'All that will be Chriſt's 'diſciples, muſt take up the croſs.' He ſtanding upon the ladder, ſome body ſaid, 'William, have you any thing to ſay to the peo-'ple?' thereupon he ſpoke thus, 'For the teſtimony of Jeſus, and 'for teſtifying againſt deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought 'here to ſuffer.' This took ſo much with the people, that it wrought a tenderneſs in many. But to quench this, prieſt Allen ſaid to the ſpectators, 'People, I would not have you think it ſtrange, to ſee 'a man ſo willing to die; for that's no new thing. And you 'may read how the apoſtle ſaid, that ſome ſhould be given up to 'ſtrong deluſions, and even dare to die for it.' But he did not ſay, where the apoſtle ſpeaks ſo, neither have I found it any where in holy writ; tho' I know that Paul ſaith, Rom. v. 7. *Peradventure for a good man ſome would even dare to die.* But it ſeems it was ſufficient for Allen, if he could but render Leddra odious; who however continued cheerful: for as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he was heard to ſay, 'I commit my righ-'teous cauſe unto thee, O God.' The executioner then being charged to make haſte, W. Leddra, at the turning of the ladder, cried, 'Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit;' and ſo he was turned off, and finiſhed his days. The hangman cut down the dead body, and, leſt it ſhould be as barbarouſly uſed as thoſe of William Robinſon and Marmaduke Stevenſon, (which none holding when cut down, fell to the ground to the breaking of William Robinſon's ſcull)

W. Leddra led forth to execution.

His cheerful behaviour, and dying words.

A notorious perverſion of the ſcripture by prieſt Allen, to deceive the people.

W. Leddra executed.

1661.

ſcull) Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and others, caught the body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, till the hangman had ſtripped it of its clothes; who having done ſo, ſaid, that he was a comely man, as indeed he was. The body being ſtripped, William's friends took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried it. For further confirmation of what hath been related, the following letter of one of the ſpectators, that was there accidentally, may be added.

Boſton, March 26, 1661.

A ſpectator's letter concerning him.

ON the 14th of this inſtant, here was one William Leddra, which was put to death. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made further inquiry, I heard the marſhal ſay, that he was chained in priſon, from the time he was condemned, to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion; yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magiſtrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, (as he told me himſelf) and I aſked him 'by what rule' he did it? He anſwered me that 'he was a rogue, a very rogue.' 'But what is this to the queſtion,' I ſaid, 'where is your rule?' He ſaid he had 'abuſed authority.' Then I goes after the man*, and aſked him, whether he did not 'look on it as a breach of rule to ſlight and undervalue authority?' And I ſaid, that 'Paul gave Feſtus the title of honour, though he 'was a Heathen. (I do not ſay theſe magiſtrates are Heathens)' I ſaid. Then, when the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me 'Friend!' and ſaid, 'know that this day I am willing 'to offer up my life for the witneſs of JESUS.' Then I deſired leave of the officers to ſpeak, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, I am a ſtranger 'both to your perſons and country, and yet a friend to both:' and I cried aloud, 'for the Lord's ſake, take not away the man's life: 'but remember Gamaliel's council to the Jews. If this be of man it 'will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: 'but be careful ye be not found fighters againſt God.' And the captain ſaid, 'Why had you not come to the priſon?' The reaſon was, becauſe I heard, the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and ſaid, 'Come down William, you may go away if you will.' Then captain Oliver ſaid, 'it was no ſuch matter;' and aſked 'what I had to do with it?' and beſides bad me 'be gone:' and I told them I was willing; 'for I can-'not endure to ſee this,' I ſaid. And when I was in the town, ſome did ſeem to ſympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor preſident from our country, nor power from his majeſty, to hang the man. *I reſt,*

Your Friend,

THOMAS WILKIE.

To mr. George Lad, maſter of the America, of Dartmouth, now at Barbados.

* W. Leddra.

William Leddra being thus diſpatched, it was reſolved to make an end alſo of Wenlock Chriſtiſon. He therefore was brought from the priſon to the court at Boſton, where the governor John Endicot, and the deputy governor Richard Bellingham, being both preſent,

1661. W. Chriſtiſon brought before the court, threatened, and ſent back to priſon.

preſent, it was told him, 'Unleſs you will renounce your religion, 'you ſhall ſurely die.' But inſtead of ſhrinking, he ſaid with an undaunted courage, 'Nay, I ſhall not change my religion, nor 'ſeek to ſave my life; neither do I intend to deny my maſter; but 'if I loſe my life for Chriſt's ſake, and the preaching of the goſ-'pel, I ſhall ſave my life.' This noble reſolution gave ſuch a check to his perſecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but ſent him away to priſon again. And it being ſaid by ſome body, that William Leddra was dead, a certain perſon ſaid to Wenlock, 'O thy turn is next!' To which he gravely replied, 'The will of the Lord be done,' ſhewing thereby his entire reſignation.

Being now locked up again in priſon, he was kept there till about the fourth month: but then the court being ſet, a ſpirit of confuſion appeared there, and a diviſion among ſeveral of the members; for tho' the greateſt part were for taking the ſame courſe with him as with thoſe that were already put to death, yet ſeveral would not conſent to it. And as natural occurrences ſometimes cauſe reflections among obſerving people, ſo it happened here; for during their deliberations how to deal with Wenlock Chriſtiſon, which laſted for the ſpace of two weeks, the ſun in the firmament ſhone not, a thing at that ſeaſon ſomewhat extraordinary; which gave occaſion for ſome to ſay, 'that the ſun abhorring this 'bloody buſineſs, hid itſelf from them.' But after many debates, the ſanguinary council at length agreed, and Wenlock was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot, aſked him, 'what he had to ſay for himſelf, why he ſhould not die?' He anſwered, 'I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuſe 'not to die.' To this another ſaid, 'thou art come in among us 'in rebellion, which is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ought to be pu-'niſhed.' Hence it appears how perverſely theſe blood-thirſty perſecutors applied the holy ſcriptures to their cruel ends, and ſo made a wrong uſe of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul: to which falſe concluſion Wenlock anſwered, 'I came not in among you 'in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven, not in con-'tempt to any of you, but in love to your ſouls and bodies; and 'that you ſhall know one day, when you and all men muſt give 'an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed, (thus he 'went on) for you cannot eſcape the righteous judgments of God.' Then ſaid major general Adderton, 'You pronounce woes and 'judgments, and thoſe that are gone before you, pronounced woes 'and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come 'upon us as yet.' So inſolent and hard-hearted may man become, as not to ſtick even to defy the Moſt High. But before we draw the curtains of this ſtage, we ſhall ſee the tragical end of this Adderton, who now received this anſwer from Wenlock: 'Be not proud, 'neither let your ſpirits be lifted up: God doth but wait till the 'meaſure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run 'your ungodly race; then will the wrath of God come upon you 'to the uttermoſt. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, 'and is near to be poured down upon thee, and ſhall come as a 'thief in the night ſuddenly, when thou thinkeſt not of it.'

The ſun appears not for two weeks during their deliberations.

Chriſtiſon brought to the bar and examined.

Then

Then Wenlock aſked, 'By what law will you put me to death?' The anſwer was, 'We have a law, and by our law you are to die.' 'So ſaid the Jews of Chriſt,' replied Wenlock, '*we have a law*, '*and by our law he ought to die*. Who impowered you to make 'that law?' To which one of the board anſwered, 'we have a pa-'tent, and are the patentees; judge whether we have not power 'to make laws.' Hereupon Wenlock aſked again, 'How! have 'you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?'— 'No,' ſaid the governor. 'Then,' replied Wenlock, 'you are gone 'beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent; and that 'is more than you can anſwer. Are you,' aſked he, 'ſubjects to the 'king, yea, or nay?' 'What good will that do you?' replied the ſecretary.' 'If you are,' anſwered Wenlock, 'ſay ſo; for in your pe-'tition to the king, you deſire that he would protect you, and that 'you may be worthy to kneel amongſt his loyal ſubjects.' To which one ſaid, 'Yea, we are ſo.' 'Well,' ſaid Wenlock, 'ſo am I, 'and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better; 'for if the king did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he 'would ſee that they are as rotten towards him, as they are to-'wards God. Therefore ſeeing that you and I are ſubjects to the 'king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation.' It was anſwered, 'You ſhall be tried by a bench and a jury:' for it ſeems they began to be afraid to go on in the former courſe, of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. But Wenlock ſaid, 'That is not the law, but the manner of it: 'for I never heard, nor read of any law that was in England to 'hang Quakers.' To this the governor replied, 'that there was a 'law to hang Jeſuits.' To which Wenlock returned, 'If you put 'me to death, it is not becauſe I go under the name of a Jeſuit, 'but of a Quaker; therefore I appeal to the laws of my own na-'tion.' But inſtead of taking notice of this, one ſaid, 'that 'he was in their hands, and had broken their law, and they 'would try him.' Wenlock ſtill appealed to the law of his own nation: yet the jury being called over, went out, but quickly returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon the ſecretary ſaid, 'Wenlock Chriſtiſon, hold up your hand.' 'I will not,' ſaid Wenlock, 'I am here and can hear thee.' Then the ſecretary cried, 'Guilty or not guilty?' 'I deny all guilt,' replied Wenlock, 'for my conſcience is clear in the ſight of God.' But the governor ſaid, 'The jury hath condemned thee.' Wenlock anſwered, 'The Lord doth juſtify me; who art thou that condemneſt?'

1661.

Tried and brought in guilty.

They then voted as to the ſentence of death, but were in a manner confounded, for ſeveral could not vote him guilty of death. The governor ſeeing this diviſion, ſaid, 'I could find in my heart 'to go home;' being in ſuch a rage, that he flung ſomething furiouſly on the table; which made Wenlock cry, 'It were better 'for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody 'piece of work.' Then the governor put the court to vote again; but this was done confuſedly, which ſo incenſed the governor, that he ſtood up, and ſaid, 'You that will not conſent, record it: I 'thank God I am not afraid to give judgment.' Thus we ſee that to be drunk with blood, doth not quench the thirſt after blood;

The court divided, and in confuſion.

1661.

Endicot precipitately pronounces ſentence of death againſt him. Upon which the courage and words of the priſoner are very remarkable.

for Endicot the governor, ſeeing others backward to vote, precipitately pronounced judgment himſelf, and ſaid, 'Wenlock Chriſtiſon, hearken to your ſentence: You muſt return unto the place 'from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you muſt be hanged until you are dead, dead, 'dead.' To which Wenlock ſaid, 'The will of the Lord be done, 'in whoſe will I came amongſt you, and in whoſe council I ſtand, 'feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto the laſt gaſp.' Moreover he cried thus, 'Known be it unto you all, that if ye 'have power to take my life from me, my ſoul ſhall enter into 'everlaſting reſt and peace with God, where you yourſelves ſhall ☞ 'never come. And if you have power to take my life from me, 'the which I do queſtion, I do believe you ſhall never more take 'Quakers lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his ſervants. 'What do you gain by it? for the laſt man that you have put to 'death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power 'to take my life from me, God can raiſe up the ſame principle of 'life in ten of his ſervants, and ſend them among you in my 'room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your 'portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God.'

The holy confidence with which he uttered theſe words, ſhew, and the ſequel made it appear plainly, that ſomething ſupernatural was contained in them: and it is remarkable, that among the impriſoned Quakers, there were then ſeveral that had been baniſhed on pain of death; and among theſe alſo Elizabeth Hooton: and

He is brought back to priſon, detained five or ſix days, and then with 27 more of his friends ſet at liberty.

Edward Wharton, ſtaid in his habitation contrary to his ſentence of baniſhment. Wenlock having received ſentence of death, was brought to priſon again, where having been detained five days, the marſhal and a conſtable came to him, with an order from the court for his enlargement, with twenty-ſeven more of his friends, then in priſon for their teſtimony to the truth, ſaying, they were ordered by the court to make him acquainted with their new law. 'What means this?' ſaid Wenlock, 'Have ye a new law?' 'Yes,' ſaid they. 'Then ye have deceived moſt people,' ſaid Wenlock. 'Why?' ſaid they. 'Becauſe,' ſaid he, 'they did think the gal-'lows had been your laſt weapon. Your magiſtrates ſaid, that 'your law was a good and wholeſome law, made for your peace, 'and the ſafeguard of your country. What! are your hands now 'become weak? The power of God is over you all.'

Only P. Pearſon and Jud. Brown were firſt whipt at the cart's tail thro' Boſton.

Thus the priſon doors were opened, and Wenlock with twenty-ſeven more of his friends, as aforeſaid, ſet at liberty, ſave that two of them, viz. Peter Pearſon, and Judith Brown, being ſtripped to the waiſt, and faſtened to a cart's tail, were whipped through the town of Boſton, with twenty ſtripes a piece.

The perſecutors apprehend the king's diſpleaſure, who is offended on reading a relation of their cruelty.

Now tho' not long after an order came from the king, as will be ſaid anon, whereby theſe perſecutors were charged to deſiſt from putting the Quakers to death, yet it ſeems they had got ſome ſcent of the king's diſpleaſure, who had a mind to ſtop their bloody career: for having got a book written by George Biſhop, containing a relation of the cruel perſecution in New-England, and reading a paſſage concerning major general Deniſon, who, to put off thoſe

that

that complained of their wicked proceedings, ſaid, 'This year ye 'will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they 'will ſend to ſee how it is; and the third year the government is 'changed,' he took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it, ſaid, 'Lo, theſe are my good ſubjects of New-England; 'but I'll put a ſtop to them.' 1661.

It was not long before an opportunity was offered; for the news of William Leddra's death being come into England, with an information of the danger that others were in of going the ſame way, their friends took it ſo to heart, eſpecially Edward Burrough, that having got audience of the king, he ſaid to him, 'There was a 'vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it 'were not ſtopped, would overrun all.' To which the king replied, 'But I will ſtop that vein.' Then Burrough deſired him to do it ſpeedily; 'For we know not,' ſaid he, 'how many may ſoon be put 'to death.' The king anſwered, 'as ſpeedily as you will.' 'Call,' ſaid he to ſome preſent, 'the ſecretary, and I will do it preſently.' The ſecretary being come, a Mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, going again to the king, to deſire diſpatch of the matter, the king ſaid, 'he had no occaſion at preſent to ſend 'a ſhip thither; but if they would ſend one, they might do it as 'ſoon as they could.' E. Burrough then aſked the king, 'if it 'would pleaſe him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker, 'to carry the Mandamus to New-England.' The king anſwered, 'Yes, to whom you will.' Whereupon E. Burrough named one Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New-England, was baniſhed on pain of death, if ever he returned thither. And the king accordingly granted the deputation to him, with full power to carry the Mandamus, which was as followeth:

To prevent the like, Edward Burrough goes to the king, who promiſes to put a ſtop thereto, and immediately grants a Mandamus.

With a deputation to S. Shattock a Quaker, to carry the ſame.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed, that ſeveral of our ſubjects amongſt you, called Quakers, have been, and are impriſoned by you, whereof ſome have been executed, and others (as hath been repreſented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: we have thought fit to ſignify our pleaſure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of thoſe people called Quakers amongſt you, now already condemned to ſuffer death, or other corporal puniſhment, or that are impriſoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith ſend the ſaid perſons (whether condemned or impriſoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the reſpective crimes or offences laid to their charge; to the end that ſuch courſe may be taken with them here, as ſhall be agreeable to our laws, and their demerits. And for ſo doing, theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge. The king's Mandamus.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

By his majeſty's command,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

1661.

The ſuperſcription was,

'To our truſty and well-beloved John Endicot, Eſq. and to all 'and every other the governor, or governors, of our plantations 'of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that 'now are, or hereafter ſhall be; and to all and every the miniſters 'and officers of our ſaid plantations and colonies whatſoever, 'within the continent of New-England.'

Thus favourable the king manifeſted himſelf; and in England perſecution for religion was a little at a ſtand; but it was but a kind of reſpite. G. Fox the younger, a man of excellent qualifications, and great boldneſs, foreſaw an imminent ſtorm, and leſt any careleſneſs might enter among his friends, in the fourth month he wrote the following exhortation to them:

An exhortation of G. Fox, jun.

WHAT my heavenly Father hath determined for theſe men to do, no man can ſtop it: O that patience might be abode in by all that know his name, and his will ſubmitted unto by them that he hath called. O be ſtill, ſtrive not, but drink the cup which our Father ſuffereth to be given; I know it will be bitter to ſome; but whoſoever ſtriveth againſt it, ſhall come to loſs and ſhame: for the Lord will yet further try his people, till it be fully and clearly manifeſt who are the approved in his ſight: this he will certainly do; therefore let not the preſent calm beget a wrong ſecurity in any, for lo! the day haſtens, and cometh ſwiftly, that another ſtorm muſt ariſe; and in vain will it be to fly to the tall cedars and ſtrong oaks for ſhelter; for nothing but the name of the Lord can preſerve in that day.

GEORGE FOX, the younger.

That this G. Fox did not reckon amiſs, when in this exhortation he ſaid, 'the day haſtens that another ſtorm muſt ariſe,' we ſhall ſee ere long; but firſt we muſt take a view of things in America.

This Mandamus to the rulers of New-England being obtained, as hath been ſaid, quick diſpatch was thought neceſſary to ſend it thither. And Samuel Shattock being impowered by the king to carry it, an agreement was made with one Ralph Goldſmith, who was a maſter of a good ſhip, and alſo one of thoſe called Quakers, for three hundred pounds, (goods or no goods) to ſail in ten days. He then immediately made all things ready to ſet ſail, and with a proſperous gale arrived in about ſix weeks time before the town of Boſton in New-England, upon a firſt day of the week. The townſmen ſeeing a ſhip come into the bay with Engliſh colours, ſoon came on board, and aſked for the captain. Ralph Goldſmith told them, 'he was the commander.' Then they aſked him, 'whether he had any letters?' And he ſaid, 'Yes.' Whereupon they aſked, 'if he would deliver them;' but he ſaid, 'No, not to day.' So they went aſhore, and reported there was a ſhip full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law liable to be put to death, for coming in again after baniſhment: but they knew not his errand nor authority.

R. Goldſmith arrives at Boſton in about ſix weeks with S. Shattock.

All

1661.

All being thus kept close, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore that day, next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending the men that landed them back to the ship, they two went through the town to the governor John Endicot's door, and knocked. He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word, 'their business was from the 'king of England, and that they would deliver their message to 'none but the governor himself.' Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the governor came to them, and commanded Shattock's hat to be taken off, and having received the deputation and the Mandamus, he laid off his hat; and ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, he looked upon the papers, and then going out, went to the deputy-governor, and bid the king's deputy and the master of the ship follow him. Being come to the deputy-governor, and having consulted with him about the matter, he turned to the two aforesaid persons, and said, 'We shall obey 'his majesty's command.' After this, the master of the ship gave liberty to the passengers to come a shore, which they did, and met together with their friends of the town, to offer up praises to God for this wonderful deliverance.

Who the next day after delivers the king's Mandamus;

Which Endicot the governor promises to obey.

And friends meet to return praise to God for their deliverance.

Now for as much as several of their friends were yet in prison at Boston, the following order was given forth by the council not long after.

To William Salter, keeper of the prison at Boston:

YOU are required by authority, and order of the general court, forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers, who at present are in your custody. See that you don't neglect this.

Order of the general court to release the Quakers.

Boston, the 9th of December, 1661. *By order of the court,*
EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

Then they consulted what to do, that they might not incur the king's displeasure; and it was agreed to send a deputation to him. First colonel Temple was sent to acquaint the king with their having set the Quakers at liberty, and he was followed not long after by the chief priest, John Norton, and Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates.

Col. Temple first, and after priest Norton and S. Broadstreet sent to the king.

The year was now spent: but before I conclude it, I must take notice, as a pregnant instance of the marvellous vicissitude of mundane affairs, that in the fore part of this year, the body of O. Cromwell, which had been buried with great state in Westminster-Abbey, was digged up, as were also the bodies of Bradshaw and Ireton, which three corps were carried in carts to Tyburn, and there hanged on the gallows. Then the executioner chopped off the heads, stamped with his foot on the bodies, which were tumbled into a pit, dug near the gallows; and the heads were exposed on the top of Westminster-Hall, where I remember to have seen them. And that now befel Cromwell, which he said about seven years before in his speech to the parliament, as hath been mentioned in its due place, viz. 'that he would rather be 'rolled into the grave, and buried with infamy, than give his 'consent to the throwing away one of the fundamentals of that

The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton hanged at Tyburn, and their heads set upon Westminster-Hall.

1661. 'government, to wit, liberty of conſcience.' And yet he ſuffered perſecution to go on, as hath been related at large: but now, according to his ſaying, 'he was rolled with infamy into the 'grave;' which may ſerve indeed for a remarkable inſtance of the juſtice and equal judgments of God.

A Popiſh book, called 'Semper 'Idem,' publiſhed and ſold publickly at London.

About this time, a book came out at London, bearing the title of 'Semper Idem,' i. e. 'Always the ſame,' or a parallel of fanaticks. The author concealed his name; but he made it appear ſufficiently, that he was a Papiſt, and it may be a Jeſuit: for he inveighed not only againſt the Quakers and Baptiſts, but alſo againſt the Preſbyterians, and even Epiſcopalians, and conſequently againſt all PROTESTANTS. Nay, the MARTYRS that were burnt in the bloody reign of queen Mary, eldeſt daughter to king Henry the eighth, were no leſs vilified than the Quakers, in the ſaid book, by the ſcornful name of rebels and fanaticks. This book was ſold publickly, and it ſeemed that none durſt oppoſe it, for fear of diſpleaſing the court. But E. Burrough, who was of an undaunted courage, and ſo continued till his death, employed his pen to refute it, and gave forth his anſwer in print*, plainly ſhewing what the anonymous author aimed at, viz. 'That he would 'have the cruel uſage of fire and fagots revived, and wiſhed to ſee 'the burning of reputed hereticks brought again into vogue.' Which was the more to be taken notice of, becauſe ſuch a publication of vilifying the martyrs with calumnies, had not been ſeen at London for above an hundred years; and all the groundleſs poſitions of the ſaid author, were very notably anſwered by the ſaid E. Burrough.

* Entitled, 'Perſecution 'impeach-'ed,' &c. See his works page 793.

See his works p. 850.

And ſince perſecution in the latter end of this year, began to appear with open face again, he publiſhed a book, which he called, 'Antichriſt's government juſtly detected.' This he dedicated to all the rulers, &c. in the (ſo called) Chriſtian World; and therein, with ſound arguments, manifeſted the unlawfulneſs and injuſtice of perſecution, and from whence it had its riſe; and how dangerous it was to impoſe religion.

E. Burrough writes a book againſt perſecution.

Next he treated at large concerning hereſy, and what puniſhment pertained to ſuch as are truly convicted of it. But leſt any might think that he was for oppoſing the duty of the civil magiſtrate againſt malefactors, he ſaid concerning the puniſhment of hereſy, which he ſtated to be only an eccleſiaſtical cenſure, 'that 'he only intended this, where the error of a man and his here-'ſy in his mind and judgment, did only extend to the hurt of his 'own ſoul, and againſt God, and not to the harm of his neigh-'bour's perſon, or eſtate. But,' thus continued he, 'if his error 'and hereſy do extend further than only againſt God and his own 'ſoul, even to outward wrongs, or evils, or violence, or viſible 'miſchiefs committed, as murders, or other the like crimes againſt 'men, to the injuring of others, then I forbid not outward 'puniſhment, to be corporally inflicted upon the perſon and eſtate 'of ſuch a man; but it ought to be done; and that by the laws of 'men, provided for the ſame end: even ſuch a man's error, in 'ſuch his wrong dealing, may juſtly and lawfully be puniſhed 'with death, baniſhment, or penalties, according to the deſert of

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'the crime,' &c. The author alſo wrote circumſtantially concerning the government of antichriſt, and ſhewed the deceit that was in it, and who were the ſubjects of his kingdom. 1661.

It was ſomewhat before this time, that George Fox, the younger, being a priſoner, and ſeeing an intent of promoting popery, wrote the following letter to the king:

G. Fox, jun. writes to the king againſt popery, and the vices and liberties then indulged, with much plainneſs and freedom.

THE King of kings hath beheld, yea, the King of kings hath ſeen even all thy actings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walking in obſcure places; and thou haſt not hid thy counſels from the ALMIGHTY, but he hath ſeen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good words have not at all deceived him, nor thoſe that purely ſtood in his counſel; for he hath ſeen the ſnares, and beheld the pits which privily have been preparing for the innocent, even in the time when ſmooth words have been given, and he hath ſhewed them unto others. Oh! that thou wouldeſt have taken counſel of the Lord, and obeyed the ſame, thou ſhouldeſt have been proſpered; but thou haſt taken counſel of them which have cauſed thee to err: thou haſt alſo ſought to exalt and eſtabliſh thyſelf, and thy own honour, and not the truth and honour of God only; which if thou hadſt truly done, in the ſelf-denial, God would have honoured thee: thou haſt not taken the Lord for thy ſtrength and ſtay, but thou haſt leaned to that which cannot help thee, even to that which will prove a broken reed unto thee, if thou comeſt to prove its ſtrength. Thou haſt greatly diſhonoured and grieved the Lord, by thy ſetting up miniſters which he loathes, and by thy providing a forced maintenance for them by an unjuſt law, that ſo they may yet make a prey upon his people, who for conſcience-ſake cannot put into their mouths, being ſpiritually gathered therefrom by the word of the Lord. Thou haſt alſo grieved the ſpirit of the Lord, in that thou haſt not put a difference betwixt that which the ſpirit of the Lord moved, and that which is moved by the evil luſts of men; and hereby thou haſt juſtified that which God hath condemned, and condemned that which he hath juſtified, and will juſtify in the ſight of his enemies. O friend, it is not the perſon of any man which the Lord regards, but it is righteouſneſs which he hath reſpect to, and ſo far as man (whatever he may be) by the drawing of the truth comes into righteouſneſs, and acts therein, ſo far hath the Lord unity with him, and no further: theſe things ſhould have been conſidered by thee. Thou haſt alſo grieved the holy God, by thy ſuffering all theſe wicked and profane ſhews and ſports, which have abounded ſince thy coming in, by which the Lord's good creatures have been abuſed, waſted, and devoured. Thou haſt highly diſpleaſed the Lord God, by thy ſuffering perſecution to be acted in thy name, even whilſt thou in words haſt promiſed liberty; yea, many are this day in holes and priſons, for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and obeying the doctrine of Chriſt. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedneſs that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions, and thou thyſelf haſt not been ſuch a pattern and example amongſt them as thou oughteſt to have been. O friend, when I beheld the wickedneſs, cruelty and oppreſſion that abounds in this nation in open

view,

1661. view, and alſo the ſecret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the chambers; verily my life is even bowed down becauſe of the fierce wrath of the Almighty, which I ſee is kindled; and becauſe of the great deſtruction which I ſee attends the wicked, whoſe ends and counſels the Lord will fruſtrate, and upon whom he will pour out everlaſting contempt. Yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou cameſt laſt into the land, and alſo ſince, even when it hath been ſhewn me, what idolatry is intended in ſecret to be brought in, that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadſt never come, for I have ſeen it tending to thy deſtruction. And when I have ſeen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity aroſe in me towards thee for thy ſoul's ſake; and it hath been my deſire, if it might ſtand with the will of God, that he would put it into thy heart to go out of the land again, that ſo thy life might be preſerved, and that thou mighteſt have time to repent; for altho' many men flatter and applaud thee for ſelf-ends, yet I ſee the Lord is diſpleaſed with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words; *God will not be mocked; ſuch as thou ſoweſt, ſuch muſt thou reap.* Thou canſt not hide thyſelf from the Lord, nor deliver thyſelf from the ſtroke of his hand: O conſider, how ſoon hath the Lord taken away thy brother, who, according to outward appearance, might have lived longer than thee! O, think not that men can preſerve thee, though all the nations about promiſe to help thee! Yet when the Lord appears againſt thee, thou muſt fall; verily there is a great deſolation near, thy hand cannot ſtay it; God hath decreed that he may exalt his own kingdom: the nations are like a boiling pot, a little flame will ſet them on fire; and the windy doctrine of the prieſts ſhall help to kindle it; Oh! the day will be terrible, who may abide it? The ſtubble will be conſumed, and the chaff ſhall be burned; ☞ the ungodly ſhall be abaſed, for they cannot ſtand in judgment; but the ſeed ſhall be exalted. O what ſhall I ſay that might be for thy ſafety! Verily I can ſay little—the Lord's decree muſt ſtand, the Lord is highly diſpleaſed, and his wrath is near to be revealed: and he is ſwift in his goings, and he will ſhorten the days of his enemies for his elect's ſake. O that thy ſoul might be ſaved in the day of the Lord! My ſpirit is in ſuffering for thee, my ſoul is afflicted within me becauſe of the approachings of the day of thy calamity, from which no man can deliver thee. This is the truth that muſt ſtand, and in love to thy ſoul it is declared, by him who muſt deal uprightly with all men: tho' for it I ſuffer outwardly, yet I have a witneſs in thy conſcience, unto which I am made manifeſt; and peace with the Lord is my portion, which is better than an earthly crown.

This was given him the 9th day of the 8th month, 1660.

GEORGE FOX, the younger.

The d. of York reſents it, and adviſes ſeverity; the king's noble return.

This letter, (a clear evidence of the author's innocent courage) was delivered to the king, who read it, and ſeemed to be reached thereby, and touched at heart: but his brother, the duke of York, was diſpleaſed with it, and being violently ſet againſt the author,

adviſed

adviſed the king to uſe ſeverity towards him; but the king being good natured, ſaid, 'It were better for us to mend our lives.' 1661.

Whilſt the ſaid G. Fox was priſoner in Lambeth-houſe, he wrote alſo a ſmall treatiſe, called, 'England's ſad eſtate and condition 'lamented.' Herein he reproved 'the grievous abominations com-'mitted among the inhabitants, oppreſſion by perſecution, and 'the hypocriſy of the prieſts.' He alſo predicted 'the peſtilence,' as may be mentioned hereafter in due place; and ſignified not obſcurely, 'that endeavours would be uſed publickly to introduce 'ſuperſtition and idolatry: but that thoſe who intended to do ſo, 'ſhould be fruſtrated by the Lord in their attempts. And that 'others, whoſe worſhip alſo did diſpleaſe the Lord, ſhould grind 'and waſte one another: but that beyond their expectation, he 'would pluck out from them, and preſerve, a holy ſeed. And that 'after he ſhould have executed his vengeance upon the rebellious 'and treacherous dealers, he would then bring forth the remnant 'of his holy ſeed, which ſhould be preſerved from their fury; 'and then they ſhould ſpread over all, and ſtand in dominion.' 'But,' thus continued he, 'although theſe things, touching the 'holy remnant, ſhall certainly be fulfilled in their ſeaſon, yet 'before they will be fully accompliſhed, great will be the trials 'of many of the righteous, and there will be great judgments 'executed in thee, O land, by him who oft times maketh a fruitful 'land barren, becauſe of the wickedneſs of them that dwell there-'in.' This, and much more he wrote, and publiſhed it in print. Several of his predictions we have ſeen fulfilled, as in the progreſs of this hiſtory may appear: and this laſt we muſt refer to time. After the writing of this treatiſe, he alſo gave forth the following prayer:

G. Fox, jun. writes againſt the abominations of the times, and foretels ſome things.

SURELY it was thou, O Lord, that gave bounds unto the ſea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy choſen: thou canſt let forth the winds, and ſuffer a ſtorm; and thou canſt make a calm when thou pleaſeſt. Have thou the glory of all, thou King of ſaints, thou Saviour of Iſrael. Thou canſt do whatever thou pleaſeſt, therefore will we truſt in thy name, neither will we fear what man can do unto us, becauſe thou wilt not forſake us; but thou wilt plead our cauſe in the ſight of our adverſaries, and they ſhall know that thou art our God, who art able to ſave to the uttermoſt. O Lord, our righteouſneſs, we will praiſe thy name; for thy mercies endure for-ever. Our eyes, O God, are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, O Lord, ſtandeth in thee, who canſt not forget thy people. Thou haſt revealed and brought up Jacob, who wreſtleth with thee, and prevails as a prince, therefore muſt the bleſſing come. O Lord, the birth, the birth, crieth unto thee—thine own elect, which long hath been oppreſſed. Thou canſt not deny thyſelf, therefore have we faith, and hope, which maketh not aſhamed. O Lord, how unſearchable are thy ways! Thou haſt even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wiſdom; thou alone wilt have the glory of their deliverance; and therefore haſt thou ſuffered theſe things to come to paſs. O Lord, thou art righteous in all thy judgments: His prayer.

1661. only preſerve thy people which thou haſt gathered, and wilt gather unto thyſelf, in the day of trial; that ſo they may ſing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living.

His paper to the heads of the nation, exhorting to juſtice, and manifeſting his reſignation and courage.

This G. Fox, wrote alſo in priſon ſeveral other papers and epiſtles, for the exhortation and conſolation of his friends: but his work was ſoon done, ſo that not long after he departed this life, which was in this, or the next year. He was, as may be ſeen from his writings, a man of extraordinary reſignation and courage; and that he gave up his life, if required, may appear from a ſmall book he wrote, being priſoner in Lambeth-houſe, which he called, 'The dread of God's power, uttering its voice through man, 'unto the heads of the nation.' Herein he exhorted the rulers very earneſtly to do juſtice; and ſaid amongſt the reſt, 'Friends, 'I muſt deal plainly with you in the ſight of God, who hath made 'me a prophet to the nation. I may not flatter any of you. My 'life is in the hand of my Maker, and not one hair of my head 'can fall to the ground without his providence. He hath redeem-'ed my ſoul from hell, and my mind from the earth; and he 'hath given me his good ſpirit to lead me. I am henceforth no 'more my own, but I am the Lord's, who hath formed me to his 'praiſe, and hath brought me forth, that I may ſound forth his 'powerful truth amongſt the people. Therefore muſt I not fear 'man, neither muſt I be afraid of the ſons of men.'

His behaviour in his laſt ſickneſs, and at his death.

Thus undaunted he ſhewed himſelf: but it was not long before he made his exit, of which I cannot but ſay ſomething. In his ſickneſs I find, that though he was weak in body, yet he was ſtrong in ſpirit, ſo that he would even ſing for joy of heart. He exhorted his friends 'to keep in unity,' foreſeeing, it may be, that ſomething would riſe which might give occaſion of diviſion: and then with much fervency of ſpirit he prayed God, and exhorted his friends, 'to keep their garments unſpotted of the world, be-'cauſe great was the day of trial that was at hand.' Afterwards recommending them to the Lord, he took his leave of them, and ſlept in perfect peace with the Lord, being of ſound memory to the laſt. Now the duſt was returned to the earth, and the ſpirit unto God who gave it. Thus he was freed of all danger of loſing the crown of immortal life, which man by temptation, and the caſualties of this life, is liable unto, if he continueth not diligently watchful. But this valiant was now beyond the reach of all temptations, and ſo I leave him that I may paſs on to other matters.

E. Burrough writes to the king and council, of friends refuſal to take the oath of allegiance.

In this year E. Burrough wrote a paper to the king and his council, which he called, 'A juſt and righteous plea,' in which he propoſed at large, the reaſons why the people called Quakers, refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, viz. that it was not becauſe they would not be faithful to the king, but only for conſcience-ſake, ſince Chriſt ſo expreſsly had commanded his followers, *Swear not at all*, which command they durſt not tranſgreſs. Yet to aſſure the government of their faithfulneſs, he ſaid thus:

'We now are, and ſhall be faithful, innocent, and peaceable, 'in our ſeveral ſtations and conditions, under this preſent govern-

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'ment of king Charles the ſecond, whom we acknowledge ſupreme 'magiſtrate and governor over this kingdom; and for conſcience-'ſake we are obedient and ſubmiſſive to him, as ſuch, in all his 'commands, either by doing, and performing of what he juſtly 'requireth, or by patient ſuffering under whatſoever is inflicted 'upon us, in the matters for which we cannot be obedient for 'conſcience-ſake, when any thing is required of us different from 'the juſt law of God. And to this ſubjection, to the king, and 'his government, we are bound by the law of righteouſneſs; and 'ſuch hath ever been our principle and practice, and is unto this 'day, even to be quiet, and peaceable, and patient, under every 'authority that is ſet over us; and not in unrighteouſneſs, to 'plot, or contrive, or rebel, againſt any government, or gover-'nors, nor to ſeek our own deliverance from injuſtice and oppreſſion 'in ſuch a way. And we are perſuaded to ſeek the preſervation of 'the king's perſon and authority, by all juſt and lawful means, 'and not to rebel againſt him with carnal weapons; and ſo far 'as his government is in juſtice, mercy, and righteouſneſs, we 'declare true and faithful ſubjection and obedience thereunto; 'and wherein it is otherwiſe, we ſhall be ſubject by patient ſuffer-'ing what is unequally impoſed upon us, and yet not rebel in any 'turbulent way of conſpiracies and inſurrections: for our princi-'ples are not for war, but for peace with all men ſo much as in us 'lies; neither may we render evil for evil to any, but are to be 'ſubject to the king and his government, actively or paſſively, 'upon the conditions aforementioned.

1661.

The principles of friends relating to government, and governors.

'And we renounce all foreign authority, power, and juriſdiction 'of the pope, or any elſe, from having any ſupremacy whatſoever 'over the king, or any the good ſubjects of England. And this 'we declare, acknowledge, and teſtify, in the fear and preſence of 'God, (to whom we and all mankind muſt give an account) and that 'without ſecret equivocation, or any deceitful mental reſervation.'

Thus fully E. Burrough declared himſelf, and gave alſo a circumſtantial relation of the practice of his friends meeting together, or their way of publick worſhip, thereby to aſſure the government of their peaceable behaviour, and fidelity. But all this proved in vain; for it being well known that the Quakers denied ſwearing, they continually were vexed and perſecuted, under a pretence of not giving due ſatisfaction of their being faithful to the government, and ſo tranſgreſſing the laws.

Yet they ſuffer for refuſing to ſwear.

Now the deputies of New-England came to London, and endeavoured to clear themſelves as much as poſſible, but eſpecially prieſt Norton, who bowed no leſs reverently before the archbiſhop, than before the king; and thus fawning upon the Epiſcopalians, they found means to keep in a condition to vex the Quakers, ſo called, tho' they were forbidden to put them to death: and that many of the biſhops were great enemies to the ſaid Quakers, appeared plainly from the cruel perſecution which after a ſhort calm aroſe again in England.

The deputies from New-England come to London.

But to return to the New-England deputies, they would fain have altogether excuſed themſelves; and prieſt Norton thought it ſufficient

1661.

Prieſt Norton endeavours to acquit himſelf from aſſiſting in bloody trials, but is oppoſed by J. Copeland.

ſufficient to ſay, 'that he did not aſſiſt in the bloody trial, nor 'had adviſed to it:' but John Copeland, whoſe ear was cut off at Boſton, charged the contrary upon him: and G. Fox, the elder, got occaſion to ſpeak with them in the preſence of ſome of his friends, and aſked Simon Broadſtreet, one of the New-England magiſtrates, 'whether he had not a hand in putting to death, 'thoſe they nick-named Quakers?' He not being able to deny this, confeſſed he had. Then G. Fox aſked him and his aſſociates that were preſent, 'whether they would acknowledge them-'ſelves to be ſubjects to the laws of England? and if they did, 'by what laws they put his friends to death?' They anſwered, 'they were ſubjects to the laws of England; and they had put 'his friends to death by the ſame law, as the Jeſuits were put to 'death in England.' Hereupon G. Fox aſked, 'whether they did 'believe that thoſe his friends, whom they had put to death, were 'Jeſuits, or jeſuitically affected?' They ſaid, 'Nay.' 'Then,' replied G. Fox, 'ye have murdered them; for ſince ye put them 'to death by the law that Jeſuits are put to death here in England, 'it plainly appears, you have put them to death arbitrarily, with-'out any law.' Thus Broadſtreet finding himſelf and his company enſnared by their own words, aſked, 'Are you come to catch 'us?' But he told them, 'they had catched themſelves, and they 'might juſtly be queſtioned for their lives; and if the father of 'William Robinſon,' (one of thoſe that were put to death) 'were 'in town, it was probable he would queſtion them, and bring 'their lives into jeopardy: for he not being of the Quakers perſua-'ſion, would perhaps not have ſo much regard to the point of for-'bearance, as they had.' Broadſtreet ſeeing himſelf thus in danger, began to flinch, and to ſculk; for ſome of the old royaliſts were earneſt with the Quakers to proſecute the New-England perſecutors. But G. Fox and his friends ſaid, 'they left them to the Lord, to 'whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it.' Broadſtreet however, not thinking it ſafe to ſtay in England, left the city, and with his companions went back again to New-England.

G. F. proves Broadſtreet and his aſſociates guilty of murder by their own words; which makes them flinch; ſo they leave the city, and get back to N. England.

G. Fox, &c. publiſh the book called, 'A battle-'door,' chiefly compiled by J. Stubs, and B. Furly.

Not long before this time, G. Fox, with the help of John Stubs and Benjamin Furly, publiſhed a book, called, 'A battledoor.' In this book were ſet forth examples of about thirty languages, to ſhew that every language had its particular denomination for the ſingular and the plural number, in ſpeaking to perſons; and in every page where the deſcription began, the ſhape of a battledoor was delineated. This work was promoted to publick view by G. Fox, to ſhew the learned, (if poſſible to convince them) that the cuſtom of thoſe called Quakers, to ſay 'thou' to a ſingle perſon, tho' it were to the king, and not 'you,' was not irregular, nor abſurd, but had been uſed anciently; and that therefore they could not juſtly be charged with unmannerlineſs, becauſe they followed not the common cuſtom, which was crept in by the pride of men. Now tho' Ger. Croeſe doth diſapprove in G. Fox, that he put his name to this book as well as J. Stubs and B. Furly, yet I don't think it ſo improper as the ſaid author doth; for G. Fox was a great promoter of that work; and tho' he was not ſkilled in languages, and ſome were for calling him an idiot, or a fool, yet I know him to have

have been a man of good underſtanding, and of deep judgment. In his Journal he freely owns, that John Stubs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in the compiling of the ſaid book, which he put them upon, and added alſo ſome things to it; ſo that in ſome reſpect he might be eſteemed author too. At the end of the book he added: 1661.

'The pope ſet up [you] to one in his pride, and it is the pride 'which cannot bear Thou and Thee to one but muſt have, and 'would have [you] from the author their father in their pride, 'which muſt not but have the word Thou, which was before 'their father the pope was, which was God's language, and will 'ſtand when the pope is ended. G. F.' Some of which books were preſented to the king, his great men, and the univerſities.

This book (in which J. Stubs and B. Furly gave alſo directions for learners to read the Hebrew, Oriental, and other languages) was liberally diſpoſed of; ſome of them were preſented to the king and his council, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the biſhop of London, and alſo one to each univerſity. The king confeſt that the diſtinction between plural and ſingular, in regard of perſons, was 'the proper language of all nations;' and the archbiſhop being aſked what he thought of it, was ſo at a ſtand, that he could not tell what to ſay to it; for it appears he would not commend it, neither could he reſolve to diſapprove it. Yet it did ſo inform and convince people, that many afterward were not near ſo much offended at ſaying Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, as they were before.

Now many Papiſts and Jeſuits began to fawn upon thoſe called Quakers, and ſaid publickly, 'That of all the ſects, the Quakers 'were the beſt, and moſt ſelf-denying people; and that it was great 'pity that they did not return to holy mother church:' and tho' they might have been in hopes thereby to have gained proſelytes from the Quakers, yet they were diſappointed. In the mean-while they did but ill ſervice to the Quakers thereby; for this gave occaſion to their enemies to divulge, that there was an affinity and colluſion between the Quakers and the Papiſts. Some Jeſuits ſignifying that they would willingly diſcourſe with the Quakers, G. Fox conſented to it, and in order thereunto, time and place were appointed: whereupon two of the loyaliſts came, being dreſt like courtiers, and they aſked the names of G. Fox, and thoſe with him. G. Fox then aſked them the ſame queſtion he had once before (as hath been ſaid already) aſked a Jeſuit, viz. 'Whether the 'church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the pri-'mitive times; from the ſpirit, and power, and practice that they 'were in, in the apoſtles time.' The Jeſuit to whom the queſtion was put, ſaid, 'he would not anſwer it.' G. Fox aſked him, 'Why?' but he would give no reaſon. His companion then ſaid, 'they were not degenerated from the church in the primitive 'times.' Then G. Fox aſked the other, 'whether he was of the 'ſame mind?' and he ſaid, 'Yes.' G. Fox to give no room to any excuſes of a miſtake, repeated his queſtion thus: 'whether the 'church of Rome now was in the ſame purity, practice, power, 'and ſpirit, that the church in the apoſtles time was in?' The Jeſuits ſeeing how exact G. Fox would be with them, ſaid, 'it was Papiſts fawn on Quakers, in hopes to proſelyte ſome.

And ſome Jeſuits deſiring to have diſcourſe with them, G. Fox conſents, and they meet accordingly.

1661. 'preſumption in any to ſay, they had the ſame power and ſpirit 'which the apoſtles had.' But G. Fox told them, 'it was preſump-'tion in them to meddle with the words of Chriſt and his apoſtles, 'and make people believe they ſucceeded the apoſtles, and yet be 'forced to confeſs, they were not in the ſame power and ſpirit, that 'the apoſtles were in. This,' ſaid he, 'is a ſpirit of preſumption, 'and rebuked by the apoſtles ſpirit.' Thereupon he ſhewed them, how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apoſtles. This ſo diſpleaſed the Jeſuits, that one of them ſaid, 'Ye are a company of dreamers.' 'Nay,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ye are the dreamers, who dream ye are the apoſtles ſucceſ-'ſors, and yet confeſs, ye have not the ſame power and ſpirit, which 'the apoſtles were in.' Then he began to tell them alſo, 'how 'they were led by an evil ſpirit; and that this ſpirit had induced 'them to pray by beads, and to images, and to put people to 'death for religion.' He ſpoke yet more; but the Jeſuits ſoon grew weary of this diſcourſe, and went away, giving charge afterwards to thoſe of their perſuaſion, not to diſpute with the Quakers, nor to read any of their books.

G. Fox has large meetings at Colcheſter, goes to Coggeſhall, has a meeting at a houſe of a convinced prieſt, and returns to London.

Some time after G. Fox went to Colcheſter, where he had very large meetings. From thence he went to Coggeſhall; not far from which, there was a prieſt convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by him and his friends; and he had a meeting in his houſe. And after having viſited his friends in their meetings thereabouts, he returned to London, where he found more work.

For John Perrot, of whom mention hath been made already that he was at Rome, had ſo far complied with his vain imaginations, that he thought himſelf further enlightened than G. Fox, and his friends; and from this preſumption he would not approve, that when any one prayed in a meeting, others ſhould put off their hats, calling this a formality, and a common cuſtom of the world, which ought to be departed from. And ſince novelties often draw people after them, ſo it was in this caſe, inſomuch that he got a pretty many adherents. He alſo let his beard grow, and in that too was followed by ſome. In the mean-while G. Fox labour-ed both by word and writing, to ſtop his progreſs: and tho' moſt of his friends alſo bore teſtimony againſt it, yet there paſſed ſeveral years before this ſtrange fire was altogether ex-tinguiſhed, to the quenching whereof, it contributed not a lit-tle that Perrot, who now walked in an erroneous path, grew worſe from time to time, even to that degree, that being come into America, he fell into manifeſt ſenſualities, and works of the fleſh: for he not only wore gaudy apparel, but alſo a ſword; and being got into ſome place in the government, he became a ſevere exactor of oaths, whereas before he had profeſſed that for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear. Before I leave Perrot, I'll inſert here a letter wrote by him from Rome, when he was releaſed from priſon: and tho' I believe he was then in a better ſtate than afterward, yet in that letter ſome ſparks of ſpiritual pride may be ſeen, which tho' then under ſome limitation, yet in proceſs of time ſo broke forth, that it cauſed his fall. The letter was thus:

O Iſrael!

1661. J. Perrot's letter from Rome.

O ISRAEL! the hoſt of the moſt high God; his majeſty hath fulfilled to me the viſion of my head, having ſhewed himſelf to be the Holy One, and juſt: he hath lately delivered me from the priſon of the city of Rome, beſides the two lambs with me, whoſe faces, through God, are turned to you wards: for which I beſeech you in the holy ſpirit of meekneſs, to bleſs the name of the Lord God. Give thanks to him for his power. The God of life promote you all in the virtue of his mercy and forgiveneſs, and keep you in the power of his everlaſting love, unto the end.

Written to you all without the gates of Rome, the 2d day of the 4th month, 1661.

JOHN.

Send this forward, and read my life in your meetings.

Conceitedly omits his ſir-name.

He added not his ſir-name, in imitation (as it ſeems) of the apoſtle John. He omitted it likewiſe in another letter he wrote from the priſon at Rome, which began thus:

'I John the priſoner, being in the ſenſe of the ſpirit of life with you all,' &c.

Who were the two lambs he mentions in his letter, I can't tell; whether they were perſons that had been impriſoned with him in the inquiſition gaol, and converted by him, as he thought; or whether he meant John Stubs, and Samuel Fiſher, I know not: it may rather be ſuppoſed he meant Charles Bayley and Jane Stoakes, who went to Rome to procure his liberty; but J. Stubs and S. Fiſher came away long before; yet if I am not miſtaken, it was about this time that theſe were at Rome, and they perhaps having endeavoured to obtain his liberty, departed before him towards England.

When Perrot afterward lived in America, about the beginning of the year 1665, John Taylor wrote thus from Jamaica concerning him.

A letter from Jamaica concerning him.

'One of the judges of this place told me, that he never had 'ſeen one who ſo ſeverely exacted an oath from people as John Per-'rot did: for he ſaith, that if they will go to hell, he will diſpatch 'them quickly. And another judge that was alſo preſent, ſaid, 'that Perrot had altogether renounced his faith, and aimed at no-'thing but his profit.'

R. Rich joins with Perrot and both quit their former profeſſion.

Such a one was John Perrot, tho' even ſome wiſe men admired him for a time: but he became a man of a rough behaviour. Whether he ever repented ſincerely, I can't tell. Robert Rich, who took too much part in the extravagancies of James Nayler, as hath been related, did alſo combine with Perrot, and became eſtranged from the Quakers, and in that condition he died: but he was of the number of thoſe, of whom the apoſtle John ſaid, *They went out from us, but they were not of us.*

Now ſince perſecution continued in England, Edward Burrough, who continually was laborious with the pen to oppoſe this evil, wrote alſo a ſmall book which he called, 'The caſe of free liberty

'of

1661.

E. Burrough writes to the king and parliament againſt perſecution for religion.

'of conſcience in the exerciſe of faith and religion, preſented 'unto the king and both houſes of parliament.' In this treatiſe he ſhewed, 'that to deprive honeſt and peaceable people of 'liberty of conſcience in the exerciſe of worſhip to God, was un-'juſt, an intrenching on God's ſovereignty, and an uſurpation of 'his authority. He alſo recommended it to conſideration, that to 'impoſe by force a religion upon men, was the way to fill the land 'with hypocrites. And he ſhewed with ſound reaſons, that to per-'ſecute people for the exerciſe of religion and their worſhipping of 'God, muſt unavoidably tend to deſtroy trading, huſbandry, and 'merchandize.' To which he added, 'that ſuch as were called he-'reticks were puniſhed as malefactors, whereas drunkards and 'other vicious perſons were left unpuniſhed;' which, to inculcate with more ſtrength, he made uſe of the words of Dr. Taylor, a biſhop in Ireland, who ſaid thus; 'Why are we ſo zealous againſt 'thoſe we call hereticks, and yet great friends with drunkards, 'and ſwearers, and fornicators, and intemperate and idle perſons? 'I am certain a drunkard is as contrary to the laws of chriſtianity 'as an heretick: and I am alſo ſure that I know what drunken-'neſs is; but I am not ſo ſure that ſuch an opinion is hereſy,' &c.

Memorable expreſſions of biſhop J. Taylor.

It happened about this time in England, that ſome covetous perſons, to engroſs inheritances to themſelves, would call the marriages of thoſe called Quakers in queſtion. And it was in this year that ſuch a cauſe was tried at the aſſizes at Nottingham; a certain man dying, and leaving his wife with child, and an eſtate in copyhold lands: when the woman was delivered, one that was near of kin to her deceaſed huſband, endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate: and the plaintiff's council willing to blacken the Quakers, ſo called, aſſerted, 'the child to be illegitimate, becauſe the 'marriage of its parents was not according to law;' and ſaid bluntly, and very indecently, 'that the Quakers went together like brute 'beaſts.' After the council on both ſides had pleaded, the judge, whoſe name was———Archer, opened the caſe to the jury, and told them, 'that there was a marriage in paradiſe, when Adam 'took Eve, and Eve took Adam; and that it was the conſent of the 'parties that made a marriage. And as for the Quakers, 'ſaid he,' 'he did not know their opinion; but he did not believe they went 'together as brute beaſts, as had been ſaid of them, but as chriſti-'ans; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and 'the child lawful heir.' And the better to ſatisfy the jury, he related to them this caſe. 'A man that was weak of body, and kept 'his bed, had a deſire in that condition to marry, and did declare 'before witneſſes that he did take ſuch a woman to be his wife; 'and the woman declared, that ſhe took that man to be her huſ-'band. This marriage was afterwards called in queſtion: but all 'the biſhops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage.' The jury having received this inſtruction, gave in their verdict for the child, and declared it legitimate.

A remarkable trial of a Quaker's marriage at Nottingham, before judge Archer.

It hath been mentioned before, that G. Fox being priſoner at Derby in the year 1650, was exceedingly vexed and ill treated by the keeper of the priſon. But this man being ſtruck with the terrors of the Lord, became ſuch a notable convert, that in the year 1662, he wrote the following letter to G. Fox. DEAR

1661.

DEAR FRIEND,

HAVING ſuch a convenient meſſenger, I could do no leſs than give thee an account of my preſent condition, remembring that to the firſt awakening of me to a ſenſe of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleaſed to make uſe of thee as an inſtrument; ſo that ſometimes I am taken with admiration, that it ſhould come by ſuch means as it did, that is to ſay, that Providence ſhould order thee to be my priſoner to give me my firſt real ſight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler's converſion by the apoſtles. Notwithſtanding my outward loſſes are ſince that time ſuch, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I ſhall find, that all theſe light afflictions which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now inſtead of keeping a priſon, I am rather waiting when I ſhall become a priſoner myſelf. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earneſtly deſire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having elſe at preſent, but my kind love unto thee, and all chriſtian friends with thee, in haſte I reſt

Thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

Derby, the 22d of the 4th month, 1662.

THOMAS SHARMAN.

The cruel gaoler of Derby priſon being convinced, ſends a penitent letter to G. F.

I have heretofore made ſome mention of the impriſonment of Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, by the inquiſition at Malta. It was about this time that they were releaſed: for G. Fox, and Gilbert Latey * having underſtood that the lord d'Aubigny could procure their liberty, went to him, and having informed him concerning their impriſonment, deſired him to write to thoſe in authority at Malta, for their releaſe. This he promiſed to do, and told them, if they would come again within a month, perhaps they might hear of their diſcharge. They went again to him about that time, but he ſaid, he thought his letters had miſcarried; yet he promiſed he would write again, and ſo he did; which had ſuch effect, that the ſaid two women were diſcharged of their long impriſonment. G. Fox had now opportunity to reaſon with this lord, (who was a Roman Catholick prieſt in orders) about religion, and he brought him to confeſs, that Chriſt had *enlightened every man that cometh into the world*, with his ſpiritual light; and that he had *taſted death for every man;* and that *the grace of God, which brings ſalvation, hath appeared to all men;* and that it would teach them, and bring their ſalvation, if they did obey it. Then G. Fox aſked him, 'what the Romaniſts would do with all their relicks 'and images, if they did own and believe in this light, and receive 'the grace to teach them, and bring their ſalvation?' and he anſwered, 'thoſe things were but policies to keep people in ſubjection.'

The hiſtory of the impriſonment and cruel uſage of C. Evans and S. Cheevers, by the inquiſition at Malta, and their providential delivery.

* See his life.

But leaving theſe diſcourſes, I'll now give a clear and circumſtantial relation of the impriſonment of the fore-mentioned Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, chiefly collected from letters and papers, written by them in priſon, and ſent from thence to Eng-

1661. land, where they were publiſhed in print not long after their return, in the year 1662.

In the year 1658, theſe women having drawings in their mind to travel towards Alexandria, went in a ſhip from England to Leghorn in Italy; and having been thirty-one days between Plymouth and Leghorn, they at length ſafely landed at that city, where they found ſome of their countrymen and friends, and ſtaid there ſeveral days, diſperſing many books when occaſion offered. They ſpoke alſo with people of various degrees, without being moleſted by any. From thence they got paſſage in a Dutch ſhip bound for Alexandria, or Scanderoon; but the maſter of the ſhip, being in company with another ſhip going to Malta, went alſo thither, tho' he had no buſineſs in the place: but before they came there, Catharine fell into ſuch an anguiſh of mind, that ſhe cried out: 'Oh! 'we have a dreadful cup to drink at that place!' Being come into the harbour, and ſtanding on the deck of the ſhip, and looking upon the people who ſtood on the walls, ſhe ſaid in her heart, 'Shall 'ye deſtroy us? If we give up to the Lord, then he is ſufficient to 'deliver us out of your hands: but if we diſobey our God, all 'theſe could not deliver us out of his hand.' And ſo all fear of man was taken from them.

The next day being the firſt day of the week, they went on ſhore, where the Engliſh conſul met them, and aſked them, 'what they 'came there for?' they anſwered what they thought convenient, and gave him ſome books. Then he told them, 'there was an in-'quiſition;' and kindly inviting them to his houſe, ſaid, 'all that 'he had was at their ſervice while they were there.' They accepting of this invitation, went thither, and many came to ſee them, whom they called to repentance, ſo that ſeveral became tender. About night they went on ſhip-board, and the next day came again into the city, and going to the governor, he told them, 'he 'had a ſiſter in the nunnery who deſired to ſee them.' Thereupon they went to the nunnery, and talked with the nuns, and gave them books: and one of their prieſts, who brought them into the chapel, would have them bow to the high altar, but they refuſed, being grieved becauſe of the idolatry committed there, and went to the conſul's again, where they ſtaid ſome weeks. During that time, they once went into one of the places of worſhip, in the time of worſhip; and Catharine ſtanding in the midſt of the people, turned her back to the high altar, and kneeling down, ſhe lifted up her voice in prayer to the Lord. The prieſt that officiated, put off his ſurplice, and kneeled near her, till ſhe had done. Then he reached forth his hand to them to come to him, and offered her a token, which ſhe taking to be the mark of the beaſt, refuſed. Thereupon he put the piece into Sarah's hand, but ſhe gave it him again, and ſhewed him her purſe, that ſhe had to give, if any had need, and as yet was in no want. He then aſked, 'if they were Calviniſts 'or Lutherans?' and they anſwering, 'Nay;' he aſked, 'if they 'would go to Rome to the pope.' They denying this, he aſked, 'if they were catholicks?' to which they ſaid, 'they were true 'chriſtians, ſervants of the living God.' But ſince they had yet learned but little of the language ſpoken there, they expreſſed themſelves

themſelves very defectively; what they did, was partly in words, and partly by ſigns, as well as they could: and many that came about them, were amazed: however at laſt they departed peaceably. Some time after they went again to a maſs-houſe, where the ſacrament, as they call it, was adminiſtred: there were many lights, and great coſtlineſs and fineries; and being grieved becauſe of their idolatry, they ſtood about three quarters of an hour, weeping and trembling, eſpecially Catharine: and this ſo ſtruck the congregation with amazement, that ſome removed further from them for fear. At length they both went out, but yet under ſuch a trembling, that they went along the ſtreet reeling and ſtaggering, ſo that they became a wonder to all that ſaw them. 1661.

They were about three months at the houſe of the Engliſh conſul; and he, for that reaſon, being under a ſuſpicion, did not what he might have done to ſave them; but in ſome reſpect he delivered them up to the inquiſition, though by his oath he was obliged to protect the Engliſh there. In the mean-while he kept them in his houſe, and ſuffered them not to go abroad, tho' the governor had told him, he might let them go about their buſineſs; for, ſaid he, 'they are honeſt women.' The conſul might alſo have let them go free, before they came under the power of the black rod. Now they perceiving that ſomething to their prejudice was in agitation, and making account already that a priſon would be their lot, they ſignified that they ſuſpected him, and told him, 'that Pilate would do the Jews a ſervice, and yet waſh 'his hands in innocency.' He being at a loſs, required a ſign of them, 'if they were the meſſengers of God.' And they gave him to underſtand, that this might ſerve for a ſign, 'that it would 'be well with them; but that it ſhould not go off well with him.'

Afterwards it happened that they were ſent for by the inquiſition: and that day the conſul's wife brought them ſome victuals; but as ſhe paſſed by, Catharine was ſmitten, as with an arrow, to the heart, and ſhe ſeemed to hear a voice, ſaying, 'She hath ob-'tained her purpoſe.' Then Catharine would not taſte of the meat, but went aſide, and wept exceedingly. The conſul having called her, told her, the inquiſition had ſent for them, having received letters from Rome, but that 'he did hope they ſhould be 'ſet free:' which however was not true, for he knew (as they underſtood afterwards) there was a room prepared for them in the priſon of the inquiſition. Neither was it long ere there came the chancellor, the conſul, and one with a black rod, who brought them before the lord inquiſitor; and he aſked them, 'whether 'they had changed their minds?' (for it ſeems that had been required of them before.) But they anſwered, 'No,' and 'that they 'ſhould not change from the truth.' Then he aſked, 'what new 'light it was they talked of.' They anſwered, 'it was no new 'light, but the ſame the prophets and apoſtles bore teſtimony to.' Next he aſked, 'how this light came to be loſt ſince the primitive 'times?' They replied, 'it was not loſt; men had it ſtill in them, 'but they did not know it, by reaſon that the night of apoſtacy 'had overſpread the nations.' Then he ſaid, 'if they would 'change their minds, and do as they would have them, they

'ſhould

1661. 'ſhould ſay ſo, or elſe they would uſe them as they pleaſed.' But they ſignifying that they would not change, ſaid, 'the will of the 'Lord be done.' He then aroſe, and went away with the conſul, leaving them there: and the man with the black rod, and the keeper, took and put them into an inner room in the inquiſition, which had only two little holes in it for light or air. This place was ſo exceeding hot, that it ſeemed as if their intent was to ſtifle them, as we may ſee in the ſequel.

Not long after they were brought before the inquiſitors to be further examined, and they not only aſked their names, but alſo the names of their huſbands and parents, and what children they had, and alſo, 'why they came thither?' to which they anſwered, 'they 'were ſervants of the living God, come there to call them to re-'pentance.' The next day they were called again, but then examined aſunder; and Sarah being aſked, 'whether ſhe was a true catholick?' ſaid, 'that ſhe was a true chriſtian, worſhipping God in 'ſpirit and truth.' Then they held forth a crucifix to her, and would have her ſwear that ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth. To which ſhe ſaid, 'ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth, but ſhe would not ſwear; for Chriſt had 'commanded, *Swear not at all.*' The Engliſh conſul who was preſent, endeavoured to perſuade her to ſwear, and ſaid, that 'none ſhould 'do her any harm.' She having ſome books with her, they were taken from her; and they aſked her, 'wherefore ſhe brought thoſe 'books?' To which ſhe anſwered, 'becauſe they could notſpeak their 'language.' Then they aſked her, 'what George Fox was?' ſhe anſwered, 'a miniſter.' Further they aſked, 'wherefore ſhe came thither?' and ſhe replied, 'to do the will of God as ſhe was moved of the Lord.' The next queſtion was, 'how the Lord did appear unto her?' to which ſhe anſwered, 'by his ſpirit.' And being aſked, 'whether 'ſhe did ſee his preſence, and hear his voice?' her anſwer was, 'ſhe 'heard his voice, and ſaw his preſence.' They then aſked, 'what 'he ſaid to her?' ſhe anſwered, that 'he required of her to go 'over the ſeas to do his will.' This made them aſk, 'how ſhe 'knew it was the Lord who required this of her?' to which ſhe anſwered, that 'ſince he had ſignified to her, that his living pre-'ſence ſhould go along with her, ſhe found him to perform his 'promiſe, for ſhe did feel his living preſence.' After this they went away; and,

Two days after, the inquiſitors came and called for Catharine, and offering her the crucifix: they told her, 'the magiſtrates com-'manded her to ſwear that ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth.' To which ſhe ſaid, that 'ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth, for ſhe was a witneſs 'for God; but ſhe ſhould not ſwear; ſince a greater than the 'magiſtrates, ſaid, *Swear not at all; but let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatſoever is more, cometh of evil.*' Then ſaid they, 'you muſt obey the juſtice; and he commands you to ſwear.' She returned, 'I ſhall obey juſtice, but if I ſhould ſwear, I ſhould do 'an unjuſt thing; for the juſt (Chriſt) ſaid, *Swear not at all.*' Then they aſked her, 'whether ſhe did own that Chriſt that died at Je-'ruſalem?' ſhe anſwered, 'we own the ſame Chriſt, and no other; '*he is the ſame yeſterday, to day, and for-ever.*' Next they aſked her, 'what ſhe would do at Jeruſalem?' ſhe anſwered, 'ſhe did not

'know

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'know that ſhe ſhould go thither; but ſhe intended to have gone 'to Alexandria.' They aſked, 'what to do?' her anſwer was, 'the 'will of God: and,' ſaid ſhe, 'if the Lord open my mouth, I 'ſhall call people to repentance, and declare to them the day of 'the Lord, and direct their minds from darkneſs to light.' They aſked her alſo, 'whether ſhe did ſee the Lord?' ſhe anſwered, 'God 'was a ſpirit, and he was ſpiritually diſcerned.'

Now tho' from the anſwers of theſe women little could be got to blame them, yet they were kept cloſe priſoners, which ſeemed to grieve the Engliſh conſul, for he came to them with tears in his eyes, and ſaid, 'he was as ſorry as for his own fleſh;' for it ſeems he had received ſomething for delivering them up, which he would willingly have given back, if thereby he could have obtained their liberty: but a ſlaviſh fear poſſeſſed him, and he never had peace while he lived. Some days after there came a magiſtrate, two friars, the man with the black rod, a ſcribe, and the keeper of the inquiſition to examine them; and they were again required to ſwear: but they anſwered as before, that 'Chriſt ſaid, *Swear not at* '*all*;' and that 'the apoſtle James gave the ſame charge.' Hereupon the magiſtrate aſked, 'if they would ſpeak truth?' and they ſaid, 'Yes.' He then aſked, 'whether they believed the creed?' to which they ſaid, 'they did believe in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt, who was 'born of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered at Jeruſalem under Pontius 'Pilate, and aroſe again from the dead the third day, and aſcend-'ed to his Father, and ſhall come to judgment, to judge both 'quick and dead.' He further aſked, 'how they did believe the 'reſurrection?' and they anſwered, that 'they believed that the 'juſt and unjuſt ſhould ariſe, according to the ſcriptures.' Next he ſaid, 'Do ye believe in the ſaints, and pray to them?' to which 'their anſwer was, 'We believe the communion of ſaints, but we 'do not pray to them, but to God only, in the name of Jeſus.' His next queſtion was, 'whether they did believe in the catho-'lick church?' and they anſwered, 'they did believe the true church 'of Chriſt, but the word catholick,' ſaid they, 'we have not 'read in ſcripture.' He alſo aſked, 'if they believed a purgatory?' to which they ſaid, 'No; but a heaven and a hell.' Then one of the friars who was an Engliſhman ſaid, 'We were commanded to 'pray for the dead; for, thoſe that are in heaven have no need; 'and for thoſe that are in hell, there is no redemption; therefore 'there muſt be a purgatory;' and he aſked, 'if they believed 'the holy ſacrament?' to which their anſwer was, 'they never read 'the word ſacrament in ſcripture.' The friar replied, 'where you 'read in your bibles, ſanctification, it is ſacrament in ours:' and he ſaid, 'their holy ſacrament was bread and wine, which they 'converted into the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, by the virtue of 'Chriſt.' 'Then,' ſaid the women, 'ye work miracles, for Chriſt's 'virtue is the ſame as it was when he turned water into wine at 'the marriage in Cana.' The friar ſaid, 'If we don't eat the fleſh 'and drink the blood of the Son of God, we have no life in us,' they replied, 'the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is ſpiritual, and we do 'feed upon it daily; for that which is begotten of God in us, can 'no more live without ſpiritual food, than our temporal bodies can

The Engliſh conſul grieved at their uſage, when he had betrayed and delivered them up, and after had no peace while he lived.

They are examined concerning their faith.

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Then it was aſked them, 'who was the head of their church?' they told him, 'Chriſt.' It was further aſked, 'what George Fox 'was?' and they ſaid, 'He is a miniſter of Chriſt.' And it being aſked, 'whether he ſent them?' their anſwer was,' 'No; the Lord 'did move us to come.' Then the friar ſaid, 'Ye are deceived, and 'have not the faith, tho' ye had all virtues.' And they replied, 'faith is the ground from whence virtues proceed.' Hereupon it was told them, 'if they would take the holy ſacrament, they 'might have their liberty; or elſe the pope would not leave them 'for millions of gold; but they ſhould loſe their ſouls and bodies 'too.' To this they ſaid, 'the Lord hath provided for our ſouls, 'and our bodies are freely given up to ſerve him.' Then it was aſked them, 'if they did not believe marriage was a ſacrament?' and they anſwered, 'it was an ordinance of God.' It was further aſked, 'if they did believe men could forgive ſins?' and their anſwer was, 'that none could forgive ſins but God only.' After ſome other words to and fro, the women aſked, 'Wherein have 'we wronged you, that we ſhould be kept priſoners all the days of 'our life? Our innocent blood will be required at your hands.' The friar ſaid, 'he would take their blood upon him.' They replied, 'the time would come he ſhould find he had enough upon 'him without it.' Then it was told them, 'the pope was Chriſt's 'vicar, and what he did was for the good of their ſouls.' To this they anſwered, 'the Lord hath not committed the charge of our 'ſouls to the pope, nor to you neither; for he hath taken them in-'to his own poſſeſſion: glory be to his name for-ever.' Then it was ſaid unto them, 'they muſt be obedient.' And they returned, 'they were obedient to the government of Chriſt's ſpirit, or light.' The friar ſaid, 'None have the true light but the catholicks: the 'light that you have, is the ſpirit of the Devil.' 'Wo,' ſaid they, 'to him that curſeth Jeſus! Can the Devil give power over ſin and 'iniquity? that would deſtroy his own kingdom.' 'You,' replied the friar, 'are laughed at, and mocked of every one.' 'But,' ſaid they, 'what will become of the mockers?' 'It was no matter,' he ſaid: 'you run about to preach, and have not the true faith.' They returned, 'the true faith is held in a pure conſcience, void 'of offence towards God and men. Every one hath the true faith, 'that believeth in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent: but 'they that ſay, they do believe, and do not keep his command-'ments, *are liars, and the truth is not in them.*' The friar confeſt this to be true, tho' he was continually very troubleſome to them with threats, to make them turn; and to this end they were locked up in a room, ſo exceeding hot, that it was ſaid, it was impoſſible they could live long in it. They were alſo ſo exceedingly ſtung by gnats, when they lay in bed, that their faces became ſwoln, as if they had been ſick of the ſmall-pox, ſo that many began to be

afraid

afraid of them; and the friar ſaid to Sarah, 'he ſpied an evil ſpi- 1661.
'rit in her face.'

At another time being examined, they were aſked, 'how many 'of their friends were gone forth into the miniſtry, and into 'what parts?' They anſwering to that query what they knew, it was told them, 'all that came where the pope had any thing to 'do, ſhould never go back again.' But they ſaid, 'the Lord 'was as ſufficient for them, as he was for the children in the fiery 'furnace, and their truſt was in God.' Catharine being ſickly, was aſked, 'why ſhe looked ſo, whether her ſpirit was weak?' ſhe anſwered, 'Nay, my body is weak, becauſe I eat no meat:' The friar hearing this, offered her a licence to eat fleſh; for it was in their Lent. But ſhe refuſed this, and ſaid, 'ſhe could not 'eat any thing at all.' And going afterwards to bed, ſhe lay there night and day for twelve days together, faſting and ſweating, for ſhe was in much affliction, and great was her agony.

Catharine very weak, and under great affliction.

After having lain ten days, there came to her two friars, the chancellor, the man with the black rod, a phyſician, and the keeper. One of the friars commanded Sarah to go out of the room, and then pulled Catharine's hand out of the bed, and ſaid, 'Is the Devil ſo great in you, that you cannot ſpeak?' To which ſhe ſaid, 'Depart from me thou worker of iniquity: the power 'of the Lord is upon me, and doſt thou call him Devil?' Hereupon he took his crucifix to ſtrike her on the mouth. And ſhe aſked him, 'whether it was that croſs that crucified Paul to the 'world, and the world unto him?' this ignorant monk ſaid, 'it 'was.' But ſhe denied it, and ſaid, 'the Lord hath made me a 'witneſs for himſelf againſt all workers of iniquity.' He then bid her, 'be obedient,' and went to ſtrike her, at which ſhe ſaid, 'Wilt thou ſtrike me?' and he ſaying, 'he would,' ſhe further ſaid, 'thou art out of the apoſtles doctrine; for they were no 'ſtrikers. I deny thee to be any of them who went in the name 'of the Lord.' To which he ſaid, 'he had brought her a phyſi-'cian in charity;' and ſhe returned, 'The Lord is my phyſician 'and my ſaving health.' The monk growing angry, ſaid, 'ſhe 'ſhould be whipped and quartered, and burnt that night at Mal-'ta, and her mate too.' But ſhe told him modeſtly, 'ſhe did not 'fear: the Lord was on their ſide: and he had no power but 'what he had received; and if he did not uſe it to the ſame end 'the Lord gave it him, the Lord would judge him.' At theſe words they were all ſtruck dumb, and went away. Then the friar went to Sarah, and told her, 'that Catharine called him work-'er of iniquity.' 'Did ſhe,' ſaid Sarah, 'art thou without ſin?' to which he ſaid, 'he was.' 'Then,' replied Sarah, 'ſhe hath 'wronged thee.'

Endeavours uſed to terrify them with the fear of death.

Late in the evening ſomething was proclaimed at the priſon-gate, by beating of a drum, and early in the morning ſome came again with a drum and guns. It ſeems to me that this was done on purpoſe to frighten theſe poor women, and to make them believe that they ſhould be put to death; for indeed they looked for little leſs, having for ſeveral weeks expected that they ſhould be led to the ſtake: but they were fully reſigned, and given up to what the

Lord

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Now whilſt Catharine was ſick, Sarah was not without great affliction; for it grieved her to ſee her dear companion ſo ill; and ſhe eaſily foreſaw, that if Catharine died, her own ſufferings would be heavier. But yet ſhe was given up to the will of the Lord, and would not in the leaſt grudge at Catharine's eternal reſt. But in time Catharine began to mend, and grow hungry; and eating, ſhe was refreſhed. But the room wherein they were locked was ſo exceſſive hot, that they were often fain to riſe out of their bed, and lie down at the chink of the door for air to fetch breath. And this heat was the greater, becauſe it came not only from without, but within alſo; which ſo affected them, that their ſkin was parched, the hair fell off their heads, and they fainted often; and their afflictions were ſo great, that when it was day, they wiſhed for night, and when it was night, they wiſhed for day; yea, through human weakneſs they deſired death, eating their bread weeping, and mingling their drink with tears. Once Catharine aſked the monks, who came to her with a phyſician, and ſaid it was in charity, 'whe-'ther they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and 'bring a phyſician to keep them longer alive?' to this the friar ſaid, 'the inquiſitor would loſe his head, if he ſhould take them thence; 'and it was better to keep them there, than to kill them.' Then they wrote to the inquiſitor, and laid their innocency before him; and ſaid alſo, 'if it were their blood they thirſted after, they might 'take it any other way, as well as to ſmother them in that hot 'room.' But this ſo incenſed him, that he ſent the friar to them, who took away their inkhorns, their bibles being taken from them before. They aſked then, 'why their goods were taken away?' to which it was anſwered, 'all is ours; and your lives too, if we 'will.' Then they aſked, 'how they had forfeited their lives?' to which it was told them, 'for bringing books and papers.' They replied, 'if there were any thing in them that was not true, they 'might write againſt it.' To this the monk ſaid, 'they ſcorned to 'write to fools and aſſes, that did not know true Latin.' And it was further told them, 'the inquiſitor would have them ſeparated,

'becauſe

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'becauſe Catharine was weak, and ſhe ſhould go into a cooler 'room; but Sarah ſhould abide there.' Then Catharine took Sarah by the arm, and ſaid, 'the Lord hath joined us together, and 'wo be to them that part us. I had rather die here with my friend, 'than part from her.' This ſo ſtruck the friar, that he went away, and came no more in five weeks, and the door of their room was not opened in all that time.

Then the monks came again to part them, but Catharine was ſick, and broken out from head to foot. They thereupon ſent for a doctor, and he ſaid, 'they muſt have air, or elſe they muſt die.' This was told the inquiſitor, and he ordered the door to be ſet open ſix hours in a day. But ten weeks after, they were parted; which was ſuch a grievous affliction, that they declared, 'death itſelf would 'not have been ſo hard to them.' But the monks ſaid, 'they cor-'rupted each other, and that being parted, they would bow and 'ſubmit.' But they ſaw themſelves diſappointed; for the women were ſtronger afterwards than before, the Lord fitting them for every condition. Before they were parted, the friars brought them a ſcourge of ſmall hempen cords, aſking them, 'if they would 'have it?' and ſaying, 'they were uſed to whip themſelves till the 'blood came.' But the women ſaid, 'that could not reach the De-'vil, he ſat upon the heart.' Then the monks ſaid, 'all the peo-'ple of Malta are for you; if ye will be catholicks, none but will 'like you.' To which they returned, 'the Lord hath changed us 'into that which changeth not.' The monks then ſaid, 'all our 'holy women do pray for you; and ye ſhall be honoured of all the 'world, if ye will turn.' They replied, 'the world lies in wick-'edneſs; and the honour and glory of the world we have denied.' To this the monks ſaid, 'Ye ſhall be honoured of God too; but 'now ye are hated of all.' 'This,' ſaid one of the women, 'is 'an evident token whoſe ſervants we are. *The ſervant is not greater* '*than his Lord.*'

Once on a firſt-day of the week the friars came, and commanded them 'to kneel down with them to prayer.' They ſignified 'they could not pray but as they were moved by the Lord.' Then the friars commanded them the ſecond time, and kneeled down by their bedſide, and prayed after their manner; which being done, they ſaid to the women, 'We have tried your ſpirits; now we 'know what ſpirit ye are of.' But they told them, 'they could 'not know that, unleſs their minds were turned to the light of 'Chriſt in their conſciences.' The Engliſh friar then growing angry, ſhewed them his crucifix, and bid them look on it. But they told him, 'the Lord ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf the* '*likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath,* '*or in the water under the earth; thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor* '*worſhip them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.*' The friar ſeeing Sarah ſpeak ſo boldly to him, called for the irons to chain her. She then bowed her head, and ſaid to him, 'Not only my 'hands and feet, but my neck alſo for the teſtimony of Jeſus.' The friar ſeeming appeaſed, ſaid, 'he would do them any good he 'could; for he ſaw what they did was not in malice.' And the friars came often, and ſaid to them, 'If ye would but do a little,

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'ye ſhould be ſet at liberty; but you will do nothing at all, but 'are againſt every thing.' To which they returned, 'that they 'would do any thing that might tend to God's glory.'

They take opportunity to ſpeak to the great ones.

While they were impriſoned here, it happened that the inquiſition-houſe was new built or repaired, which took up about the ſpace of a year and an half; and during this time ſome of the great ones came often to ſee the building, which gave opportunity to theſe women, to ſpeak to them, and to declare the truth in the name of the Lord.

Now though they were threatened by the monks for preaching the light of Chriſt ſo boldly, yet not only the magiſtrates, but the lord inquiſitor grew moderate towards them, and gave order they ſhould have pens ink and paper, to write to England. And they ſeemed inclined to have ſet them at liberty; but the friars worked mightily againſt it; and had laboured about three quarters of a year to part them, before they could bring it to paſs; and when at length they had effected it, they told Catharine, 'that they 'ſhould never ſee one another's faces again.'

In the mean-while Catharine being ſickly, had little ſtomach to eat, and had no mind to eat any thing but what came from Sarah to her. And having told one of the friars, that ſhe wanted ſomebody to waſh her linen, and to prepare ſome warm victuals for her, he ſent to Sarah, to know if ſhe would do it for her; and ſhe ſaid ſhe would. And by that means they for ſome weeks heard of one another every day; and the friar ſaid once to Catharine, 'You may free yourſelf of miſery when you will; you may 'make yourſelf a catholick, and have your freedom to go where 'you will:' to which ſhe told him, 'thus I might have a name that 'I did live when I was dead. Thou haſt catholicks enough already. 'Endeavour to bring ſome of them to the light in their conſciences, 'that they may ſtand in awe, and ſin not.' But he was ſo eager, that he ſaid, 'he would loſe one of his fingers, if ſhe and Sarah 'would be catholicks.' Then ſhe told him, 'it was Babylon that 'was built with blood, but Sion was redeemed through judgment.'

Many ways were uſed to draw them off; and once they would have perſuaded her to ſet a picture at her bed's head, for a repreſentation: but ſhe ſaid as with abhorrence, 'What, do ye think I 'want a calf to worſhip? Do ye walk by the rule of the ſcriptures?' to which the friar ſaid, 'We do, but we have traditions too.' She replied, 'if your traditions derogate or diſſent from the funda-'mentals of Chriſt's doctrine, the prophets and apoſtles, I deny 'them in the name of the Lord.' But he aſſerted that 'they did 'not.' Then ſhe aſked, 'what rule they had to burn thoſe that 'could not join with them for conſcience-ſake?' and he returned, 'St. Paul did worſe, for he gave them to the Devil;' and further ſaid, 'that they did judge all damned that were not of their faith.' Then ſhe objected to him ſeveral of the ſuperſtitious rites of the church of Rome, and mentioned alſo '*the forbidding of marriage*, 'which,' ſaid ſhe, '*is a doctrine of Devils*, according to the ſaying 'of the apoſtle.' The friar being put to a nonplus, told her, 'that 'St. Peter was the pope of Rome, and did build an altar there, 'and the pope was his ſucceſſor, and he could do what he would.'

Various ways uſed to delude them, which they, divinely ſupported, withſtand.

1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

But

But ſhe refuted this with ſound reaſon. He then boaſting of the antiquity of their church, ſhe ſignified that the church ſhe was of was yet older, for, ſaid ſhe, 'Our faith was from the begin-'ning; and Abel was of our church.' The friar being at a loſs, and not longer able to hold out againſt Catharine, went to Sarah, and talked with her at the ſame rate; and ſhe alſo told him, 'Abel was of our church:' to which he ſaid, 'Abel was a catho-'lick;' and quite over-ſhooting himſelf, he ſaid likewiſe, 'and 'Cain and Judas were ſo.' To which Sarah returned, 'Then the 'Devil was a catholick; and I won't be one: I will not turn; tho' 'ye would tear me to pieces, I believe the Lord would enable me 'to endure it.' 1661.

At another time the ſaid friar, whoſe name was Malachy, came again to Catharine, and told her, 'if ſhe would be a catholick, 'ſhe ſhould ſay ſo; otherwiſe they would uſe her badly, and ſhe 'ſhould never ſee the face of Sarah again, but ſhould die by her-'ſelf, and a thouſand Devils ſhould carry her ſoul to hell.' She then aſked him, 'if he was the meſſenger of God to her?' And he ſaid, 'Yes.' 'Why, what is my ſin,' ſaid ſhe, 'or wherein 'have I provoked the Lord, that he doth ſend me ſuch a meſſage?' 'It is,' returned the monk, 'becauſe you will not be a catholick.' Whereupon ſhe ſaid, 'I deny thee and thy meſſage too, and the 'ſpirit which ſpeaks in thee; for the Lord never ſpoke ſo.' He growing angry, ſaid, that 'he would lay her in a whole pile of 'chains, where ſhe ſhould ſee neither ſun nor moon.' She intimating how reſigned ſhe was, ſaid, 'he could not ſeparate her 'from the love of God in Chriſt Jeſus, lay her whereever he would.' And he further ſaying, 'he would give her to the Devil,' ſhe reſumed, 'I don't fear all the Devils in hell; the Lord is my keeper. 'Though thou hadſt the inquiſition, with all the countries round 'about it on thy ſide, and I was alone by myſelf, I do not fear them; 'if they were thouſands more, the Lord is on my right hand; and 'the worſt they can do, is but to kill the body, they can touch my 'life no more than the Devil could Job's.' Then the monk ſaid, 'ſhe ſhould never go out of that room alive.' To which ſhe courageouſly ſaid, 'the Lord is ſufficient to deliver me; but whether 'he will or no, I will not forſake the living fountain, to drink at 'a broken ciſtern. And ye have no law to keep us here, but ſuch 'a law as Ahab had for Naboth's Vineyard.' The monk then curſing himſelf, and calling upon his Gods, ran away, and as he was pulling the door, he ſaid, 'Abide there member of the Devil.' To which ſhe ſaid, 'the Devil's members do the Devil's works; and 'the woes and plagues of the Lord will be upon them for it.'

He then went and told the inquiſitor of it, who laughed at him; and before he came again, Catharine was moved out of that room: when he came, he brought one of the inquiſitor's men with him, and two very good hens, and ſaid, 'the lord in-'quiſitor had ſent them in love to her.' To which ſhe ſaid, 'ſhe 'received his love,' but yet ſhe ſhewed herſelf not very ready to accept them; and ſignified, 'that ſhe was willing to pay for 'them, being loth to be chargeable to any, whilſt ſhe had of her 'own.' The friar, who it ſeems would have had them lay down

their

1661. their money at his feet, ſaid, 'they muſt not count any thing 'their own'; for in the primitive times they ſold their poſſeſſions, 'and laid them down at the apoſtles feet.' He further ſaid, 'You 'ſhall not want any thing, though we ſhould ſpend a thouſand 'crowns: but you are proud, becauſe you will not take the in-'quiſitor's hens which he ſent you in charity.' She then aſking, 'what kind of charity this was, ſince he kept her in priſon?' the friar ſaid, 'it was for the good of their ſouls he kept them in 'priſon,' further adding, 'if you had not been going to preach, 'ye might have gone where ye would.' She returned, 'Our ſouls 'are out of the inquiſitor's reach. Why ſhould your love extend 'more to us than to your own family: for they commit all man-'ner of ſin, which you cannot charge us with. Why don't ye 'put them into the inquiſition, and bid them turn?' He then ſaid, 'You have not the true faith;' and ſhewing her his crucifix, aſked her, 'if ſhe thought he did worſhip that?' and ſhe aſked him, 'what then did he with it?' To which he anſwered, 'it was 'a repreſentation.' And ſhe replied, 'it did not repreſent Chriſt, 'for he was the expreſs image of his Father's glory, which is 'light and life. But,' continued ſhe, 'if thou canſt put any life 'in any of thy images, then bring them to me. What repreſen-'tation had Daniel in the lions den, or Jonas in the whale's belly? 'they cried unto the Lord, and he delivered them.' The friar, who 'could not abide to hear her ſpeak ſo much againſt idols, ſaid, 'ſhe talked like a mad woman,' adding, 'I'll give you to the 'Devil.' She not fearing this, ſaid, 'Give thy own, I am the 'Lord's.' He then ſtood up and ſaid, 'I will do to you as the 'apoſtles did to Ananias and Sapphira.' She then ſtanding up alſo, ſaid, 'I deny thee in the name of the Lord the living God, 'thou haſt no power over me.' Then away he went with the hens to Sarah, and told her 'that Catharine was ſick, and the 'lord inquiſitor had ſent two hens, and ſhe would be glad to eat 'a piece of one, if ſhe would dreſs one of them preſently, and 'the other to-morrow.' Sarah no leſs circumſpect and cauti-ous than Catharine, and unwilling to receive this gift, before ſhe knew what might be expedient, anſwered him accordingly as Ca-tharine did. Then he carried the hens away again, ſaying, 'You 'would fain be burnt, becauſe you would make the world believe 'you did love God ſo well as to ſuffer in that kind.' Catharine hearing this, ſaid, 'I do not deſire to be burnt; but if the Lord 'ſhould call me to it, I believe he will give me power to undergo 'it for his truth: and if every hair of my head was a body I 'could offer them up all for the teſtimony of Jeſus.'

The friar coming afterwards again, aſked Catharine, 'whether 'ſhe had not been inſpired of the Holy Ghoſt to be a catholick, 'ſince ſhe came into the inquiſition.' She ſaid, 'No.' But he maintaining the contrary, ſaid, 'You are thoſe, who call the ſpi-'rit of the Holy Ghoſt, the ſpirit of the Devil.' 'No,' replied they, (who tho' they were parted, yet could hear one another) 'the ſpirit of the Holy Ghoſt in us will reſiſt the Devil. And the 'inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt is not wrought in the will of man, 'nor in man's time; but in God's will and time.' More diſcourſe

they

they had about this matter, and then aſking for their bibles, which had been taken from them, he ſaid, 'they ſhould never ſee 'them again, for they were falſe.' 1661.

Thus they were often troubled and importuned by the friars, who generally came two at a time, though ſometimes but one. One of theſe often lifted up his hand to ſtrike them, but did not: for they not being moved by fear, he was put out of countenance, and would ſay, 'they were good women, and he would do them 'any good:' as indeed ſometimes he did work for them, and would ſay, 'it was for God's ſake, and that they ought to thank 'him for it.' To which they replied, 'thoſe that did any thing 'for God, did not look for a reward from man;' which once made him ſo angry, that he ſaid, 'they were the worſt of all 'creatures, and they ſhould be uſed worſe than the Turks, Arme-'nians, and Lutherans.' Whereupon one of them ſaid, 'the 'pure life was ever counted the worſt; and if we muſt ſuffer, we 'are the Lord's, and can truſt him. Do what ye will with us, we 'do not fear any evil tidings: we are ſettled and grounded in 'truth; and the more ye perſecute us, the ſtronger we grow.' For this they experienced, indeed, according to what they ſignified in their letters, though they were ſeparated a year from each other. The friars coming once to Sarah, told her, 'if ſhe would, ſhe 'might go out of the priſon, and ſay and do nothing:' and ſhe ſaying, 'ſhe would on that account,' they ſaid, they would come next morning. But Sarah perceived their deceit, and therefore when they came, ſhe, to avoid the ſnare, could not reſolve to go forth, though the friars behaved themſelves friendly, and told her that the inquiſition had ſaid, 'if they wanted linen, woollen, 'ſtockings, ſhoes, or money, they ſhould have it.'

An Engliſhman ſpeaks to Sarah from a wall, for which he is in danger of his life, but afterwards releaſed.

Once it happened that an Engliſhman who lived there, having heard that Sarah was in a room with the window next the ſtreet, got up by the wall, and ſpoke a few words to her; but he was violently haled down, and caſt into priſon upon life and death; for he was one they had taken from the Turks, and made a Papiſt of. The friars coming to them to know whether he had brought them any letters, they ſaid 'No.' Neither had Catharine ſeen him; yet it was told them, he was like to be hanged. Of this Sarah gave information to Catharine, by writing a few lines to her, (for it ſeems they then could not hear one another) and ſhe told her, ſhe thought the Engliſh friars were the chief actors of this buſineſs. This grieved Catharine, and ſhe wrote to Sarah again, (for they had a private way to ſend to each other.) In this letter, after her ſalutation, ſhe ſaid to Sarah, 'that ſhe might be 'ſure the friars were the chief actors; but that ſhe believed the 'Lord would preſerve that poor Engliſhman for his love, and that 'ſhe was made to ſeek the Lord for him with tears: and that ſhe 'deſired her to ſend him ſomething once a day, if the keeper 'would carry it. That ſhe herſelf was raviſhed with the love of 'God to her ſoul, and her beloved was the chiefeſt of ten thou-'ſands; and that ſhe did not fear the face of any man, tho' ſhe 'felt their arrows: moreover, that ſhe had a proſpect of their ſafe 'return into England.' And in the concluſion, 'ſhe bid Sarah

1661. 'take heed, if ſhe was tempted with money.' But this letter, (by what means they never knew) came to the Engliſh friars hands, who tranſlating it into Italian, delivered it to the lord inquiſitor; and afterwards came with the inquiſitor's deputy to Catharine, and ſhewed her both the papers, and aſked her, 'if 'ſhe could read it?' viz. the Engliſh one. 'Yea,' ſaid ſhe, 'I 'wrote it.' 'O! did you indeed?' ſaid he: 'and what is it you 'ſay of me here?' 'Nothing but what is true,' replied ſhe. Then he ſaid, 'Where is the paper Sarah ſent? give it, or elſe I 'will ſearch your trunk, and every where elſe.' She then bidding him 'ſearch where he would,' he ſaid, 'ſhe muſt tell him who it 'was that brought her ink, or elſe ſhe ſhould be tied with chains 'preſently.' And ſhe returned, 'ſhe had done nothing but what 'was juſt and right in the ſight of God; and what ſhe did ſuffer 'on that account would be for truth's-ſake. And ſhe would not 'meddle with the poor workmen.' Then he ſaid, 'For God's 'ſake tell me what Sarah did write.' And ſhe told him ſomething, and ſaid, 'what ſhe ſpoke was truth.' 'But,' returned he, 'you 'ſay it is much we do not tempt you with money.' And this indeed happened afterwards. The deputy then took Catharine's ink, and threw it away; and ſo they went alſo; and the poor Engliſhman was releaſed the next morning. They now coming to Sarah, told her, 'that Catharine honeſtly had confeſt all, and 'that ſhe had beſt to confeſs too:' and they threatened her with a halter, and that they would take away her bed and trunk, and her money too. To which Sarah ſaid, 'it may be 'ſhe might not ſend to Catharine any more:' and ſhe aſked the deputy, whether he was a miniſter of Chriſt, or a magiſtrate? 'if he was a magiſtrate,' ſhe ſaid, 'he might take her money, 'but ſhe would not give it him.' He then growing angry, ſaid, 'ſhe was poſſeſſed.' To which ſhe replied, 'if ſo, then it was 'with the power of an endleſs life.'

Thus from time to time they ſuffered many aſſaults; and ſometimes it ſo happened, that thoſe who came to ſee them, were ſtruck to the heart, which offended the friars. Now at length their money was almoſt gone, they having ſometimes employed it for victuals. But the friars told them, 'they might have kept 'their money for other ſervices; for they ſhould have maintained 'them whilſt they kept them priſoners.' To this they ſaid, 'they 'could not keep their money, and be chargeable to others.' Then it ſo fell out that their ſtomachs were taken away, and they did eat but little for three or four weeks, till at length they found themſelves obliged to faſt for ſeveral days together; which made the friars ſay, 'that it was impoſſible that people could live 'with ſo little meat, as they did.' And it was told them, the lord inquiſitor had ſaid, 'they might have any thing they would.' To which they ſignifying that it was not in their own will they faſted, ſaid, 'they muſt wait to know the mind of the Lord 'what he would have them to do.' They continued weak, eſpecially Sarah, who apprehending her death near, did therefore dreſs her head as ſhe would lie in the grave. They both were ſo feeble, that they could not put on their clothes, neither put them

Some that viſited them affected.

Their money near gone; their ſtomachs fail; and they apprehend themſelves near death, but the Lord reſtores them.

them off, being alſo unable to make their beds: and though they deſired to be together in one room, yet the friars would not permit it. In this condition they concluded they were like to die; but heaven had provided otherwiſe. 1661.

Catharine about that time being exerciſed in ſupplication to the Lord, that it might pleaſe him to put an end to their trial, which way it ſeemed good in his ſight, thought ſhe heard a voice ſaying, 'Ye ſhall not die,' and ſhe took this to be a heavenly voice: and from that time they felt themſelves refreſhed with the living preſence of the Lord, to their great joy and comfort, ſo that they felt freedom to eat again; and then they were provided with good victuals, but yet they were under a fear of eating any thing which in ſome reſpect might be counted unclean; and therefore they cried unto the Lord, and ſaid, 'we had rather die, 'than eat any thing that is polluted and unclean.' And Catharine believed it was ſaid to her from the Lord, 'Thou mayſt as freely 'eat, as if thou hadſt wrought for it with thy hands.' And Sarah who ſometimes had wrought for others in the inquiſition-houſe, was perſuaded that it was told her by inſpiration, 'Thou ſhalt eat the 'fruit of thy hands and be bleſſed.' And ſo they did eat, and for eight or ten days they got whatever they did call for. But afterwards they were ſo ſtraitened for want of food, that it did them more hurt than their faſt. Yet they being preſerved alive, the friars ſaid, 'the Lord keeps them alive by his mighty power, be-'cauſe they ſhould be catholicks.' To which they returned, 'it 'ſhould be known one day, the Lord had another end in it.' But the friars told them plainly, 'there was no redemption for them.' Whereupon they ſaid, 'with the Lord there was mercy and plen-'teous redemption:' and they bid them, 'take heed ye be not 'found fighters againſt God.' To which the friars returned, 'Ye 'are fooliſh women.' 'Then we are,' replied they, 'the Lord's 'fools; and they are dear and precious in his ſight.' The friars then ſhewing their ſhaven crowns, ſaid, that 'they were the Lord's 'fools;' and pointing at their gowns, ſaid, 'they did wear them 'for God's ſake, to be laughed at by the world.' One of the friars about this time, did what he could to ſend Catharine to Rome; and not ſucceeding, he ſaid, 'they ſhould go both.' But this not taking effect, the friar was ſent thither with a paper to the pope, containing matter of charge againſt Catharine; but ſhe ſpeaking zealouſly to the ſcribe, pronounced wo againſt it, and defied it in the name of the Lord. Before the friar departed, he told Sarah, 'Catharine was a witch, and that ſhe knew what was done elſe-'where.' He ſaid this, becauſe once telling Catharine abundance of lies, ſhe told him, 'ſhe had a witneſs for God in her, which 'was faithful and true; and ſhe believed this witneſs.'

A friar ſent to the pope, with a charge againſt Cath. Evans.

After he was gone, the Engliſh conſul came to her with a dollar from a maſter of a ſhip, who came from Plymouth: ſhe told him, 'ſhe did receive her countryman's love, but could not re-'ceive his money.' He then aſked her, 'what ſhe would do if 'ſhe would take no money?' to which ſhe anſwered, 'The Lord 'is my portion, and thus I can't want any good thing. We were 'in thy houſe near fifteen weeks, didſt thou ſee any cauſe of death

The Engliſh conſul diſcourſes with them.

and

1661. 'and bonds in us?' and he ſaying, 'No,' ſhe ſignified to him that in ſome reſpect he had been acceſſary to their impriſonment and had not been ignorant of the intent: 'thou knoweſt,' ſaid ſhe, 'that a room was provided for us in the inquiſition; and 'had we not been kept alive by the mighty power of God, we 'might have been dead long ſince.' Endeavouring to excuſe himſelf, he ſaid 'How could I help it?' then ſhe put him in mind of what happened at his houſe, when they were there, and how they called them to repentance, and forewarned them. To which he ſaid, 'However it be, it will go well with you,' Then ſhe told him, how he required a ſign of her, when they were at his houſe, if they were the ſervants of the Lord God: and ſhe aſked him, 'whether that was not true they ſpoke to him? thou art a con-'demned perſon, and ſtandeſt guilty before God; yet neverthe-'leſs repent, if thou canſt find a place.' While ſhe thus ſpoke to him, his lips quivered, and he trembled ſo that he could ſcarce ſtand upon his legs: and tho' otherwiſe a very handſome man, and in his prime, yet he now looked as one that was pining away: and this was a ſufficient ſign for the whole city, if they had duly taken notice of it. Catharine having refuſed the piece of money, he went to Sarah with it: but ſhe likewiſe told him, 'ſhe could not take it; but if he had a letter for them, ſhe ſhould 'be free to receive it.' He ſaying, 'he had not any,' aſked her, 'what ſhe did want?' and ſhe anſwered, 'the Lord was her ſhep-'herd, ſhe could not want any good thing; but ſhe did long for 'her freedom.' He not willing to diſcourage her, ſaid, 'That 'you may have in time.' But he did not live to ſee it, for the next time they heard of him he was dead.

Is ſtrangely affected with what was ſaid.

His death.

Whilſt the friar was gone to Rome, it was told them, they were alſo to be ſent thither: and there was indeed great working about it; but it ſeems they could not agree in the matter. In the mean-while Catharine and Sarah remained ſeparated, and there were five doors between them with locks and bolts; and yet Sarah ſometimes found an opportunity, either by the careleſneſs of the keeper, or that it was done on purpoſe to come where ſhe could ſee Catharine; and how much ſoever the friars did watch them, yet ſhe came to Catharine's door by night. But being once diſcovered, ſhe was locked up again; yet not long after the doors were again open, ſo that they ſat in ſight of each other.

They ſhew the errors of popery, to priſoners brought to the inquiſition.

Sometimes there were of divers nations brought priſoners into the inquiſition, and the friars, and other great men, endeavoured in their way, to make chriſtians of them. Then theſe women would often ſhew them the errors of popery, and declare the TRUTH, for which they were willing to ſuffer death, if required: but this was taken very ill. At length it happened that two Engliſhmen came into the city, and tried to obtain their liberty, but in vain. Yet a little while after, the magiſtrates ſent for, and aſked them, 'whether they were ſick?' or, 'whether they did want any thing?' ſaying, 'They might write to England,' ordering the ſcribe to give them ink and paper.

Not long after came one Francis Steward, a captain of a ſhip, and a friar of Ireland, who both took great pains to get them releaſed;

leaſed; and their friends in England had not been wanting in any thing that might procure their liberty. But the time for it was not yet come. The ſaid captain, and the new Engliſh conſul, endeavoured much to procure their liberty; but it was not in the magiſtrates power, for the inquiſitor ſaid, 'he could not ſet them 'free, without an order from the pope.' Yet Catharine and Sarah were brought into the court chamber, and the Engliſh conſul aſked them, 'if they were willing to go back to England?' and they ſaid, 'Yes, if it were the will of God they might.' The captain of the ſhip who alſo was there, ſpoke to them with tears in his eyes, and told them what he had done in their behalf, but in vain. 'It 'is the inquiſitor,' ſaid he, 'who won't let you go free: you have 'preached among theſe people.' To which they ſaid, 'that they 'had witneſſed the truth, which they were willing to maintain 'with their blood.' He replied, 'if they could be ſet free, he 'would freely give them their paſſage, and provide for them.' And they returned, 'his love was as well accepted of the Lord, as 'if he did carry them.' He alſo offered them money, but they refuſed to take any. They then gave him a relation of their impriſonment and ſufferings, and ſaid, 'they could not change their 'minds, though they were to be burnt to aſhes, or chopped in 'ſmall pieces.' The friar then drawing near, ſaid, 'they did not 'work:' but this was not true, for they had work of their own, and did work as they were able. They alſo told him, 'their work 'and buſineſs was in England.' He confeſſing this was true, ſaid, 'they had ſuffered long enough, and too long, and that they 'ſhould have their freedom within a ſhort time, but that there 'wanted an order from the pope.' In the mean-while it grieved the captain that he could not obtain their liberty; and going away, 'he prayed God to comfort them;' and 'they beſeeched 'the Lord to bleſs and preſerve him unto everlaſting life, and ne-'ver to let him, nor his, go without a bleſſing from him, for his 'love.' For he ventured himſelf exceedingly in that place, by labouring to get their freedom.

1661.

Endeavours of an Engliſh captain, &c. to procure their liberty, but in vain.

They refuſe money offered.

After he was gone they met with worſe uſage, and the inquiſitor coming, looked upon them with indignation; for the taking away of their lives was again on foot, and their doors were ſhut up for many weeks. After ſome time, the inquiſitor came again into the tower where they ſat; and Sarah called to him, and deſired the door might be opened for them to go down into the court to waſh their clothes. He then ordered the door to be opened once a week; and not long after it was opened every day. And ſince it had been ſaid, that they could not be releaſed, without the pope's leave, Sarah ſaid to him, 'If we are the pope's priſoners, we ap-'peal to the pope: ſend us therefore to him.' But thoſe that had their abode in the inquiſition, eſpecially the friars, were their mortal enemies, although they would ſometimes have fed them with the beſt of their victuals, and given them whole bottles of wine, if they would have received it: and it troubled them exceedingly, that they refuſed to eat and drink with them; which they did, becauſe they looked upon them as their fierce perſecutors.

Are again ſeverely treated.

Once there came two or three Engliſh ſhips into the harbour,

1661. and the Engliſh conſul telling them of it, ſaid, 'that he did what 'he could for them, but that they would not let them go, unleſs 'they would turn catholicks, and that therefore they muſt ſuffer 'more impriſonment yet.' Before Sarah knew theſe ſhips were come thither, ſhe ſaw them in the night in a dream, and heard a voice, ſaying, 'that they could not go yet.' When the ſhips were gone, they were ſent for, and it was aſked them, 'if they would 'be catholicks?' to which they anſwered they were true chriſtians, 'and had received the ſpirit of Chriſt.' One of the magiſtrates ſhewing them the croſs, they told him, 'they did take up the 'croſs of Chriſt daily, which was the power of God to crucify 'ſin and iniquity.' Knowing that there was a friar, who, as the captain had told them, took a great deal of pains for them, but not ſeeing him there, (for he ſecretly favouring them, was now abſent) they ſaid to thoſe that were preſent, 'One of your fathers 'hath promiſed us our liberty.' But this availed nothing. Yet they acknowledged his kindneſs, and told him afterwards, 'he would

Diſcourſe with a friar.

'never have cauſe to repent it.' A friar once coming to them, ſaid, 'It is God's will ye ſhould be kept here, or elſe we could 'not keep you.' On which Catharine told him, 'the Lord ſuffers 'wicked men to do wickedneſs, but he doth not will them to do 'it: he ſuffered Herod to take off John the Baptiſt's head, but 'he did not will him to do it: he ſuffered Stephen to be ſtoned, 'and Judas to betray Chriſt; but he did not will them to do ſo; 'for if he had he would not have condemned them for it.' The friar hereupon aſking, 'are we then wicked men?' ſhe anſwered, 'they are wicked men that work wickedneſs.' 'But,' ſaid he, 'you have not the true faith.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'By faith 'we ſtand, and by the power of God we are upheld. Doſt thou 'think it is by our own power and holineſs we are kept from a 'vain converſation, from ſin and wickedneſs?' he then ſaying, 'that was their pride;' ſhe told him, 'We can glory in the Lord, 'we were children of wrath once as well as others; but the Lord 'hath quickened us that were dead, by the living word of his 'grace, and hath waſhed, cleanſed, and ſanctified us in ſoul 'and ſpirit, in part, according to our meaſures; and we do preſs 'forward towards that which is perfect.' He then ſaid, 'Ye are 'good women; but yet there is no redemption for you, except ye 'will be catholicks.' This was the old leſſon of the friars, who at another time, ſaid, 'Ye may be catholicks, and keep your own 'religion too, and ye ſhall not be known to be catholicks, except 'ye were brought before a juſtice.' To which they returned, 'What, ſhould we profeſs a Chriſt we ſhould be aſhamed of?'

Some of thoſe that came to ſee them, would pity them, for not turning catholicks; but others ſhewed their hatred, by crying, that they muſt be burnt, and by bawling, 'Fuoco, Fuoco,' [fire, fire.] Whilſt they were ſeparated from each other, Catharine was often much concerned for Sarah, and afraid that ſhe ſhould be enſnared; for one of the friars many times accoſted her with fawning words; but they both continued ſteadfaſt, and were often raviſhed by the inward joy and conſolation they felt. Catharine in one of her letters, ſaid, 'that the ſpirit of prayer was once upon her, but that

Catharine is ſolicitous for Sarah.

Yet both remain firm and often full of comfort.

'ſhe

1661.

'she was afraid to speak to the Lord, for fear she should speak 'one word that would not please him.' And then it was returned her from the Lord, 'Fear not, daughter of Sion; ask what thou 'wilt, and I will grant it thee, whatsoever thy heart can wish.' But she desired nothing of the Lord, but what would make for his glory, whether it were her liberty, or bondage, life, or death: and in this resignedness she found herself accepted of the Lord.

The different effects of their discourse on different persons.

Sometimes they spoke so effectually to those that came to them, that they could not gainsay them, but were made to confess that God was with them; though others would make a hideous noise, and cry, 'Jesu Maria,' and run away as people that were struck with fear, Catharine's prison being so near the street, that she could be heard of those that went by, she was moved sometimes to call them to 'repentance, and to turn to the light wherewith 'they were enlightened, which would lead them out of all their 'wicked ways and works, to serve the true and living God in 'spirit and in truth.' This so reached some, that they did sigh and groan, and stay to hear her; but not long, it being forbidden upon great pain. Yet some that passed by to their worship-houses, were so wicked, that they threw stones at her window, and often made a sad noise, and howled like dogs.

Thus they were assaulted both from abroad, and within doors from the friars, who fiercely threatened them for their bold testimony against idolatry. Once when they shewed Sarah, Mary and her babe pictured against a wall, and would have her look upon it; she, to shew her zeal against idol-worship, stamped with her foot, and said, 'Cursed are all images, and image-makers, and those 'that fall down to worship them.'

Sarah's zeal against idolatry.

It happened, that some French and Spanish ships came to join with the Cavaliers of Malta, to fight against the Turks. Sarah hearing this, said, 'God is angry, God is angry; go not forth 'to kill one another; Christ came not to destroy life, but to save 'it.' This she told many, who were persuaded of obtaining a victory: but it fell out otherwise, for their fleet was beaten by the Turks, and they returned with great damage.

And warning against fighting.

A friar coming once to Catharine, asked her, 'why she did not 'work?' which made her say to him, 'what work dost thou do?' he answered, 'I write.' To which she returned, 'I'll write too if 'thou wilt bring me pen, ink, and paper.' He not willing she should write, said, 'St. Paul did work at Rome; and by knitting 'she might get about three halfpence a day.' She told him, 'if 'we could have had that privilege among you, which Paul had at 'Rome under Cæsar, who was a heathen prince, we would have 'wrought, and not have been chargeable to any; for he lived in 'his own hired house two years, preaching the gospel and doc-'trine of the Lord Jesus Christ.' She asked him also, 'whether 'he knew the holy war of God? and if thou knowest it,' said she, 'then thou canst not but know, that we can't be without 'exercise day nor night.' This stopped his mouth: besides, it 'was well known, that they spent not their time idly; for they knit stockings for those that were serviceable to them; they made garments for the poor prisoners, and mended their clothes; tho'

They are not idle in prison.

they

1661. they were not willing to work for the friars, who ſometimes coming to her, kneeled down, and would have Catharine to ſay after them the words they ſpoke. But this ſhe refuſed to do, though it made theſe men grow more angry. Such and the like occurrences ſo grieved her, that once in anguiſh of ſpirit ſhe cried out to God, 'It were better for me to die than to live thus:' for being almoſt continually conſtrained to teſtify againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, ſhe would have been willing to have laid down her life for a teſtimony againſt it, if it had been required of her. And when once the friars told her, that Sarah was to be carried to Rome, whilſt ſhe ſhould ſtay at Malta, it ſo grieved her, that with ſupplication, ſhe aſked the Lord, 'if he did not count her worthy to 'go to Rome alſo, and to offer up her life there for the teſtimony of 'Jeſus; becauſe, if ſhe was at liberty to chooſe, ſhe would rather 'do ſo, than return without her to England.'

Catharine willing to offer up her life for her teſtimony.

More diſcourſe with a friar.

At another time, when it was told them, 'that their bibles 'were falſe,' Catharine aſked the friar that ſaid ſo, 'wherein are 'they falſe?' he replied, 'Becauſe the books of the Maccabees were 'not in them.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'that though ſomething 'might be wanting, yet the reſt might be good for all that: 'but if ſomething were added, then the bible was corrupted.' This ſtruck at ſome additions ſhe had ſeen in the bibles there. Then he aſked her, 'whether ſhe did not think that every one 'muſt bow at the name of Jeſus?' and ſhe anſwering 'Yea,' he ſaid, 'Jeſus,' and bid her to kneel down, or to bow herſelf. To which ſhe ſaid, 'that her heart and whole body was bowed down 'under the name of Jeſus; but that ſhe would not bow at the 'will of him, or any body elſe. He that departs from iniquity' (thus ſhe continued) 'bows before the name of Jeſus; but they 'that live in ſin and wickedneſs, do not bow before the Son of God.' Then he ſaid, 'that he and his companions ſtood in the ſame 'power, and were led by the ſame ſpirit as the apoſtles.' Which made her aſk, 'why then they abuſed that power, and uſed car-'nal weapons?' he anſwered, 'they did not do ſo, for their in-'quiſition, nay, even their chains and fetters were ſpiritual.' Then he aſked her, 'whether ſhe did not think all thoſe damned, 'that were not of her perſuaſion?' ſhe ſaid, 'No, Chriſt hath not 'taught us ſo; for thoſe that are to day in a ſtate of reprobation, 'the Lord, if it pleaſe him, can call to morrow out of it.' He then ſaid, 'We think you damned, and all thoſe that are not of 'our belief.' To which ſhe returned, 'The judgment of man 'doth not hurt us.'

Their thoughts concerning the ſaints.

Sometimes ſome came to the priſon upon their ſaints-days, and aſked them, 'what day it was?' and they not being acquainted with thoſe ſaints, would anſwer, 'we don't know it.' When the others then told them, 'that it was ſuch or ſuch a ſaint's day, 'and that this ſaint would puniſh them that night, becauſe they 'did not obſerve his day:' they anſwered, 'that they knew the 'ſaints to be at peace with them, and that therefore they did 'not fear them.' Another time a friar came and told them, 'it 'was ſeventeen days to Chriſtmas, and that the virgin Mary 'conceived that preſent day.' On which Catharine made this

pretty

pretty remark, that indeed this was very ſingular, 'that ſhe did 'go with child but ſeventeen days.' Such like occurrences grieved her exceedingly, when ſhe conſidered the groſs darkneſs theſe people were in: and as ſhe was crying to the Lord in prayer, that it ſeemed that all their travel and labour was fruitleſs, ſhe felt this anſwer, 'Be not grieved though Iſrael be not gathered, the ſeed 'of Malta is to increaſe into multitude; that which ye have 'ſown, ſhall not die, but live.' 1661.

D. Baker endeavours their releaſe.

After Catharine and Sarah had been impriſoned at Malta about three years, there came one Daniel Baker, who did whatever he could, and went alſo to the inquiſitor, to obtain their liberty, but in vain; for he required that ſome Engliſh merchants at Leghorn, or at Meſſina, ſhould engage for four thouſand dollars, that they being releaſed, ſhould never return into thoſe parts. But they were unwilling to enter into thoſe terms, as not knowing what the Lord one time or other might require of them. Daniel ſeeing he could not obtain their deliverance this way, offered himſelf to be impriſoned inſtead of them; and this not being accepted, he went yet further, and ſignified, 'that he was willing 'to lay down his life for their liberty, if it was not to be pur-'chaſed otherwiſe.' Great love indeed! of which but few inſtances are to be found. And they hearing of this, were touched with exceeding great admiration. In the mean-while, he found a way to get ſome letters delivered to them, and wrote alſo himſelf, both to comfort and exhort them to ſteadfaſtneſs. At length he found means alſo to ſpeak to them; for on a time as they ſtood at the priſon grates, he being come in their ſight, ſaluted them in theſe words: 'The whole body of God's elect, right dearly 'beloved, own your teſtimony, and ye are a ſweet ſavour unto the 'Lord and his people.' To which one of them anſwered, 'that 'it was a trouble to them that they could not be more ſervice-'able.' This made his heart melt with pity and compaſſion, conſidering the wonderful mercy of the Lord in preſerving them without fainting in that ſharp trial: and they beholding one another at a diſtance through the iron grates, were mutually refreſhed at that ſeaſon. They afterwards wrote to him, and ſignified with the moſt tender expreſſions, how highly they valued his great love; and alſo ſent him letters for their friends and relations in England; and he neglected not to write back again to them during his ſtay, which was in the forepart of the year 1662. But he was forced to leave them priſoners there: yet the time of their redemption drew nigh, which was brought about at the inſtance of G. Fox and Gilbert Latey, by writing to the lord Aubigny, as hath been ſaid already.

He offers to be impriſoned for them, yea, to lay down his life for their liberty.

1662.

All ſorts of means uſed to pervert them.

Some time before Daniel Baker came to Malta, it had been told them, 'that if they would turn catholicks, they might dwell at 'Malta.' To which their anſwer was, 'that they were true catho-'licks.' One of the magiſtrates ſaid, 'that if they would not turn 'catholicks, they muſt yet ſuffer long impriſonment by the pope's 'order.' And yet it was not true that there was ſuch an order. It was alſo told them, 'if they would kiſs the croſs, they ſhould 'be releaſed; and they might ſtay at the houſe of the Engliſh

1662. ‘ conſul until an opportunity offered to carry them to England.’ In the mean-while they heard that the pope had given order, to let them paſs to England without doing them any hurt. But however it was, they were preſerved well contented, and they ſaid reſolutely, ‘ that they would not kiſs the croſs, nor purchaſe their liberty ‘ at that rate.’ It ſeems the conſul aimed at ſome advantage by their releaſment, for he told them that the inquiſitor had ſaid, ‘ if ‘ any one would engage for three or four thouſand dollars to be ‘ paid if ever they came thither again, they ſhould be ſet at liber- ‘ ty.’ This he ſaid alſo to D. Baker, and added, ‘ that if none ‘ would engage, they muſt die in priſon, and that this was the ‘ pope’s order.’ After Baker’s departure, word was ſent to ſome Engliſh merchants concerning ſuch an engagement ; but none appeared willing to enter into it ; and the priſoners were ſo far from deſiring, that they ſpoke againſt it. Yet there were many that ſought to obtain their liberty, ſhewing themſelves willing to engage for what was reaſonable : but all their endeavours were in vain.

But they continue ſteadfaſt and inflexible.

Once they faſted three days, and tho’ it was a cold ſeaſon, they ſat upon the ground, with very little clothes on, without ſtockings or ſhoes, having nothing upon their heads but aſhes. The inquiſitors ſeeing it, wondered exceedingly ; and Sarah began to ſpeak zealouſly againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry. And when the time of their faſt was expired, Catharine compoſed the following hymn to God.

Catharine’s hymn to God.

“ ALL praiſe to him that hath not put
Nor caſt me out of mind,
Nor yet his mercy from me ſhut,
As I could ever find.

Infinite glory, laud, and praiſe
Be given to his name,
Who hath made known in theſe our days
His ſtrength and noble fame.

Oh none is like unto the Lamb !
Whoſe beauty ſhineth bright,
O glorify his holy name,
His majeſty and might.

My ſoul praiſe thou the only God,
A fountain pure and clear,
Whoſe chryſtal ſtreams ſpread all abroad,
And cleanſeth far and near.

The well-ſprings of eternity,
Which are ſo pure and ſweet,
And do ariſe continually
My bridegroom for to meet.

My ſweet and dear beloved one,
Whoſe voice is more to me

Than

Than all the glory of the earth,
Or treaſures I can ſee. 1662.

He is the glory of my life,
My joy and my delight,
Within the boſom of his love
He clos'd me day and night.

He doth preſerve me clean and pure
Within his pavill'on,
Where I with him ſhould be ſecure,
And ſaved from all wrong.

My ſoul praiſe thou the Lord, I ſay,
Praiſe him with joy and peace;
My ſpirit and mind both night and day,
Praiſe him and never ceaſe.

O magnify his majeſty,
His fame and his renown,
Whoſe dwelling is in Sion high,
The glory of his crown.

O praiſes, praiſes to our God,
Sing praiſes to our King,
O teach the people all abroad,
His praiſes for to ſing.

A Sion ſong of glory bright,
That doth ſhine out ſo clear,
O manifeſt it in the ſight
Of nations far and near;

That God may have his glory due,
His honour and his fame,
And all his ſaints may ſing anew
The praiſes of his name."

After Catharine had joyfully ſung thus, ſhe went to the well in the court, and drank much water in the ſight of the priſoners, as did Sarah alſo: for they were very dry, and Sarah waſhing her head alſo in cold water, they cried out in their language, 'Ye 'will kill yourſelves, and go to the Devil.' But this they did not fear, neither caught they any cold, and ſo became a wonder to others.

About half a year after Daniel Baker was gone, it came into Catharine's heart, that if ſhe could ſpeak with the inquiſitor, he would grant them their liberty. And it was not long after that he came to the inquiſition-court chamber, which they hearing, deſired to ſpeak with him, which was granted, and being admitted into his preſence, they told him, 'they had not wronged or de-'frauded any, but had ſuffered innocently almoſt four years for 'conſcience-

1662. 'conſcience-ſake,' &c. After this, the inquiſitor was very courteous to them, and promiſed their liberty in a few days, ſaying, 'he would ſend for the conſul, and get him to engage for five 'hundred dollars to be paid for them if ever they came again. 'And in caſe the conſul denied this, he would ſend to Rome to 'the pope, to ſet them at liberty without any obligation.'

Not many days after, the inquiſitor came with his lieutenant, the chancellor, and others, and after ſome diſcourſe, aſked them, 'whether they would return back again to their huſbands and 'children, if it were the will of God?' to which they anſwered, 'it was their intent in the will of God ſo to do.' Hereupon they were releaſed, and the inquiſitor took his leave very courteouſly of them, and wiſhed them a proſperous return into their own country; as likewiſe did the magiſtrates, and the inferior officers, not requiring one pennyworth for fees or attendance; yet in their own freedom they gave ſomething to the keeper, and ſome poor men.

C. Evans and S. Cheevers are releaſed.

Being thus ſet at liberty, they kneeled down, and prayed God never to lay to their charge what they did unto them, becauſe they knew them not. And then they were delivered into the conſul's hands, who told them, 'that he had engaged for them to 'get them free;' but they could never find that it was true. Now they were kept eleven weeks at the conſul's houſe, before they could get paſſage from thence. Catharine in the mean-while being under a great concern, becauſe of a judgment that was impending over the city, wrote a paper to the rulers of Malta, in which ſhe ſaid, that on the 25th of the month called Auguſt, it came upon her from the Lord, to write thus to them in his name, 'My wrath is kindled againſt you, and my judgment is ſet up 'amongſt you, becauſe of your hardheartedneſs and unbelief. I 'the Lord, who deſire the death of no man, but that all ſhould 'return unto me and live, have caſt my ſervants amongſt you, 'contrary to their will, and without their knowledge, to go and 'forewarn you of the evil that was coming upon you.——For all 'the wicked ſhall be brought to judgment.——I will eſtabliſh my 'beloved Son upon his throne, and he ſhall rule in his princely 'power, and reign in his kingly majeſty, whoſe right it is over all; 'and his own ſpiritual government ſhall he ſet up in all places, 'righteous rule and pure worſhip in ſpirit and in truth. There is 'nothing that can prevent the Lord, who ſaith, if ye will not 'hear my ſervant, which ſpeaketh my word, whom ye proved 'almoſt theſe four years, whoſe life hath been harmleſs and ſpotleſs, in pure innocency amongſt you, then will I bring wo upon 'wo, and judgment upon judgment upon you, till the living ſhall 'not be able to bury the dead. My mouth hath ſpoken it, and 'my zeal will perform it; and every man's hands ſhall be upon 'his loins for pain; for the day of recompence is come. But if 'you will hear my ſervant, which ſpeaketh in my name, and 'return in your minds to the light in your conſciences, which 'convinceth of all evil, and deny all evil thoughts, words and 'actions, then will I pour out my ſpirit upon you, and will ſoon 'cure you of your diſeaſes, and heal you of your pain.'

Catharine writes to the rulers of Malta, thereto moved by the Lord.

This, and more ſhe wrote, and delivered to the conſul to give it

it to the grand maſter, and the reſt of the governors. But the conſul not being pleaſed with it, threatened her with impriſonment again. What further became of the paper I do not find, but this, that on the 8th of October, there was great thunder and lightning, which ſet on fire, and blew up one of the powder-houſes about a mile out of the city, and another powder-houſe was thrown down; and in the city five houſes were overthrown, moſt of the glaſs-windows of the palaces and other houſes broke, the doors lifted off their hooks, the walls torn, and the whole city terribly ſhaken, ſo that being at midnight, a cry went through the whole city, and the bells were rung. At the bed's-feet where Catharine and Sarah lay, was a glaſs-window, which alſo was broken, but they received no hurt, though the houſe was ſo ſhaken, that they did exceedingly fear and quake; but being given up unto the Lord to live or die, their fear was ſoon taken from them, and turned into joy in the Lord. When it was day, the conſul came to them, and they being ſtill and quiet, he aſked, 'whether 'they were not dead?' and while he was ſpeaking others came in, telling what was done in the city; and he told them, that even the ſhips in the harbour had ſuffered damage. Then they ſaid, 'One wo is paſt, and behold another wo cometh quickly, if ye 'do not repent.'

1662.

A dreadful tempeſt at Malta.

The conſul viſits them.

Some days after Sarah faſted, ſitting upon the ground with aſhes upon her head, her neck and ſhoulders bare, and ſhe ſpoke to the conſul to deſire the grand maſter, 'to proclaim a faſt, and to make 'the people meet together to wait upon the Lord, with their 'minds turned to him, that ſo he might turn away his judgments 'from them; for the hour of his judgments was come, wherein 'the painted harlot ſhould be ſtripped naked, and receive a cup 'of trembling from the hand of the Lord.' The conſul performed this meſſage to the magiſtrates; and the friars ſaid, 'the wo-'man had a good intent.' Some time after the inquiſitor came, and talking with them, ſaid, 'Your intent is good, but the De-'vil hath deceived you.' And they aſked him, 'whether the 'Devil could give power over ſin?' to which he ſaid, 'the Devil 'could transform himſelf into an image of light.' This they aſſented to, but yet ſaid, 'he could not hide himſelf from the 'children of light; though they that were in the dark could not 'diſcern him.' He could not abide to hear this, but went away, and the conſul, who was preſent, wrought againſt them to get them into bondage again, but in vain. Many now died in the town of a violent fever: whether any other diſaſter followed upon their prediction, I can't tell.

Sarah faſts, and deſires the grand maſter to proclaim a faſt.

At length there came one of the king of England's frigates, called the Saphire, commanded by captain Samuel Titſwel, who took them in, together with ſome knights of Malta, among whom was the inquiſitor's brother, who often ſpoke to the captain, that they might not want any thing that was in the ſhip, and he told them, 'if they came to Malta again, they ſhould not be 'perſecuted ſo.' And to the captain he ſaid, 'if they go to hea-'ven one way, and we another, yet we ſhall all meet together at 'laſt.' But they told him, 'that Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the 'world, was the only way to the Father.'

They go aboard an Engliſh frigate, as do ſome knights of Malta, and the inquiſitor's brother, who is kind to them.

1662.

They are courteouſly entertained at Leghorn. And at Tangier, then beſieged by the Moors, whom they would have viſited, but were reſtrained by the governor.

Departing from Malta, after ſome time they came to Leghorn, where the merchants ſhewed them great kindneſs, and ſent wine and other things for their refreſhment, proffering them alſo money; but they were unwilling to accept it. From thence they came to Tangier, which the king of England had in marriage with the daughter of the king of Portugal. This place was at that time beſieged by the Moors, yet Catharine and Sarah entered the town, and many came flocking into the houſe where they were lodged; for they boldly exhorted the people to depart from wickedneſs. They alſo went to the governor, who was courteous to them, and took their admonitions in good part, and promiſed to follow their counſel. And he would have given them money, but they took none, tho' they accepted his love: for he commanded that none of the garriſon ſhould abuſe them either in word or deed, upon pain of ſevere puniſhment: yet the Portugueſe and Iriſh were ready enough to have done them miſchief. They being inclined to go out to the Moors, deſired the governor to let them go forth, but he told them, 'they muſt expect from that ſavage people nothing 'but cruel death, or bonds for-ever.' And tho' they ſignified to him, that they believed the Lord would preſerve them, ſince they were perſuaded that he required of them to go to the Moors, yet the governor in a friendly manner with-held them from going. Being thus ſtopped, they believed that the Lord accepted of their good will. When they went aboard again, tho' in another ſhip, ſeveral took ſhipping with them, from a belief, that on their account, they ſhould have a ſafe paſſage. The captain, and others that were in the ſhip, behaved themſelves very civilly towards them; and tho' they met with tempeſts, yet at length they arrived ſafe in England.

They arrive ſafe in England.

When in expectation of being burnt, they were comforted by a remarkable dream.

Catharine afterwards related, that when (in the inquiſition) ſhe was for many days together in expectation that they ſhould be burnt, ſhe ſaw in a dream in the night, a large room and a great wood-fire in the chimney, and ſhe beheld one ſitting in a chair by the fire, in the form of a ſervant, whom ſhe took to be the eternal Son of God: likewiſe ſhe ſaw a very amiable well favoured man-child ſitting in a hollow chair over the fire, (not appearing to be above three quarters of a year old, and having no clothes on but a little fine linen about the upper parts) and the fire flamed about it; yet the child played, and was merry. She would then have taken it up, for fear it ſhould have been burnt; but he that ſat in the chair bid her let it alone. Then turning about ſhe ſaw an angel, and he that ſat in the chair bid her take up the child, which ſhe did, and found it had no harm. And then awaking, ſhe told her dream to Sarah, and deſired her not to fear, ſince the heavenly hoſt thus followed them.

I have collected this relation of the occurrences of theſe women at Malta, from ſeveral papers and letters, which not long after their return home were publiſhed in print. And ſince no due order was obſerved there, and many things mentioned, which to avoid prolixity, I have paſſed by, as not very material, I may have haply miſſed in ſome caſe or other, as to the order or ſeries of time, but yet I think the matters of fact are not mutilated. Now to give

give the reader an idea of the frame of theſe women's minds, and their ſufferings, I'll inſert ſome of their letters: among thoſe which they wrote to their friends in England, was this following: 1662.

A letter ſent to their friends in England.

O DEARLY beloved friends, fathers and elders, and pillars of God's ſpiritual houſe, and brethren and ſiſters in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the meaſure of love and life of our God, do we ſalute you all, and do embrace you in that which is eternal, and we do greatly rejoice, and glorify the name of our heavenly Father, that he hath counted us worthy to be partakers of the death and ſufferings of his bleſſed Son, with you; tho' we be the leaſt of God's flock, yet we are of the true fold, whereof Chriſt Jeſus is ſhepherd; and he hath had as tender a care over us, as he hath had of any of his lambs which he hath called forth in this the day of his power, and hath carried us through and over as great afflictions as moſt of our brethren and ſufferers for his name, both in mockings, ſcoffings, ſcornings, reproaches, ſtripes, contradictions, perils at land, and perils at ſea, fiery trials, cruel threatenings, grief of heart, ſorrow of ſoul, heats and colds, faſtings and watchings, fears within, and fightings without; terrible temptations and perſecutions, and dreadful impriſonments, and buffetings of Satan; yet in all theſe our trials, the Lord was very gracious unto us, and did not abſent himſelf from us, neither ſuffered his faithfulneſs to fail us, but did bear us up, and keep us from fainting in the midſt of our extremity. We had not another to make our moan to, but the Lord alone; neither could we expect a drop of mercy, favour or refreſhment, but what he did diſtil from his living preſence, and work by his own ſtrength; for we ſat one in one room, and the other in another, near a year; as owls in deſarts, and as people forſaken in ſolitary places. Then did we enjoy the preſence of the Lord, and did behold the brightneſs of his glory, and we did ſee you, our dear friends, in the light of Jeſus, and did behold your order, and the ſteadfaſtneſs of your faith and love to all ſaints, and were refreſhed in all the faithful hearted, and felt the iſſues of love and life which did ſtream from the hearts of thoſe that were wholly joined to the fountain, and were made ſenſible of the benefit of your prayers.

O the ſorrows, the mournings, the tears! *But thoſe that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy.* A true ſorrow begets a true joy; and a true croſs a true crown: for when our ſorrows did abound, the love of God did abound much more: the deeper the ſorrows, the greater the joys; the greater the croſs, the weightier the crown.

Dear friends and brethren, marvel not that Iſrael is not gathered, our judgment remains with the Lord, and ſo do our labours; for it was not for want of travel, nor pain, nor love to their ſouls; for we could have been contented to have fed upon the graſs on the ground, ſo we might have had our freedom amongſt them: for, had it not been for the great oppoſition, they would have followed after us, as chickens after a hen, both great and ſmall. But oh! the ſwelling ſeas, the raging and foaming waves, ſtormy winds and floods, and deep waters, and high mountains and hills, hard rocks, rough ways, and crooked paths, tall cedars, ſtrong oaks,

fruitleſs

1662. fruitleſs trees, and corrupted ones, that cumber the ground, and hinder the righteous ſeed to be ſown, and the noble plants from being planted: Oh! they ſhut up the kingdom againſt the ſimple-hearted, and hide the key of knowledge from the innocent ones, and will not enter into the kingdom themſelves, nor ſuffer them that would enter, but ſtir up the magiſtrates to form carnal weapons, thinking to prevent the Lord of taking to him his inheritance, and to diſpoſſeſs his Son, who is heir of all, that he might not have a dwelling-place among them, nor a habitation nigh them; becauſe that his light will diſcover their darkneſs, and his brightneſs will burn up all their abominations, and mar their beauty, and ſtain their glory, their pomp, and their pride, that it may periſh as the untimely figs, and fall as the flower of the field, and wither as the graſs upon the houſe-top. Oh! the belly of hell, the jaws of Satan, the whole myſtery of iniquity is at the height, and all manner of abomination that makes deſolate, ſtands where it ought not, and is upholden by a law, that upon pain of death none muſt ſpeak againſt it, nor walk contrary to it. But praiſes to our God, he carried us forth to declare againſt it daily. Oh! the blind guides, the ſeducing ſpirits, that do cauſe the people to err, and compel them to worſhip the beaſt and his image, and have his mark in their foreheads, and in their hands, and to bow to pictures and painted walls, and to worſhip the things of their own hands, and to fall down to that which their own fingers have faſhioned, and will not ſuffer them to look towards Sion upon pain of death, nor to walk towards Jeruſalem upon pain of fagot and fire, but muſt abide in Babel, and believe whatſoever they ſpeak or do, to be truth. But oh! the ways, the worſhips, the faſhions, forms, cuſtoms, traditions, obſervations, and imaginations, which they have drawn in by their dark divinations, to keep the poor people in blindneſs and ignorance, ſo that they periſh for want of knowledge, and are corrupted, becauſe the way of truth is not made known among them; they are all in the many ways, out of the one true and living way, and their ways be ſo many, and ſo monſtrous, that they are unrehearſable; but the Lord our God hath kindled a fire in the midſt of them, that will conſume all forms, faſhions, cuſtoms, and traditions of men, and will burn up the briars, thorns, and tares, ſtubble, and fruitleſs trees, and corrupted ones; and will blaſt all the fruits, works, and labours of wicked and ungodly men, with the mildews of his wrathful indignation, and will ſcatter all his enemies with the whirlwinds of his diſpleaſure. They do not know the ſcriptures: their bibles would grieve any honeſt heart to behold them, becauſe of the corruption.

This letter was ſigned by both of them, though perhaps Catharine was the writer, who alſo wrote a letter of exhortation to the popiſh inquiſitor at Malta, and another to friar Malachy. Among the letters ſhe wrote to her huſband and children, I count the following really worthy to be delivered to poſterity.

For

For the hands of John Evans, my right dear and precious husband, with my tender-hearted children, who are more dear and precious to me than the apple of mine eye. 1662.

MOST dear and faithful huſband, friend, and brother, begotten of my eternal Father, of the immortal ſeed of the covenant of light, life, and bleſſedneſs, I have unity and fellowſhip with thee day and night, to my great refreſhment, and continual comfort; praiſes, praiſes be given to our God for evermore, who hath joined us together in that which neither ſea nor land can ſeparate or divide. Catharine's letter to her huſband and children.

My dear heart, my ſoul doth dearly ſalute thee, with my dear and precious children, which are dear and precious in the light of the Lord, to thy endleſs joy, and my everlaſting comfort; glory be to our Lord God eternally, who hath called you with a holy calling, and hath cauſed his beauty to ſhine upon you in this the day of his power, wherein he is making up of his jewels, and binding up of his faithful ones in the bond of everlaſting love and ſalvation, among whom he hath numbered you of his own free grace; in which I beſeech you (dear hearts) in the fear of the Lord, to abide in your meaſures according to the manifeſtation of the revelation of the Son of God in you; keep a diligent watch over every thought, word, and action, and let your minds be ſtayed continually in the light, where you will find out the ſnares and baits of Satan, and be preſerved out of his traps, nets, and pits, that you may not be captivated by him at his will. Oh, my dear huſband and children, how often have I poured out my ſoul to our everlaſting Father for you, with rivers of tears night and day, that you might be kept pure and ſingle in the ſight of our God, improving your talents as wiſe virgins, having oil in your veſſels, and your lamps burning, and clothed with the long white robes of righteouſneſs, ready to enter the bed-chamber, and to ſup with the Lamb, and to feed at the feaſt of fat things, where your ſouls may be nouriſhed, refreſhed, comforted, and ſatisfied, never to hunger again.

My dear hearts, you do not want teaching, you are in a land of bleſſedneſs, which floweth with milk and honey, among the faithful ſtewards, whoſe mouths are opened wide in righteouſneſs, to declare the eternal myſteries of the everlaſting kingdom, of the endleſs joys, and eternal glory, whereinto all the willing and obedient ſhall enter, and be bleſſed for-ever.

My dear hearts, the promiſes of the Lord are large, and are all yea and amen, to thoſe that fear his name; he will comfort the mourners in Sion, and will cauſe the heavy hearted in Jeruſalem to rejoice, becauſe of the glad-tidings: they that do bear the croſs with patience, ſhall wear the crown with joy; for it is through the long-ſuffering and patient waitings, the crown of life and immortality comes to be obtained. The Lord hath exerciſed my patience, and tried me to the uttermoſt, to his praiſe, and my eternal comfort, who hath not been wanting to us in any thing in his own due time; we are witneſſes he can provide a table in the wilderneſs, both ſpiritual and temporal. Oh, the endleſs love of

1662. our God, who is an everlaſting fountain of all living refreſhment, whoſe chriſtal ſtreams never ceaſe running to every thirſty ſoul, that breatheth after the ſprings of life and ſalvation.

In our deepeſt affliction, when I looked for every breath to be the laſt, I could not wiſh I had not come over ſea, becauſe I knew it was my eternal Father's will to prove me, with my dear and faithful friend; in all afflictions and miſeries the Lord remembered mercy, and did not leave or forſake us, nor ſuffer his faithfulneſs to fail us, but cauſed the ſweet drops of his mercy to diſtil upon us, and the brightneſs of his glorious countenance to ſhine into our hearts, and was never wanting to us in revelations or viſions. Oh, how may I do to ſet forth the fulneſs of God's love to our ſouls! no tongue can expreſs it, no heart can conceive it, nor mind can comprehend it. Oh, the raviſhments, the raptures, the glorious bright-ſhining countenance of our Lord God, who is our fulneſs in emptineſs, our ſtrength in weakneſs, our health in ſickneſs, our life in death, our joy in ſorrow, our peace in diſquietneſs, our praiſe in heavineſs, our power in all needs or neceſſities; he alone is a full God unto us, and to all that can truſt him; he hath emptied us of ourſelves, and hath unbottomed us of ourſelves, and hath wholly built us upon the ſure foundation, the Rock of Ages, Chriſt Jeſus, the light of the world, whence the ſwelling ſeas, nor raging, foaming waves, nor ſtormy winds, though they beat vehemently, can be able to remove us. Glory, honour, and praiſe is to our God for-ever, who out of his everlaſting treaſures, doth fill us with his eternal riches day by day; he did nouriſh our ſouls with the choiceſt of his mercies, and doth feed our bodies with his good creatures, and relieve all our neceſſities in a full meaſure; praiſes, praiſes be to him alone, who is our everlaſting portion, our confidence, and our rejoicing, whom we ſerve acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a conſuming fire.

Oh, my dear huſband, and precious children, you may feel the iſſues of love and life, which ſtream forth as a river to every ſoul of you, from a heart that is wholly joined to the fountain! my prayers are for you day and night without ceaſing, beſeeching the Lord God of power to pour down his tender mercies upon you, and to keep you in his pure fear, and to increaſe your faith, to confirm you in all righteouſneſs, and ſtrengthen you in believing in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that you may be eſtabliſhed as Mount Sion, that can never be moved. Keep your ſouls unſpotted of the world, and love one another with a pure heart fervently, ſerve one another in love, build up one another in the eternal, and bear one another's burdens for the ſeed's-ſake, and ſo fulfil the law of God. This is the word of the Lord unto you, my dearly beloved.

Dear hearts, I do commit you into the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth on high, and to the word of his grace in you, who is able to build you up to everlaſting life, and eternal ſalvation. By me, who am thy dear and precious wife, and ſpouſe, in the marriage of the Lamb, in the bed undefiled.

C. E.

My

My dearly beloved yoke-mate in the work of our God, doth dearly ſalute you: ſalute us dearly to our precious friends in all places. I do believe we ſhall ſee your faces again with joy. 1662.

This was written in the inquiſition at Malta, in the 11th month, in the year 1661.

The following LETTER *was written by Sarah to her husband Henry Cheevers and children:*

Sarah's letter to her huſband and children.

MY dear huſband, my love, my life is given up to ſerve the living God, and to obey his pure call in the meaſure of the manifeſtation of his love, light, life and ſpirit of Chriſt Jeſus, his only begotten Son, whom he hath manifeſted in me, and thouſands, by the brightneſs of his appearing, to put an end to ſin and Satan, and bring to light immortality, through the preaching of the everlaſting goſpel, by the ſpirit of propheſy, which is poured out upon the ſons and daughters of the living God, according to his purpoſe; whereof he hath choſen me, who am the leaſt of all: but God, who is rich in mercy, for his own name-ſake hath paſſed by mine offences, and hath counted me worthy to bear teſtimony to his holy name, before the mighty men of the earth. Oh the love of the Lord to my ſoul! my tongue cannot expreſs, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive of the things that God hath laid up for them that fear him.

Therefore doth my ſoul breathe to my God for thee and my children, night and day, that your minds may be joined to the light of the Lord Jeſus, to lead you out of Satan's kingdom, into the kingdom of God, where we may enjoy one another in the life eternal, where neither ſea nor land can ſeparate; in which light and life do I ſalute thee my dear huſband, with my children, wiſhing you to embrace God's love, in making his truth ſo clearly manifeſt amongſt you; whereof I am a witneſs, even of the everlaſting fountain that hath been opened by the meſſengers of Chriſt, who preach to you the word of God, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, directing you where you may find your Saviour to purge and cleanſe you from your ſins, and to reconcile you to his Father, and to have unity with him and all the ſaints, in the light, that ye may be fellow-citizens in the kingdom of glory, reſt and peace, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for them that love him, and obey him. What profit is there for to gain the whole world, and loſe your own ſouls? ſeek firſt the kingdom of God and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all other things ſhall be added to you. Godlineſs is great gain, having the promiſe of this life that now is, and that which is to come; which is fulfilled to me, who have taſted of the Lord's endleſs love and mercies to my ſoul; and from a moving of the ſame love and life do I breathe to thee my dear huſband, with my children: my dear love ſalutes you all; my prayers to my God are for you all, that your minds may be joined to the light, wherewith you are lightened, that I may enjoy you in that which is eternal, and have communion with you in the ſpirit. He that is joined to the Lord, is one ſpirit, one heart, one mind, one ſoul,

to

1662. to ſerve the Lord with one conſent. I cannot by pen or paper ſet forth the large love of God in fulfilling his gracious promiſes to me in the wilderneſs, being put into priſon for God's truth, there to remain all the days of my life, being ſearched, tried, examined upon pain of death among the enemies of God and his truth; ſtanding in jeopardy for my life, until the Lord had ſubdued and brought them under by his mighty power, and made them to feed us; and they would have given us money or clothes; but the Lord did deck our table richly in the wilderneſs. The day of the Lord is appearing, wherein he will diſcover every deed of darkneſs, let it be done never ſo ſecretly; the light of Chriſt Jeſus will make it manifeſt in every conſcience; the Lord will rip up all coverings that are not of his own ſpirit. The God of peace be with you all, Amen. *Written in the inquiſition priſon:*

By SARAH CHEEVERS.

Several other letters both ſhe and Catharine wrote to their huſbands, friends, and relations. But ſince great part of my narrative was fetched from thence, I paſs them by. But by theſe inſerted, one may ſee that they were not women of a dull temper, but ingenious and cheerful.

In a LETTER *of Sarah's to her friends in Ireland, I find theſe words:*

MY life is given up to the ſervice of the Lord: bonds, chains, bolts, irons, double doors, death itſelf, is too little for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and for the word of God; ſo the ſeed be gathered, it is but a reaſonable ſacrifice. Bonds and afflictions betide the goſpel of Chriſt. Thoſe that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

And in a LETTER *to Daniel Baker, Catharine ſaid,*

THE time is too little for me to diſcloſe the twentieth part of the terrible trials; but whenſoever we were brought upon any trial, the Lord did take away all fear from us, and multiplied our ſtrength, and gave us power and boldneſs to plead for the truth of the Lord Jeſus, and wiſdom of words to ſtop the mouths of the gainſayers; but then they would ſay, 'we had not the true faith, 'but we had all virtues.' Dearly beloved, pray for us, that we fall not, nor fail, whereby our enemies may have any advantage to rejoice, and ſay, we ſerved a God that could not ſave us, and called upon a God that could not deliver us; as if we were like them, to call upon ſtocks, ſtones, pictures, and painted walls, and dead things, that cannot hear, ſee nor ſpeak. We do beſeech thee to tell all our dear friends, fathers, and elders, the pillars of the ſpiritual building, with all the reſt of our chriſtian brethren, that we do deſire their prayers, for we have need of them.

This LETTER *they concluded with the following poem.*

HOW ſtrong and powerful is our KING
To all that do believe in him?
He doth preſerve them from the ſnare,
And teeth of thoſe that would them tear. We

1662.

We that are ſuff'rers for the ſeed,
Our hearts are wounded, and do bleed,
To ſee th' oppreſſion, cruelty
Of men that do thy truth deny.
In priſons ſtrong, and dungeons deep,
To God alone we cry and weep:
Our ſorrows none can learn nor read,
But thoſe that in our path do tread.
But he whoſe beauty ſhineth bright,
Who turneth darkneſs into light,
Makes cedars bow, and oaks to bend
To him, that's ſent to the ſame end.
He is a fountain pure and clear,
His chriſtal ſtreams run far and near,
To cleanſe all thoſe that come to him,
For to be healed of their ſin.
All them that patiently abide,
And never ſwerve nor go aſide;
The Lord will free them out of all
Bondage, captivity, and thrall.

They compoſed ſeveral other poems, which fell into the hands of their enemies, and copies of them were given to the inquiſitor. But now I leave them; and yet before I return to tranſactions in England, I ſhall relate a ſingular caſe of

Daniel Baker, who being come to Smirna, with intent to travel from thence to Conſtantinople, was ſtopped by the Engliſh conſul, and ſent to the iſle of Zant, where a ſhip lay bound for Venice, in which he embarked, and coming into that city, he ſtaid there a week, and went from thence to Leghorn, with intent to take ſhipping there for England: but during his ſtay in that place, he inwardly felt drawings towards Malta, to try whether he could be helpful to Catharine and Sarah that were priſoners there, ſince he had ſeveral times been ſtirred up thereto; and though the difficulty of the matters had kept him back, yet he could not have peace in his mind, before he gave himſelf up to that ſervice; and ſo he embarked in a French ſhip for Sicily: and coming to Syracuſe he ſtaid there five days, and then they ſet ſail for Malta; where being arrived, he got admittance to the pope's inquiſitor, to whom he ſpoke in the Italian tongue on this wiſe, 'I 'am come to demand the juſt liberty of my innocent friends, the 'Engliſh women in priſon in the inquiſition.' The inquiſitor aſked him, 'if he were related to them as a huſband or kinſman, and 'whether he came out of England on purpoſe with that meſ-'ſage.' To this Daniel anſwered, 'that he came from Leghorn 'for that ſame end.' But the inquiſitor told him, 'they ſhould 'abide in priſon till they died, except ſome Engliſh merchants, or 'others that were able, would engage for the value of three or 'four thouſand dollars, that they ſhould never return into thoſe 'parts.' His requeſt being thus denied, he went to the Engliſh conſul, and ſpoke with him and ſeveral others: but all his endeavours proved vain, and he himſelf was threatened with the in-

D. Baker intending for England, is moved to go to Malta.

He in vain ſolicits the two Engliſh women's releaſe.

1662.

Is in danger of the inquiſition.

quiſition; and the pope's deputy would have had him bound, that he ſhould neither ſpeak good nor evil to any body, while he was on the iſland, ſave to him and the conſul.

From thence goes to Italy, and there embarks for England.

After a ſtay here of three weeks, he paſſed again to Italy, and from thence took ſhipping for England: but being come into the ſtreights of Gibraltar, he ſaw that the high mountain there, was the ſame place he had ſeen the foregoing year in a dream, when priſoner in Worceſter gaol in England.

Is wind-bound at Gibraltar.

Here the ſhip wherein he was, with ſeveral other veſſels lay about a month, becauſe of the contrary wind, ſo that they could not ſet ſail. In the mean-while being under a burden, he perceived there was a ſervice for him aſhore; but conſidering this to be dangerous he wiſhed to have been excuſed of it; but felt no peace before he fully gave up, whatever either bonds or death might enſue. Whilſt the fleet lay here wind-bound divers ſhips attempted to paſs through, but could not: and the like temptation attended him as that of Jonah, viz. to flee from the place, and ſo to eſcape the burden under which he laboured. But he found, as he afterwards ſignified in a printed relation, that obedience was his duty, though it was required of him to be a ſign againſt the idolatry of the church of Rome. He then told the maſter of the ſhip in which he was a paſſenger ſomething of the matter, and ſaid that he believed, that God would ſoon give opportunity for the fleet to paſs away, after this ſervice was performed. The maſter was hard to be perſuaded to put him aſhore, yet at length he ſuffered it, upon the day they uſe to call 'Maunday Thurſday.' Being now landed, he went to the town, and ſo into the maſs-houſe, where he found the prieſt at the high-altar, upon his knees, in his white ſurplice, adoring the hoſt. After he had a while been viewing this idolatry, he felt the indignation of God kindled in his heart againſt it: and turning his back upon the prieſt and his dead god, he ſet his face towards the people, and ſaw the multitude upon their knees alſo, worſhipping they knew not what. In this poſture ſpreading forth his arms, he ſlipt off his upper garment, and rent it from top to bottom in divers pieces, which he caſt from him with indignation: then he took his hat from off his head, as being the uppermoſt covering of man, and caſting it down, ſtamped upon it with his feet, and appearing in ſack-cloth covering, he with a loud voice thrice ſounded Repentance, and ſaid that 'the life of 'Chriſt and his ſaints was ariſen from the dead.' And ſo he paſſed away unmoleſted, ſounding the ſame meſſage with repentance through the ſtreets, till he came to the ſea-ſide, where he kneeled down to pray, and gave thanks to the Lord for his wonderful preſervation, and that he had ſuffered no man to touch or do him any harm. Being on ſhore, he delivered a paper written in the Spaniſh tongue, to the governor and inhabitants of Gibraltar, with ſome Latin books. That to the governor, &c. was as followeth:

He goes aſhore, and in a maſs-houſe publickly teſtifies againſt idolatry.

Delivers a paper to the governor.

BEHOLD, behold, the great day of God is come, and of his wrath, and of the wrath of his Lamb. The hour of his judgment is come. Wherefore oh! inhabitants of the earth, repent,

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pent, repent, repent, fear God, and give glory and honour to him that made heaven and earth and the fountains of waters. Wo, wo, wo to the inhabitants of the earth. John heard another voice from heaven ſaying, *Come out of her my people, that ye partake not of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* Theſe are the words of the power of Chriſt, that is contrary to the falſe church. Behold, behold, plagues, plagues, plagues are coming upon the church of Rome, and upon her heads in all parts of the world.

Daniel being now come again on ſhip-board, the next day the Lord gave them a fair wind, and all the fleet ſet ſail; and after ſome time he arrived ſafe in England. But being come to London, it was not long ere he, who had travelled without hurt in foreign parts, was impriſoned by his countrymen, as will be related hereafter: and being ſhut up in priſon, he wrote a narrative of his travels, from which I took my relation.

At length returns to London, and is impriſoned ſoon after.

About this time John Stubs returned into England, having been in the dominions of the great Turk. But I do not find that he met with any ſingular occurrences, but that he had ſpread ſome books. He and Alexander Parker coming to London, found G. Fox there, with whom they travelled towards Briſtol: by the way they had ſeveral meetings, and being come to Briſtol, they underſtood that the officers were likely to come and diſturb the meeting. Yet on the firſt-day of the week they went thither, and A. Parker ſtood up firſt to preach; but while he was ſpeaking, the officers came and took him away. Then G. Fox ſtood up, and preached undiſturbed, ſo that the meeting ended peaceably. And he ſtaying in town that week, viſited his friends, and was viſited by them. The next firſt-day, ſome of his friends came to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him not to go to the meeting that day; for, ſaid they, 'the magiſtrates have threatened to take thee 'away, and in order thereto have raiſed the trained bands.' G. Fox deſired them to go their way to the meeting, without telling them what he intended to do. Yet not long after, he went thither: but being met by ſome of his friends, they did what they could to ſtop him: and 'What,' ſaid one, 'wilt thou go in-'to the mouth of the beaſt? wilt thou go into the mouth of 'the dragon?' ſaid another. But G. Fox would not ſuffer himſelf to be thus prevented; but went on. Being come thither he perceived a concern and fear upon his friends for him, but his preaching there was ſo powerful, that all fear departed from them: and having concluded his ſermon with a prayer, he ſtood up again, and told the auditory, 'now they might ſee there was 'a God in Iſrael that could deliver:' for the officers and ſoldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time: and they were in a great rage that they had miſſed him. For it was reſolved on now to perſecute the Quakers, and if poſſible, to root them out.

J. Stubs returns from Turky.

He and A. Parker travel with G. Fox to Briſtol, where friends meetings are diſturbed, and A. Parker taken away.

G. Fox, after having tarried yet ſome days at Briſtol, went through Wiltſhire and Berkſhire back again to London: yet he did not ſtay long there, but travelled toward Leiceſterſhire, and

paſſing

1662.

G. Fox goes thence back to London, thence toward Leiceſterſhire, and viſits capt. Brown, a Baptiſt, of whom ſomewhat remarkable.

paſſing by Barnet Hills, he found there one captain Brown a Baptiſt, whoſe wife belonged to the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers. This captain, for fear his wife ſhould go to meetings, and be caſt into priſon, had left his houſe at Barrow, and taken a place on the ſaid hills, thinking himſelf more ſafe there. G. Fox going to ſee his wife, and being come into the houſe, aſked him, 'how he 'did?' 'How I do,' ſaid he, 'the plagues and vengeance of God 'are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am: God may look for a 'witneſs for me, and ſuch as me; for if all were no faithfuller 'than I, God would have no witneſs left in the earth.' In this condition, Brown lived there on bread and water, and thought it too good for him; but at length he returned with his wife to his own houſe at Barrow, where he came to be convinced of the truth profeſſed by thoſe called Quakers, and died in it; and a little before his death he ſaid, 'that though he had not borne a teſtimony 'for truth in his life, he would bear a teſtimony in his death;' deſiring to be buried in his orchard in a plain way.

But I return to G. Fox, who being come into Leiceſterſhire, went to Swanington to the houſe of a widow woman, where at night came one called the lord Beaumont, and a company of ſoldiers, who took him out of the hall where he was, and brought him to the ſaid lord, who aſked him his name; to which he anſwered, 'My name is George Fox, and I am well known by 'that name.' 'Ay,' ſaid Beaumont, 'you are known all the 'world over.' Then he put his hands into George's pockets to ſearch them, and pulled out his comb-caſe, and afterwards commanded one of the officers to ſearch for letters: which made G. Fox ſay, that 'he was no letter-carrier,' aſking him, 'why he 'came amongſt a peaceable people with ſwords and piſtols without 'a conſtable? ſince this was contrary to the king's proclamation;' and it could not be ſaid there was a meeting; for G. Fox had been talking in the hall only with the widow woman and her daughter. Beaumont ſending then for the conſtables, gave them charge to watch G. Fox, and ſome that were with him that night: accordingly the conſtables ſet a watch upon them, and next morning brought them to Beaumont's houſe, who then told them, they met contrary to the act: for not long before this time the parliament, by the inſtigation of the clergy, had made an act againſt conventicles, containing that, 'if any were convicted of having 'been at a conventicle, they ſhould incur a fine not exceeding five 'pounds, or impriſonment not above three months.' G. Fox ſaying to the lord Beaumont, that he did not find them in a meeting, and ſo there was no tranſgreſſion of the ſaid act. Beaumont aſked him, 'whether he would take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy?' to which G. Fox anſwered, 'I never took any oath in all 'my life.' And deſired him to ſhew that oath, that they might ſee whether it was not for the diſcovery of popiſh recuſants. But Beaumont being unwilling, cauſed a mittimus to be made, which mentioned 'that they were to have had a meeting:' a cunning artifice indeed to vex an innocent people. And with the mittimus he charged the conſtables to convey them to Leiceſter gaol. The conſtable who was charged to bring G. Fox and his friends

G. Fox taken out of a friend's houſe at Swanington by the l. Beaumont and a company of ſoldiers, and committed to Leiceſter gaol.

Act againſt conventicles.

friends to priſon, was loth to do it himſelf: and being harveſt time, it was hard to get any body to go with them. And therefore they would have given them the mittimus, to carry it themſelves to the gaoler. This they refuſed; though ſometimes ſome of their friends had done ſo: for the conſtables had ſuch experience of their fidelity, that they durſt truſt them even in ſuch a caſe, without fearing the bird would eſcape. Then the conſtable hired a poor man, who was loth to go with them on this errand. Yet they rode with him through the country, being five in number, and ſome carried their bibles open in their hands, and paſſing thro' towns, they told people, 'they were the priſoners of the Lord 'Jeſus Chriſt, going to ſuffer bonds for his name-ſake.' Being come to Leiceſter, and gone into an inn, the maſter of the houſe ſeemed ſomewhat troubled that they ſhould go to priſon; but they being unwilling to conſult with lawyers, to which they were adviſed, ſuffered themſelves to be had to priſon; where being come, G. Fox aſked, 'whether the gaoler or his wife was maſter?' and it was told him, 'the wife,' who though ſhe was lame, and not able to go without crutches, yet would beat her huſband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as ſhe would have him. 1662.

G. Fox, with others impriſoned at Leiceſter.

G. Fox perceiving from this, that without her leave he ſhould not be able to agree with her huſband, got ſomebody to bargain with her for a room, for him and his friends, and to leave it to them to give her what they would; to which ſhe conſented. But then it was told the priſoners, the gaoler would not ſuffer them to fetch any drink out of the town into the priſon; but what beer they drank, they muſt take it of him, and that, as was eaſily to be gueſſed, would be at a dear rate.

They uſe water with wormwood for drink.

This made G. Fox ſay, he could remedy that; for ſince the gaoler could not deny them water, he would get a pail of it once a day, and put ſome wormwood into it, and that might ſerve their turn. So long as G. Fox was in priſon there, he and his friends had a meeting every firſt-day of the week in the yard, to which came not only the debtors and felons, that were priſoners, but alſo ſeveral people out of the town and country; whereby many were convinced of the truth he preached, and continued to be faithful witneſſes for it.

Other friends ſent to the ſame gaol.

Whilſt G. Fox was confined there, ſeveral more of his friends were ſent to priſon, to the number of about twenty. And when the ſeſſions came, they were brought before the juſtices, who tendered to them the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, for this was the ordinary ſnare, when no other thing could be found to lay hold on. But G. Fox told them, 'he never took any oath in 'his life; and ye know we cannot ſwear, becauſe Chriſt and his 'apoſtle forbid it: and therefore this is but as a ſnare to us; 'yet if ye can prove, that after Chriſt and his apoſtle forbad 'ſwearing, they ever did command chriſtians to ſwear, then we 'will take theſe oaths, otherwiſe we are reſolved to obey Chriſt's 'command, and the apoſtle's exhortation.' To this it was returned, that 'they muſt take the oath to manifeſt their allegiance to 'the king.' G. Fox, to ſhew that he was not unfaithful to the king, told them, that formerly he had been ſent up a priſoner by

Proceedings againſt them.

1662. colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that he held meetings to plot for bringing in king Charles. Then he desired, that their mittimus might be read, which set forth the cause of their commitment to be, that 'they were to have a meeting:' and he said also, 'that the lord Beaumont could not by 'the act send them to gaol, unless they had been taken at a meeting;' and therefore he urged the reading of the mittimus, that it might be seen how wrongfully they were imprisoned. But whatever he said, they would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury, and indicted the prisoners for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman spoke to them, and recommended to them to 'have 'a good conscience:' but one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury. Whereupon he was called up, and to try whether he was a Quaker, the oath was also tendered to him, and he took it; thus the snare intended against him did not hold.

A pick-pocket taken in the fact, and let go.

Whilst the prisoners stood waiting, a cut-purse had put his hand into the pockets of some of them, which they told the justices of, and shewed them the man. They then called him up, and upon examination he could not deny the fact, yet they let him go free, just as if the robbing of those called Quakers was no crime.

They are found guilty;

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought the prisoners in guilty. And then the justices whispered together, and bad the gaoler take the prisoners, and carry them back to gaol. But a little after they were in prison again, the gaoler came to them, and said, 'Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should all be

Yet released occasionally;

'set at liberty,' &c. Thus they were released on a sudden, which was indeed remarkable, because the jury had brought them in guilty; on which passing of sentence must have followed. But

And why.

G. Fox's liberty seems to have been owing to the following cause. He had a letter from the lord Hastings, who having heard of his imprisonment, had written from London to the justices of the sessions to set him at liberty. This letter he had not as yet delivered to the justices, who perhaps had some knowledge of the said lord's mind from another hand, which made them resolve on this sudden discharge. G. Fox being now free, carried this letter to the lord Beaumont, who having opened, and read it, seemed somewhat troubled; and yet threatened him, if he had any more meetings at Swanington, he would disperse them, and send him to prison again. But notwithstanding these threatenings, he and his friends went to Swanington, and had a meeting there, without being disturbed. From thence he travelled to London, where we will leave him, and in the mean-while see what happened elsewhere.

T. Goodair and B. Staples in prison in Oxford.

Some time before, Thomas Goodair and Benjamin Staples were imprisoned at Oxford, and being brought into the court of judicature before sir William Walker, who sat there as judge, and Goodair being examined, and nothing found against him, the oath of allegiance was tendered, to which he answered, 'that he 'acknowledged the king as supreme ruler in civil temporal mat-

'ters,

1662.

'ters, and that he was willing to obey him in all juſt commands. 'But,' ſaid he, 'if king Charles, and thoſe who are in authority 'under him, enjoin me any thing contrary to the command of 'Chriſt, then I will rather obey Chriſt than king Charles, or thoſe 'in authority under him. It is for conſcience-ſake that I can't 'ſwear, though I could gain the whole world thereby; for Chriſt 'hath forbidden it, and ſaid, *Swear not at all;* and James ſaith, '*Above all things ſwear not.*' But whatever Goodair ſaid was in vain, for they would needs have him ſwear. He continuing to refuſe ſwearing, juſtice Walker aſked thoſe that were with him on the bench, 'whether they had any thing to ſay againſt his paſſing 'ſentence againſt them;' to which they having ſaid 'No,' he ſpoke thus to Goodair. 'Hearken to your ſentence: you are out of the 'king's protection. All your lands, real eſtate and chattels are 'forfeited, and ſhall be ſeized for the king's uſe; and you are to 'remain priſoner during the king's pleaſure.' Then he bid the gaoler take Goodair away, who aſked, 'whether the gaoler had 'charge to fetter him, for he had been fettered as thieves and fe-'lons, before he was brought into the court.' Whereupon the judge anſwered, 'The gaoler may do with you what he will: 'for you are now out of the king's protection.' Then he was led away, and B. Staples brought to the bar, to whom the oath being alſo tendered, and he refuſing to take it, the ſame ſentence was paſſed on him. Both being returned to priſon, the gaoler ſaid to the other priſoners that were there for evil, or debts, 'If 'ye want coats, ye may take thoſe of the Quakers; for they are 'now out of the protection of the law.' But one of the priſoners was ſo honeſt as to ſay, 'he would rather go naked than take 'away thoſe men's clothes.' How long they were in priſon, and whether they died there, or were at length releaſed, I know not.*

They are outlawed for refuſing to ſwear.

But now I turn to Ambroſe Rigg, who being come to Hurſt Pierpoint in Suſſex, had a meeting there at the houſe of his father-in-law, captain Thomas Luxford; this ſo diſpleaſed the prieſt Leonard Letchford, that Rigg was taken, and brought before the juſtices, Walter Burrel, Niſel Rivers, and Richard Bridger, who being minded to bring him under ſufferings, tendered him the oath of allegiance; and he ſaying, 'that for conſcience-ſake he 'could not ſwear,' was forthwith ſent to Horſham priſon, and at the time of the aſſizes brought into the court, where judge Samuel Brown then ſat, and paſſed the ſentence of premunire upon him. Then he was carried back, and by the inſtigation of the ſaid Leonard Letchford, committed cloſe priſoner, where he continued above ten years, and ſuffered during that time much hardſhip by the malice of the gaolers, ſince ſuch priſoners as he was, are ſhut out of the king's protection. In the mean-while, the aforeſaid prieſt Letchford, ſummoned Rigg's wife for tithes; and ſhe refuſing payment, was alſo impriſoned at the proſecution of this prieſt; and then he ſeized her goods, taking away alſo that which her huſband

Sufferings of A. Rigg and his father-in-law T. Luxford, cauſed by prieſt Letchford, a cruel perſecutor.

* They both were ſuppoſed to be diſcharged at the next general gaol-delivery: for Thomas Goodair in 1666, had been priſoner ſome years at Warwick, being premunired without legal trial or judgment, at length he died at Selby in Yorkſhire, 1693. J. Whiting's account.

1662. husband had earned in prison by his hand-labour, not leaving him and his wife a bed to lie on; nay, he also took away a pot they had borrowed from other prisoners to boil victuals in, and vaunted he had, 'Rigg so fast, that it was not in the king's power to 'release him.' But notwithstanding his wicked boast, yet to his great disquiet and vexation, he lived to see Rigg released by the king under the great seal. And Thomas Luxford, A. Rigg's father-in-law, being also become one of the society of those called Quakers, and refusing to pay him tithes, felt likewise the effect of his fury; for he caused him also to be cast into gaol, where he kept him six years; and the prisoners being then released by the sheriff, he was excommunicated by Letchford, and afterwards at his suit, by virtue of the statute 'de excommunicatio capiendo,' shut up again in prison, from which he was set at liberty by an act of parliament.

Whose sudden death prevents his further cruelties.

Not long after, Letchford got a warrant to sue also some others of the Quakers so called, belonging to his parish, for not paying tithes: but before he could get them imprisoned, it happened that being at night gone to bed healthy, in the morning he was found stiff dead in his bed, according to the testimony of his neighbours; and this prevented the stroke he had levelled against others.

Not being willing to finish this relation abruptly, I am advanced in time, but now I return to the year 1662. In the middle of this year, sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, both vigorous champions against king Charles the first, and having been in great authority under the former government, were brought to their trial. Vane behaved himself with very great presence of mind; how far he was guilty I am not to inquire; but he was declared guilty, and afterwards beheaded on Tower-hill. He was reputed to be a man of great knowledge, having been one of the chief members of the long parliament, and also an opposer of Cromwell: for he was an entire republican, and had a great share in the administration of state-affairs. Lambert, who had been an eminent general, saved his life: for since Vane, as Ludlow saith, pleaded for the lives and liberties of his country, and Lambert for his own, he evaded the storm, which took away Vane. Lambert now, though condemned to death, begged mercy, and was confined to perpetual imprisonment, and carried to a small isle near Plymouth where he finished his days.

Sir H. Vane and J. Lambert tried.

The first beheaded;

The other imprisoned for life.

Seeing on the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men, occasion was taken to make an act against plotting, and seditious meetings, the persecution against the Quakers increased, under a pretence that their meetings were dangerous, and to the terror of the king's subjects, and an act was made against those who refused to take an oath as appeared by the title of it, viz.

An ACT *for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.*

Act to prevent dangers by Quakers, An. 13 & 14. Car. 2. c. 1.

WHEREAS of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers, and other names of separation, have taken up, and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and, amongst others,

others, that the taking of an oath in any caſe whatſoever, although before a lawful magiſtrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and the ſaid perſons do daily refuſe to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens, that the truth is wholly ſuppreſſed, and the adminiſtration of juſtice much obſtructed: and whereas the ſaid perſons, under a pretence of religious worſhip, do often aſſemble themſelves in great numbers in ſeveral parts of this realm, to the great endangering the publick peace and ſafety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a ſecret and ſtrict correſpondence amongſt themſelves, and in the mean-time ſeparating and dividing themſelves from the reſt of his majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects, and from the publick congregations, and uſual places of divine worſhip: 1662.

II. For the redreſſing therefore, and better preventing the many miſchiefs and dangers that do, and may ariſe by ſuch dangerous tenets, and ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, (2) Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled in parliament, and by authority of the ſame, that if any perſon or perſons, who maintain that the taking of an oath, in any caſe ſoever (although before a lawful magiſtrate) is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, from and after the four and twentieth day of March, in this preſent year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one, ſhall wilfully and obſtinately refuſe to take an oath, where, by the laws of the realm, he or ſhe is, or ſhall be bound to take the ſame, being lawfully and duly tendered, (3) or ſhall endeavour to perſuade any other perſon, to whom any ſuch oath ſhall in like manner be duly and lawfully tendered, to refuſe, and forbear the taking of the ſame, (4) or ſhall by printing, writing, or otherwiſe, go about to maintain and defend that the taking of an oath in any caſe whatſoever, is altogether unlawful; (5) and if the ſaid perſons commonly called Quakers, ſhall at any time after the ſaid four and twentieth day of March, depart from the places of their ſeveral habitations, and aſſemble themſelves to the number of five, or more, of the age of ſixteen years, or upwards, at any one time, in any place, under pretence of joining in a religious worſhip, not authorized by the laws of this realm, (6) that then in all and every ſuch caſes, the party ſo offending, being thereof lawfully convict, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confeſſion, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, ſhall loſe and forfeit to the king's majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for the firſt offence, ſuch ſum as ſhall be impoſed upon him or her, not exceeding five pounds; (7) and if any perſon or perſons, being once convicted of any ſuch offence, ſhall again offend therein, and ſhall in form aforeſaid be thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall for the ſecond offence forfeit to the king, our ſovereign lord, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſuch ſum as ſhall be impoſed upon him or her, not exceeding ten pounds: (8) the ſaid reſpective penalties to be levied by diſtreſs, and ſale of the parties goods ſo convicted, by warrant of the parties before whom they ſhall be ſo convicted, rendering the overplus to the owners, if any be: (9) and for want of ſuch diſtreſs, or nonpayment of the

1662. ſaid penalty within one week after ſuch conviction, that then the ſaid parties ſo convicted, ſhall for the firſt offence be committed to the common gaol, or houſe of correction, for the ſpace of three months; and for the ſecond offence, during ſix months, without bail or mainprize, there to be kept to hard labour: (10) which ſaid monies ſo to be levied, ſhall be paid to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be appointed by thoſe before whom they ſhall be convicted, to be employed for the increaſe of the ſtock of the houſe of correction, to which they ſhall be committed, and providing materials to ſet them on work: (11) and if any perſon after he, in form aforeſaid, hath been twice convicted of any the ſaid offences, ſhall offend the third time, and be thereof, in form aforeſaid, lawfully convicted, that then every perſon ſo offending, and convicted, ſhall for his or her third offence, abjure the realm; or otherwiſe it ſhall and may be lawful to, and for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to give order, and to cauſe him, her, or them, to be tranſported in any ſhip or ſhips, to any of his majeſty's plantations beyond the ſeas.

III. And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every juſtice of Oyer and Terminer, juſtices of aſſize, and gaol delivery, and the juſtices of the peace, ſhall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general quarter-ſeſſions, to inquire, hear, and determine all and every the ſaid offences, within the limits of their commiſſion to them directed, and to make proceſs for the execution of the ſame, as they may do againſt any perſon being indicted before them of treſpaſs, or lawfully convicted thereof.

IV. And be it alſo enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful to, and for any juſtice of peace, mayor, or other chief officer, of any corporation, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, to commit to the common gaol, or bind over with ſufficient ſureties to the quarter-ſeſſions, any perſon or perſons offending in the premiſes, in order to his or their conviction aforeſaid.

V. Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that if any of the ſaid perſons ſhall, after ſuch conviction as aforeſaid, take ſuch oath or oaths, for which he or ſhe ſtands committed, and alſo give ſecurity that he or ſhe, ſhall for the time to come forbear to meet in any ſuch unlawful aſſembly as aforeſaid, that then, and from thenceforth, ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be diſcharged from all the penalties aforeſaid; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

VI. Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and ſingular lords of the parliament, for every third offence committed againſt the tenor of this act, ſhall be tried by their peers, and not otherwiſe.

E. Burrough writes an apology for the Quakers, and againſt perſecution.

This act cauſed E. Burrough to write a ſmall book, called, 'The 'caſe of the people called Quakers ſtated,' to ſhew the falſhood of the accuſations charged upon them. Firſt he ſhewed in this treatiſe, that ſuppoſe the Quakers were hereticks and erroneous people, which was never yet proved; yet we found no examples in ſcripture that ſuch ſhould be impriſoned, or afflicted with corporal puniſhments. Having treated of this matter at large, he laid down

down the ſtate of their way of meeting and worſhip, appealing to others on this account, with theſe words: 1662.

And evidently ſhews Quakers meetings are not dangerous.

'What judgment do our neighbours give in this caſe? they ſay, 'concerning our meetings, "that they have known us to meet "together in ſuch manner, for divers years, in towns and villages, "and never knew, nor underſtood of any harm or danger therein, "nor ever were any way prejudiced, either in their perſons or "eſtates, in our meetings." The very witneſs of God in all our 'neighbours does teſtify, and give judgment, that our meetings 'have always been peaceable and quiet; and that we come toge-'ther in peace and good order, and part in the ſame, and no per-'ſon hath been harmed by ſuch our meetings; inquire of the 'neighbourhood, and they will tell you, they believe in their con-'ſciences, our meetings are for good, and have good effects, and 'are not evil, nor bring forth any evil to any.

'And as for the manner of our meeting and ſitting together, it 'is orderly and decently, and of good report among men; and 'for any doctrine that ever was there held, or heard by any, none 'can truly accuſe it to be either error, or hereſy, or ſedition; but 'on the contrary, they know it witneſſeth againſt all ſin and ini-'quity, and tends to the turning of people from ungodlineſs and 'unrighteouſneſs, to truth and holineſs: and many can tell, this 'is effected by our doctrine preached in our meetings; and our 'neighbours can witneſs, that we part again in peace and good 'order, and in convenient time; and they can ſhew you, they are 'not terrified, nor the peace of the land diſturbed (on our part) 'by our meetings, which are in God's fear, and to the glory of 'his name, which all ſober men know, are according to the law 'of God, and goſpel, and primitive chriſtian example.

'We are accuſed as heinous offenders, and impriſoned, becauſe 'it is ſuppoſed, "We do not ſubmit to obey the known laws of "the land, but break them, and will not conform to the church, "pay tithes, take oaths, have meetings together, &c. though we "know the laws of the land command theſe things."

'Plea, firſt, As to ſubmitting to all known laws of the land; 'this is known to God and our neighbours, that our principle 'and practice is, and ever hath been to ſubmit to every govern-'ment, and to ſubmit to all laws of men, either by doing or by 'ſuffering, as at this day, we reſiſt not the greateſt of afflictions and 'tribulations that can be impoſed on us; and this is well known 'to our neighbours and all people, that we are ſubmiſſive to all 'laws of men, by patient ſuffering without reſiſtance; even when 'any law requires any thing of us, which we cannot perform 'for conſcience-ſake, that law we fulfil by patient ſuffering, re-'ſiſting no man, nor rendering evil for evil to any. And the 'judgment of the ſcriptures, which are according to both law 'and goſpel, and the precedents of ſaints juſtify us in this caſe, 'in chooſing patiently to ſuffer the greateſt penalties of the law, 'rather than to obey (by doing) any ſuch law as requires things 'contrary to our pure conſciences; as in the example of the three 'children, Dan. iii. who were commanded, "To fall down and "worſhip the golden image, at what time ſoever they heard the

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1662. " ſound of the muſick, upon the penalty of being caſt into the " midſt of the burning fiery furnace:" which commandment they ' could not obey, nor could they fall down to worſhip the image; ' but rather chooſed to ſuffer the penalty of being caſt into the ' midſt of the burning fiery furnace, which accordingly was done ' unto them. Again, in the caſe of Daniel, chap. vi. who was ' commanded, " to make no petition to any god or man for thirty " days, ſave to king Darius, upon the penalty and affliction of " being caſt into the lions den:" but Daniel did rather chooſe to ' ſuffer the penalty, to be caſt into the den of lions, than to ' obey the commandment; and was caſt into the lions den. By ' theſe examples of holy men, with many more that might be ' given out of the ſcriptures, it is evident, " That righteous men " will rather chooſe to ſuffer, than to obey any law of man contra- " ry to their conſciences." So the law of God, and example of ' ſaints, and holy ſcriptures, give judgment for us in this caſe, of ' rather chooſing to ſuffer, than to obey laws contrary to our con- ' ſciences; and conſequently muſt needs condemn ſuch that perſe- ' cute and impriſon us, becauſe they require obedience of us in ' things againſt our conſciences.

' Secondly, Though we diſobey laws, and cannot actively obey ' every law of man, when it requireth and commandeth things ' contrary to a good conſcience; yet herein alſo are we juſtified, ' by the law of God, example of ſaints, and holy ſcriptures, and ' they give judgment for us, and conſequently againſt our ene- ' mies in this caſe; and in particular in the two examples before- ' mentioned in Daniel, the three children were expreſsly command- ' ed, " to fall down and worſhip the golden image;" and Daniel ' was alſo required by the king's decree, " Not to pray to any God " or man, ſave to king Darius;" yet all theſe holy men of God ' did abſolutely diſobey the law and decree ſo requiring of them, ' and did contrary to the commandment; for the three children ' did not bow, nor Daniel ceaſe to pray to God, but prayed as at ' other times, and yet were juſtified of God in ſo doing. Alſo ' the apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (Acts iv. 18.) were com- ' manded, " to preach no more in the name of Jeſus;" but the ' apoſtles did diſobey their commandment, and went on and ' preached in the ſpirit and power of Chriſt, contrary to the ' commandment of the rulers, and appealed to them, " Whether " it were not better to obey God than man?" many examples we ' might collect out of the ſcriptures, that the ſervants of God did ' diſobey the commands of kings and rulers, and could not obey ' (by doing) any command contrary to God; but rather choſe to ' ſuffer afflictions, and death itſelf, than to obey ſuch laws ' and decrees, as required any thing contrary to a pure conſci- ' ence: and this is our caſe at this day; we cannot obey, by ' doing, any thing againſt our conſciences, but muſt break the ' laws of men, and diſobey their commandments, rather than ' break the law of God, and ſin againſt our own conſciences, ' whatſoever we ſuffer becauſe hereof; and the examples of ſaints ' and ſcriptures juſtify us in this behalf.

' And let all our enemies ceaſe to cry out, " rebellious, and " diſobedient

" diſobedient to laws and government ;" for we are not ſuch as 1662.
' do wilfully and obſtinately diſobey any laws of men, but for
' conſcience-ſake, and that we may not ſin againſt God, nor offend
' his witneſs in us ; therefore we cannot obey laws contrary to
' our conſciences, whatſoever we ſuffer, which we reſiſt not, nor
' rebel againſt any in this caſe: ſo that our principles and practices
' are to obey every law and government, either by doing, or ſuf-
' fering. And though we diſobey ſuch laws as are not according
' to the law of God, and rather do chooſe to ſuffer, yet herein we
' are juſtified by the law of God, and the holy ſcriptures.

' Thirdly, And as for our converſations among men, in reſpect
' of our daily walking and converſe with them in our dealing, in
' reſpect of honeſty, and faithfulneſs, and truth, and juſtneſs in
' works and words, our neighbours ſhall give witneſs for us: we
' will not juſtify ourſelves, 'tis God that juſtifies us, and the law
' of God, goſpel of Chriſt, ſcriptures, examples of holy men, our
' neighbours, and the witneſs of God in all mens conſciences,
' ſhall bear witneſs to us: and all theſe do give judgment for us
' in theſe caſes, to whom we do appeal for judgment. And, O
' Lord God everlaſting! do thou judge our cauſe ; do thou make
' it manifeſt in thy due ſeaſon, to all the world, that we are thy
' people ; that we love thee above all, that we fear thy name more
' than all ; that we love righteouſneſs, and hate iniquity ; and
' that we now ſuffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy
' honour and juſtice, and for thy truth and holineſs: O Lord!
' thou knoweſt we are reſolved to periſh, rather than to loſe one
' grain hereof. Amen, Amen.

' Our accuſations and anſwers truly compared, and weighed in
' the balance of juſtice and truth in every man's conſcience, let all
' the world judge of the caſe: Do we deſerve to be ruined, de-
' ſtroyed, impriſoned, and baniſhed, and to be devoured of wild
' beaſts, as our enemy threatens us he will do? is it ſo? are we
' hereticks? are we ſeditious? are we drunkards? are we double-
' dealers? are we ſuch as the law of God condemns? what evil
' have we done in the land? do we hurt any body? are we not
' innocent before the Lord and men? we appeal to the juſt witneſs
' of God and men ; let it be anſwered ; and though no man will
' hear and conſider our cauſe this day, yet the Lord will plead
' our cauſe in his time and ſeaſon, and make the world to know,
' we are his people; in the mean-time we are willing to ſuffer
' the reproaches of ungodly men, till the Lord works deliverance
' in the earth.

' But now it may be objected by the magiſtrates and rulers,
' That we have now a law againſt you, and you muſt ſuffer, for
' we cannot but put the law in execution, according to our oaths
' and offices ; and it is not we that perſecute you, but it is the law
' of the land, by which you now ſuffer ; and we cannot be blam-
' ed for your ſuffering, we only execute the law. And after this
' manner is the reaſoning of ſome at this day, &c.

' Anſw. To all which I do anſwer : it is true, there is a law now
' enacted againſt us, which is pretendedly made the ground of
' our ſuffering ; but whether that law be in itſelf juſt, or unjuſt,

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Laws rigorously executed upon conſcientious diſſenters.

'I ſhall not now demonſtrate, but ſhall leave it to the judgment 'of all chriſtian men that know us, our principles, doctrines, 'ways, and converſations, and let them judge whether we deſerve 'the penalties and puniſhments therein deſcribed, for any princi-'ple or practice held and maintained by us. And though there 'be a law againſt us, yet the magiſtrates that are executors there-'of, may execute the ſame with moderation, or with violence; 'with diſcretion, or too much rigour; and it will be well for 'them to uſe moderation and diſcretion in this caſe: hereby may 'they ſave themſelves from that weight of anger and indignation 'of the Lord God, that will come upon all violent doers, who 'ſeek to deſtroy the innocent, and rejoice in the occaſion adminiſtred.

'And though this law be enacted againſt meetings, not ours, I 'may ſay, but ſuch meetings as are dangerous to the publick 'peace, and to the terror of the people: but our meetings are not 'ſuch, and therefore this law may not juſtly extend in its execu-'tion to the breaking of our meetings, nor to baniſh us becauſe 'of our meeting together, which is for the worſhip of God, and 'are peaceable, and of good report among all good men; and 'are not for diſturbance of the peace, nor terror of the peo-'ple, and therefore juſtly free from this law, as aforeſaid.

'And though this law is pretended againſt us, for to baniſh 'us, and to rid the land of us, as ſome vainly ſuppoſe; yet, muſt 'it needs be executed to the height of it, without limitation or 'reſtriction? muſt this law be executed to its height more than 'ſome other laws, that are as truly enacted, and as fully in force

While thoſe againſt immorality are neglected.

'as this act can be? yet ſome ſuch laws there are, which better 'deſerve execution than this, yet they lie dormant, as is viſibly 'apparent at this day, as in 4 Jac. c. 5. in theſe words: "Be it "enacted, &c. that all, and every perſon or perſons, which after "forty days next following the end of this preſent ſeſſion of par-"liament, ſhall be drunk, and of the ſame offence of drunken-"neſs ſhall be lawfully convicted, ſhall for every ſuch offence for-"feit and loſe five ſhillings, &c. to be paid to the hands of the "churchwardens of that pariſh where the offence ſhall be com-"mitted, who ſhall be accountable therefore to the uſe of the poor "of the ſame pariſh. And if the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo con-"victed, ſhall refuſe, or neglect to pay the ſaid forfeiture, then "the ſame ſhall be levied of the goods of every ſuch perſon or "perſons, by warrant of precept from the court, judge, or juſtices, "before whom the ſame conviction ſhall be: and if the of-"fender be not able to pay the ſum of five ſhillings, then he ſhall "be committed to the ſtocks for the ſpace of ſix hours." I pray 'you read the ſtatute at large; 'tis worth a ſober man's pains to 'read over, and then judge whether that law be duly executed at 'this day; and alſo, whether it deſerves not more ſtrict execu-'tion than the preſent act againſt us. Alſo the 1 Jac. cap. 7. in 'theſe words, "That all perſons calling themſelves ſcholars, go-"ing about begging; all idle perſons going about in any coun-"try, either begging, or uſing any ſubtil craft, or unlawful games "or plays, or feigning themſelves to have knowledge in phyſiog-"nomy, or pretending that they can tell fortunes, or ſuch other like

"fantaſtical

" fantaſtical imaginations; all fencers, bearwards, common " players of interludes and minſtrels, wandering abroad, ſhall be " taken, adjudged, and deemed as rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy " beggars, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch pains and puniſhments as are ex- " preſſed, 39 Eliz. cap. 4. (viz.) That every ſuch perſon ſhall be ſtrip- " ped naked from the middle upwards, and ſhall be openly whipped, " until his or her body be bloody, &c. and ſhall be forthwith ſent " from pariſh to pariſh," &c. Read the ſtatute at large, and then ' conſider how duly it is executed now, and whether it deſerves ' not the execution as much as the late act againſt us, though in ' ſome places the one is more executed than the other; where ma- ' ny of our friends, being honeſt ſober perſons, and of good con- ' verſation, yet are haled out of their meetings, where they are ' met only to worſhip God, and for no other end, and ſent to pri- ' ſon, and perſecuted to the very height of the ſaid act; when as ' idle perſons, following unlawful games, and plays, and bear- ' wards, common players of interludes, and minſtrels of divers ' kinds, do wander up and down city and country, and having ' their playhouſes publick, where their wickedneſs is acted; ſuch ' perſons, and ſuch things, though appearing publickly, yet are ' permitted, and little or no notice taken of them by ſome of the ' magiſtrates, ſo as to puniſh them for breach of the laws, for ' the preventing of theſe evils: but ſuch wickedneſs is too much ' ſuffered, though there be divers acts of parliament againſt ſuch ' perſons, and ſuch actions, as well as there is one againſt our ' meetings; yet the act againſt us is more put in execution in ' ſome places, for the breaking of our meetings, which are for ' the worſhip of God, than the good laws for ſuppreſſing wick- ' edneſs, though there is better law for the one than for the other. ' Divers others laws and ſtatutes made for good ends, for the ' ſuppreſſing of wickedneſs in the land, there are, which are but ' eaſily executed at this day: but here is one act againſt peaceable ' meeting together for the worſhip of God, which is violently ' proſecuted and executed upon innocent men; let all juſt men ' judge of theſe things: though there be a law enacted againſt ' our meetings, ſo there is againſt drunkards and drunkenneſs, ' and unſeaſonable tippling in taverns and alehouſes; and againſt ' minſtrels, fiddlers, pipers and players, common players and ſtage- ' players, that go up and down the countries, and have their ' playhouſes in publick cities; which ſtatutes ought rather to be ' executed, though they are not: but theſe things we ſhall leave ' to all ſober people to judge of.

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' And ſeeing that the law againſt us is more put in execution, ' than theſe other laws, it doth appear, that there is more envy ' againſt us, and our peaceable religious meetings, than there is ' againſt profaneneſs and wickedneſs, drunkenneſs, and ſtage-play- ' ing, and ſuch like: and ſuch magiſtrates, whereſoever they are, ' are not excuſable in the ſight of God, though there is a law ' againſt us, while they proſecute it againſt us, and not theſe ' other good laws, againſt profane and ungodly perſons, and ' practices: and therefore ſeeing we do ſuffer, we muſt ſay, It ' is not only becauſe there is a law againſt us; but it is alſo, or

' rather,

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'rather, becauſe there is enmity, and wrath, and wickedneſs in the 'hearts of men againſt us, which is the main cauſe of our ſuffer-'ings at this day.'

E. Burrough an inceſſant labourer in the goſpel.

Thus was E. Burrough always laborious, and like a faithful and diligent miniſter of CHRIST, he was ſo totally devoted to the ſervice of GOD, and the church, both in preaching, and writing, in the defence of the goſpel, that he ſcarce reſerved any time for himſelf, and ſeldom took reſt, but continued to work inceſſantly till the time of his departure drew near; plainly manifeſting, 'that it really was his meat and drink to do the will of 'his heavenly Father;' and this he endeavoured unweariedly to the end of his days.

New-England perſecution continued.

Now I turn again to New-England, where, though the murdering part was acted to the full, yet their blood-thirſtineſs was not quenched, as may appear from the following relation I ſhall give of the cruel whippings inflicted on ſome. If I ſhould relate all of that kind that happened there, it would make up a pretty big volume by itſelf; and therefore I'll mention ſome few inſtances only.

Inhuman cruelties exerciſed on Joſiah Southwick.

Among theſe I meet with Joſiah Southwick, (whoſe father and mother, Lawrence and Caſſandra, had been of the firſt that were baniſhed from Boſton, becauſe of their religion, as hath been ſaid before; and whoſe brother and ſiſter had been ordered to be ſold for bond-ſlaves,) who having been in Old England, and found himſelf obliged, notwithſtanding the ſevere law, to return to

His ſentence,

Boſton, was ſentenced to be whipped at a cart's tail, firſt at Boſton, and then at Rockſbury, and Dedham, when, with outſtretched

And ſpeech thereupon.

arms, he ſaid to thoſe who ſentenced him, 'Here's my body; if 'ye want a further teſtimony of the truth I profeſs, take it, and 'tear it to pieces; it is freely given up; and for your ſentence, I 'matter it not:' adding further, 'it is no more terrifying unto 'me, than if ye had taken a feather and blown it up in the air, 'and had ſaid, 'take heed it hurt thee not.' For ſurely tongue can-'not expreſs, nor declare the goodneſs and love of God to his 'ſuffering people.' Then he was ſtripped, and tied to the cart's tail in Boſton, where the hangman ſcourged him with what vehemency he could. It is remarkable, that the whip uſed for thoſe cruel executions, was not of whip-cord, as thoſe in England, but of dried guts; and every ſtring with three knots at the end, which being faſtened to a ſtick, the hangman many times laid on with both his hands, which muſt cauſe violent torture to the body. But all this cruelty was not able to make Joſiah faint: for as he was led through the ſtreets of Boſton at the cart's tail, he ſung aloud, and was heard to utter theſe words, 'They that 'know God to be their ſtrength, cannot fear what man can do.' The ſame day he was whipped alſo at Rockſbury, and the next morning, it being very cold, at Dedham, where he was diſcharged, and turned into the wilderneſs. For ſo inhuman were theſe furious New-England profeſſors, that they ſeemed to think, that whatever it was, there was nothing done amiſs to the Quakers. Nay, it hath happened, that being ſhut up with thieves,

and

and endeavouring to turn them from their wicked lives, they have been ill treated on that account, and the thieves ſet at liberty, leſt they ſhould turn Quakers. 1662.

At Dover in New-England, Ann Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambroſe, were ſentenced to very cruel whipping, only for being come there: the warrant was as followeth: Three women ſentenced to be whipped through eleven towns.

To the conſtables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipſwich, Wennam, Linn, Boſton, Roxbury, Dedham, and until theſe vagabond Quakers are carried out of this juriſdiction.

YOU, and every of you, are required in the king's majeſty's name, to take theſe vagabond Quakers, Ann Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambroſe, and make them faſt to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your ſeveral towns, to whip them upon their naked backs, not exceeding ten ſtripes a-piece on each of them, in each town; and ſo to convey them from conſtable to conſtable, till they are out of this juriſdiction, as you will anſwer it at your peril; and this ſhall be your warrant.

Per me,

At Dover dated December 22, 1662. RICHARD WALDEN.

Cruel indeed was this order; becauſe to whip theſe three tender women through eleven towns, with ten ſtripes a-piece at each place, through a length of near eighty miles, in bitter cold weather, would have been enough to have beaten their bones bare, and their lives out of their bodies.

Now in a very cold day the deputy Walden at Dover cauſed theſe women to be ſtripped naked from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and then whipped them, while the prieſt looked on and laughed at it; which ſome of their friends ſeeing, and taking notice of Walden's cruelty, teſtified againſt; for which Walden put two of them in the ſtocks. The ſentence executed at Dover, the prieſt looking on and laughing.

The women being thus whipped at Dover, were carried to Hampton, and there delivered to the conſtable, William Fifield, who having underſtood by the conſtable of Dover what work he had in bringing them through a deep road, thought to have daunted them, and ſaid, 'I profeſs, you muſt not think to make 'fools of men.' To which they anſwered, 'they ſhould be able 'to deal with him as well as the other.' This conſtable the next morning would have whipped them before day; but they refuſed, ſaying, 'that they were not aſhamed of their ſufferings.' Then he would have whipped them on their clothes, when he had them at the cart. But they ſaid, 'Set us free, or do according to thy 'order;' which was, 'to whip them on their naked backs.' He then ſpoke to a woman, to take off their clothes; but ſhe ſaid, 'ſhe would not do it for all the world.' 'Why?' ſaid he, 'I 'profeſs I'll do it myſelf.' So he ſtripped them, and then ſtood trembling with the whip in his hand, and ſo he did the execution, though at firſt he profeſſed himſelf ſo ſtout. Then he carried them to Saliſbury, through dirt and ſnow, half the leg deep; and They are carried to Hampton and whipped there. Thence to Saliſbury, and again whipped.

1662.

here they were whipped again. Among the reſt of the ſpectators, Edward Wharton, accidentally paſſing along that way, came to be one; and beholding this whipping, one Thomas Broadberry, clerk of the courts at Saliſbury and Hampton, ſaid to him, 'Ed-'ward Wharton, what do you here?' 'I am here,' anſwered he, 'to ſee your wickedneſs and cruelty, that ſo if ye kill theſe wo-'men, I may be able to declare how ye murdered them:' for indeed their bodies were ſo torn, that if Providence had not watched over them, they might have been in danger of their lives. But it fell out ſo that they were diſcharged: for the conſtable at Saliſbury, who muſt have carried them to Newberry, was deſired by one Walter Barefoot, to make him his deputy; who thus receiving the warrant, ſet them at liberty; though John Wheelwright, the prieſt, adviſed the conſtable to drive on, as his ſafeſt way.

W. Barefoot obtaining the warrant, lets them go, prieſt Wheelwright adviſing the contrary.

Theſe three women being thus unexpectedly releaſed, went to New-Quechawanah, where they had a meeting, and Shubal Drummer the prieſt of the place, came alſo thither, and ſat quiet. And the meeting being ended, he ſtood up, and ſaid, 'Good women, 'ye have ſpoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your rule?' they anſwering, 'the ſpirit of God is our rule, and it ought to be 'thine, and all mens to walk by.' He replied, 'It is not my rule, 'nor I hope ever ſhall be.' A clear evidence how prejudice may bias even diſcreet people; for being prepoſſeſſed thereby, men will ſpeak ſometimes raſhly, without conſidering what.

Prieſt Drummer's raſh expreſſion.

Not long after theſe women returned to Dover to viſit their friends; and being in a meeting the next firſt-day of the week, the conſtables, Thomas Roberts, and his brother John, ruſhed in, and laid hands on Alice Ambroſe as ſhe was in prayer, and taking her, one by the one arm, and the other by the other, they dragged her out of doors, almoſt a mile, with her face towards the ſnow, which was near knee deep, over ſtumps and old trees, having put on their old clothes, on purpoſe not to dirty their better ſuits. Then they locked her up in a certain houſe, and ſo went back to fetch Mary Tomkins, whom they dragged in the ſame manner; which their father, old Thomas Roberts ſeeing, lamented, and cried, 'Wo that ever I was father to ſuch wicked chil-'dren.' But they ſeemed not to matter what their father ſaid, who had been a member of the church at Dover above twenty years; but becauſe he no longer frequented their worſhip for their degeneracy, they took away his cow, which, with its milk, helped to ſupport him and his wife. Mary Tomkins being brought into the houſe where Alice was, Ann Coleman was alſo fetched. Next morning they got a canoe, and threatened the women, 'they 'would now do ſo with them, that they ſhould be troubled with 'them no more;' by which ſaying they ſeemed to ſignify, that they would give them up to the mercy of the ſea; which made the women unwilling to go to the water-ſide. Then one Edward Waymouth took Mary by the arms, and dragged her on her back over the ſtumps of trees, down a very ſteep hill; by which ſhe was much bruiſed, and often died away. They alſo laid hold on Alice, whom they plucked violently into the water, and kept her

They are again ſeized at Dover, and dragged about in a barbarous manner.

ſwimming

1662.

ſwimming by the canoe, ſo that ſhe was in danger of being drowned, or frozen to death. Ann Coleman was likewiſe rudely dealt with, and all this in the preſence of one Hate-evil Nutwel, a ruling elder, who ſtirred up the conſtables to this wicked action, and ſo ſhewed that he bore a wrong name. But the wicked intention of theſe men was ſtopped by a power from on high, for on a ſudden a great tempeſt aroſe, ſo that they brought the women back again to the houſe, and about midnight they turned them all out of doors in the ſnow, the weather being ſo froſty, that Alice's clothes were frozen like boards. How barbarouſly ſoever theſe women were treated, yet the Lord was pleaſed to preſerve and ſupport them.

At the inſtigation of Hate-evil Nutwel, a ruling elder.

Afterwards it happened that Ann Coleman, and four of her friends were whipped through Salem, Boſton, and Dedham, by order of William Hawthorn, who before he was a magiſtrate had oppoſed compulſion for conſcience; and when under the government of Cromwell it was propoſed to make a law, that none ſhould preach without licenſe, he publickly ſaid at Salem, 'That 'if ever ſuch a law took place in New-England, he ſhould look 'upon it as one of the moſt abominable actions that were ever 'committed there, and that it would be as eminent a token of 'God's having forſaken New-England, as any could be:' and yet afterward this man became a fierce perſecutor of thoſe who aſſerted liberty of preaching; though formerly it may be, if any one had foretold him how he would be given to perſecution, he would have ſaid as Hazael to the prophet Eliſha, *What is thy ſervant a dog that he ſhould do this great thing?* But to return to Ann Coleman, when ſhe was to be whipped at Dedham, and faſtened to the cart, deputy Bellingham having ſeen Hawthorn's warrant, ſaid, 'The warrant is firm,' and then bad the executioner go on; who thus encouraged, laid on ſo ſeverely, that with the knot of the whip, he ſplit the nipple of her breaſt, which ſo tortured her, that it had almoſt coſt her her life; and ſhe, who was a little weakly woman, thinking this would have been her lot, ſaid once, that if ſhe ſhould happen to die thus, ſhe was willing that her body ſhould be laid before Bellingham's door, with a charge from her mouth, 'that he was guilty of her blood.'

Ann Coleman and others again whipped, by order of W. Hawthorn, formerly a noted oppoſer of perſecution.

The uſage Elizabeth Hooton met with, I can't paſs by in ſilence, becauſe of her age, being about ſixty, who hearing of the wickedneſs committed by thoſe of New-England, was moved to make a voyage to America.

In order thereto ſhe went from England in the year 1661, having one Joan Brokſup with her, a woman near as aged as herſelf, who freely reſolved to be her companion: and becauſe they could not find a maſter of a ſhip that was willing to carry them to New-England, becauſe of the fine for every Quaker that was brought thither, they ſet ſail towards Virginia, where they met with a ketch which carried them part of the way, and then they went the reſt by land, and ſo at length came to Boſton. But there they could not ſoon find a place of reception, becauſe of the penalty on thoſe that received a Quaker into their houſes. Yet at length a woman received them. Next day they went to the priſon

A relation of the cruel uſage of Eliz. Hooton and J. Brokſup.

1662.

ſon to viſit their friends; but the gaoler altogether unwilling to let them in, carried them to the governor Endicot, who, with much ſcurrilous language, called them 'witches,' and aſked Elizabeth, 'what ſhe came for?' to which ſhe anſwered, 'To do the 'will of him that ſent me.' And he demanded, 'what was that?' ſhe replied, 'To warn thee of ſhedding any more innocent blood.' To which he returned, 'that he would hang more yet.' But ſhe told him, 'he was in the hand of the Lord, who could take him 'away firſt.'* This ſo diſpleaſed him, that he ſent them to priſon, where many more of their friends were. After conſultation what to do with them, they were carried two days journey into the wilderneſs, among wolves and bears: but by Providence they got to Rhode-Iſland, where they took ſhip for Barbados, and from thence to New-England again, and ſo they returned to Boſton. But then they were put into a ſhip which carried them to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth departed to Old England, where ſhe ſtayed ſome time in her own habitation.

Who after impriſonment are carried into the wilderneſs, among beaſts of prey, yet return.

But it came upon her to viſit New-England again; and ſo ſhe did, taking her daughter Elizabeth along with her. And being arrived, thoſe of the magiſtrates that were preſent, would have fined the maſter of the ſhip an hundred pounds for bringing her over contrary to their law. But he telling them, that Elizabeth had been with the king, and that ſhe had liberty from him to come thither to buy her a houſe, this ſo puzzled theſe ſnarling perſecutors, that they found themſelves at a loſs, and thus were ſtopped from ſeizing the maſter's goods.

Elizabeth being come to Boſton, notwithſtanding the rulers, went to them, and ſignified that ſhe came thither 'to buy a houſe 'for herſelf to live in.' She was four times at the court for that purpoſe, but it was denied her: and though ſhe ſaid, 'that this 'denial would give her occaſion, if ſhe went to England again, 'to lay it before the king,' it was in vain, and had no influence upon them.

At Cambridge Elizabeth is kept two days in a dungeon without food. Is ordered to be whipped at three towns, which is done accordingly.

Departing then and paſſing through ſeveral places, ſhe came to Cambridge, and was thruſt into a ſtinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or ſit on. Here they kept her two days and two nights, without affording her any thing to eat or drink; and becauſe a certain man in compaſſion brought her a little milk, he was alſo caſt into priſon, and fined five pounds. Being brought to the court, they ordered her to be ſent out of their coaſts, and to be whipped at three towns, with ten ſtripes at each. So at Cambridge ſhe was tied to the whipping-poſt, and laſhed with ten ſtripes, with a three-ſtringed whip, with three knots at an end: at Water-town ſhe had ten ſtripes more with willow rods; and to make up all, at Dedham, in a cold froſty morning, ſhe received ten cruel laſhes at a cart's tail. And being thus beaten and torn, ſhe was put on horſe-back, and carried many miles into the wilderneſs; and towards night they left her there, where were many wolves, bears and other wild beaſts, and many deep waters to paſs

Then left a prey to the ſavage beaſts in the wilderneſs.

* Which was fulfilled, for after that, he never took away the lives of any more of thoſe called Quakers.

pass through: but being preserved by an invisible hand, she came in the morning into a town called Rehoboth, being neither weary nor faint; and from thence she went to Rhode-Island, where coming to her friends, she gave thanks to God, for having counted her worthy, and enabled her to suffer for his name-sake, beyond what her age and sex, morally speaking, could otherwise have borne. 1662.

After some stay there, she returned to Cambridge about eighty miles to fetch her linen and clothes, which the inhuman persecutors would not suffer her to take with her when they had whipped her. Having fetched these things, and going back with her daughter and Sarah Coleman an ancient woman, she was taken up by the constable of Charlestown, and carried prisoner to Cambridge; where being asked by one of the magistrates whose name was Daniel Goggin, 'wherefore she came thither, seeing they had 'warned her not to come there any more:' she answered, 'that 'she came not there of her own accord, but was forced thither; 'after she had been to fetch her clothes, which they would not 'let her take with her when she was whipped, and sent away; but 'that now returning back she was taken up by force out of the 'highway, and carried thither.' Then the other old woman was asked, 'whether she owned Elizabeth and her religion?' to which she answered, 'she owned the truth.' And of Elizabeth's daughter he demanded, 'Dost thou own thy mother's religion?' To which she was silent. And yet they were sent to the house of correction, with order to be whipped. Next morning the executioner came betimes before it was light, and asked them, 'whether they 'would be whipped there?' which made Elizabeth ask, 'whether 'he was come to take away their blood in the dark?' and whe-'ther they were ashamed that their deeds should be seen.' But not heeding what she said, he took her down stairs, and whipped her with a three-stringed whip. Then he brought down the ancient woman, and did the like to her. And taking Elizabeth's daughter, he gave the like to her also, who never was there before, nor had said or done any thing. After this Elizabeth the mother was whipped again at a cart's-tail at Boston and other places, where she came to see her friends; since which I have several times seen her in England in a good condition.

She with her daughter and another woman again whipped.

I could relate many more severities of the New-England persecutors; but I long to come to an end, and therefore shall make a large step, and over-run some space of time.

Many severities not related.

In the year 1664, it happened that Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose came again to Boston, having been in Virginia, where, for their religion, they had not only been pilloryed, but whipped also, each of them with thirty-two stripes, with a whip of nine cords, and every cord with three knots; and they were handled so severely, that the very first lash drew blood, and made it run down from their breasts. Being afterwards arrived at Boston, Mary grew so sick, that she was thought to be near death; which made Edward Wharton with Wenlock Christison come from Salem, to visit her. But after they had been there a little time, two constables came in, and notwithstanding Mary's weak condition,

Cruel treatment of M. Tomkins and A. Ambrose at Virginia, and after at Boston.

1662. forced them all to the governor's houſe. Now though Mary ſeemed to be a little on the mending hand, yet ſhe was ſo ill, that ſhe fell down as it were dead in the way. But one of the conſtables ſtaid with her till ſhe came to herſelf again, and then brought her before the governor, where was alſo deputy Bellingham and Thomas Daufort one of the magiſtrates; who ordered all four of them to be whipped; but becauſe Mary was ſo weak, and leſt probably ſhe might die under their hands, they gave order that ſhe and Alice ſhould not be whipped at Boſton, but at the towns beyond. And this was to have been executed, but that colonel Temple coming in, interceded and prevailed for three of them. And now Edward became the mark of their fury, on whom they vented their paſſion, though they had nothing to charge him with, but that he was come from Salem to Boſton to viſit his ſick friend; and for this pretended crime the following warrant was framed.

To the conſtables of Boſton, Charleſtown, Malden, and Lyn.

YOU are required to take into your cuſtody reſpectively Edward Wharton, convicted of being a vagabond, from his own dwelling place; and the conſtable of Boſton is to whip him ſeverely with thirty ſtripes on his naked body. And from conſtable to conſtable you are required to convey him until he come to Salem, the place where he ſaith he dwelleth: and in ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant.

Dated at Boſton the 30th of June, 1664. JOHN ENDICOT.

E. Wharton ſeverely whipped,

Purſuant to this warrant, Edward (who therein was called a vagabond, for no other reaſon but that he was gone from his dwelling-place) was led away to the market-place, and there being ſtripped, his arms were bound to the wheel of a great gun, then the conſtable John Loel, bad the hangman, 'do his work ſeverely;' which he did ſo cruelly that it was teſtified, peaſe might lie in the holes that the knots of the whip had made in the fleſh of his arms and back. And his body was ſwelled and very black from the waſte upwards. Such was the doing of thoſe, who to enjoy the free exerciſe of their worſhip, had left Old England; and thus they treated a man that was of good repute, and had lived in that country above twenty years; and was once by the governor himſelf acknowledged to be his friend, when he ſupplied him with neceſſaries in his want, ſaying then, that if ever it lay in his power, he would requite him: which now he did, but in what an inhuman and barbarous manner! That this governor Endicot once had been a man but of a mean condition appears from a letter written to him ſhortly after the death of Mary Dyar, by one John Smith, becauſe he had not only cauſed his wife to be whipped ſeverely, but had alſo kept her priſoner a whole winter, ſeparate from her children, and had been aſſiſting in the making of an order, that no man or woman ſhould bring any thing to the impriſoned Quakers, or carry any thing from them, upon the penalty of five pounds for the firſt time, and ten pounds for the ſecond. In this letter John Smith ſaid:

Endicot's barbarous ingratitude.

'O

1662.
J. Smith's letter to him.

'O my ſpirit is grieved for thee, becauſe that the love I did 'once ſee in thee, is departed from thee, and there remaineth in 'thee a ſpirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedneſs to thy poor neigh- 'bours, which thou haſt formerly been much beholden to, and 'helped by, in time of want, when thou hadſt no bread to eat. 'O conſider of theſe times, and forget them not, and of the love 'thou didſt find among poor people in thy neceſſity, and how evilly 'thou haſt dealt with, and requited ſome of them now; and 'how thou doſt walk and act contrary to what thou didſt for- 'merly profeſs: yea, I have heard thee ſay, "that all the armies "on earth cannot ſubdue one luſt in man or woman." And now 'thou pronounceſt ſentence of death upon ſome, becauſe they 'cannot ſubmit to your wills, nor worſhip as ye do.'

But I return to Edward Wharton, who after his whipping was not led the direct way to Salem, but by Charleſtown, and ſo about the country, as if they had a mind to make a ſhow of him. Yet at Charleſtown, the conſtable was ſo compaſſionate, that he entertained him in his houſe, and anointed his ſtripes. And the next day he was conveyed to his home. Since that time the ſaid Wharton was whipped again ſeverely; but I paſs by particulars to avoid prolixity. Yet I cannot forbear to ſay, that before he was whipped at Boſton, as hath been ſaid, it was told him, that 'if he 'would promiſe the governor, to come no more to the Quaker's 'meeting in Boſton, then it was likely the governor would let him 'have his liberty.' To which Edward returned, 'Not for all the world. 'And friends, I have a back to lend to the ſmiter, and I have felt 'your cruel whippings before now; and the Lord hath made me 'able to bear them: and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear 'what you ſhall be ſuffered to do unto me.'

Wharton again cruelly whipped.

The caſe of one Ann Needham being alſo very remarkable, I'll give a ſhort hint of it. She was fined at Boſton for being one of thoſe called Quakers; but her huſband refuſed to pay the fine, aſking them, 'ſeeing the law for adultery was death, whether if 'his wife had committed adultery, he muſt by that law have ſuf- 'fered death?' She then was ſentenced to be whipped, which the conſtable Thomas Roots performed with great cruelty; for ſeeing ſhe kept ſilent whilſt he laſhed her, he did whatever he could with his tormenting whip, to make her cry out; but all his endeavours proved in vain; which made him ſay, 'that the Qua- 'kers were a hard-hearted people;' though this epithet much better fitted himſelf, and all thoſe cruel perſecutors, that were really become hard-hearted to the higheſt degree, inſomuch that they had not only ſhaken off humanity, but all true ſenſe of piety; which I ſhall prove by inſtances, whereof ſome are even blaſphemous.

A. Needham ſeverely ſcourged.

One Barlow, who formerly had been a preacher at Exeter, afterwards turned lawyer, and at length being become a marſhal, would boaſt, that when he went to diſtrain for fines, he would think what goods were moſt ſerviceable to the Quakers, and then he would take them away. By ſuch doings he encouraged others to vice: for a certain Indian taking a knife from an Engliſhman's houſe,

The wickedneſs of Barlow formerly a preacher.

1662. houſe, and being told he ſhould not ſteal, anſwered, that 'he him-'ſelf had thought ſo; but now he ſaw that Barlow and the magiſ-'trates did ſo by the Quakers.' This Barlow in the days of Crom-well being grown rich with the ſpoils of the innocent, grew poor after king Charles was reſtored; which made Barlow ſay, that, 'he hoped for a good time again;' and took the ſhameful liberty to add, 'he thought the Quakers would not let him want.'

Unbecoming behaviour of prieſt Cotton.

At Hampton, prieſt Seaborn Cotton, underſtanding that one Eliakim Wardel had entertained Wenlock Chriſtiſon, went with ſome of his herd to Eliakim's houſe, having like a ſturdy herds-man put himſelf at the head of his followers, with a truncheon in his hand. Wenlock ſeeing him in this poſture, aſked him, 'what he did with that club.' To which he anſwered, 'he came 'to keep the wolves from his ſheep.' Wenlock then aſking, 'whether thoſe he led were his ſheep,' got no anſwer, but inſtead thereof, was led away by this crew to Saliſbury. This ſame Cotton having heard that major Shapleigh was become a Quaker, ſaid, 'he was ſorry for it, but he would endeavour to convert him.' And afterwards drinking in a houſe in an iſle in the river Piſca-taway, and hearing the major was there in a ware-houſe, he went thither; but going up ſtairs, and being in drink, he tum-bled down, and got ſuch a heavy fall, that the major himſelf came to help this drunken converter.

Governor Endicot in confuſion.

When Edward Wharton was told once by the governor John Endicot, 'that every ſoul ought to be ſubject to the higher power;' he thereupon aſked, 'whether that which ſet up the golden image, 'and required all to fall down and worſhip it, was the higher 'power?' he anſwered 'Yea.' Then Edward queried, 'whether 'that power that required Daniel to be caſt into the lions den, 'for praying to any beſides the king, for thirty days, was the 'higher power?' the governor ſaid, 'Yea.' The next queſtion Edward aſked was, 'whether the three children that were caſt 'into the fiery furnace, for not falling down to, and worſhipping 'the golden image, did well? and whether Daniel, for praying to 'his God contrary to what the ſaid higher power did command, 'did well?' The governor replied 'Yea,' alſo. But ſecretary Raw-ſon, ſeeing how the governor had talked himſelf into a nooſe, to help him out ſaid, 'they did obey the higher power by ſuffer-'ing,' to which Edward returned, 'So do we too.'

The impious and blaſphe-mous anſwers of B. Pem-bleton.

Another of theſe magiſtrates, whoſe name was Brian Pembleton, was aſked by George Walton, and his wife Alice, who was re-puted one of the moſt godly women thereabout, 'what the anoint-'ing was which the apoſtle John exhorted the ſaints unto in that 'day?' but what a wicked man this Pembleton was, may appear by the abominable anſwer he gave, viz. 'that John was either a 'fool or a madman, or elſe he did not know what he ſaid.' And blaſphemous in a very high degree was what he ſaid to the queſ-tion, 'what was that light which ſhone about Paul:' for his an-ſwer was, 'it was the light of the Devil for ought he did know.'

Profane words of ano-ther magiſ-trate.

Joſhua Scotaway, alſo one of the magiſtrates, aſked Mary Tomkins in the court at Boſton, 'where ſhe dwelt?' to which ſhe anſwered, 'in the words of the apoſtle, *in God; for in him we*

'*live*,

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'*live, and move, and have a being.*' To which Scotaway did not ſtick to ſay, 'So doth every dog and cat.' No wonder truly, that men thus darkened in their minds grew alſo quite hardened in perſecuting, ſo as to glory in it; as did Thomas Daufort a magiſtrate of Cambridge, who, in the governor's houſe at Boſton, laying his hand on Wenlock Chriſtiſon's ſhoulder, ſaid to him, 'Wen-'lock, I am a mortal man, and die I muſt, and that ere long; 'and I muſt appear at the tribunal ſeat of Chriſt, and muſt give 'an account for my deeds done in the body; and I believe it will 'be my greateſt glory in that day, that I have given my vote for 'thee to be ſoundly whipped at this time.' This made Wenlock ſay, 'O wicked man, if thou haſt nothing to glory in, in that 'day, but in drawing the blood of the innocent, and in laying 'ſtripes upon the ſervants of the living God, thy glory will be 'turned into ſhame, and wo will be thy portion.'

Dreadful ſaying of T. Daufort.

But no exhortation, how extraordinary ſoever, ſeemed to take any hold on theſe perſecutors: for once a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age called Hannah Wright, whoſe ſiſter had been baniſhed for religion, was ſtirred with ſuch zeal, that coming from Long-Iſland, ſome hundreds of miles from Boſton, into that bloody town, ſhe appeared in the court there, and warned the magiſtrates, 'to ſpill no more innocent blood.' This ſaying ſo ſtruck them at firſt, that they all ſat ſilent, till Rawſon the ſecretary ſaid, 'What ſhall we be baffled by ſuch an one as this! 'Come let us drink a dram.'

A warning by a girl of about 14 years of age, derided by ſecretary Rawſon.

Here we ſee the religion of theſe men, who were once ſo preciſe that they would not join with the worſhip of the church of England. But it ſeems not improbable that they fell away to this hardneſs of heart, becauſe being convinced in their underſtandings of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies that were yet remaining in the church of England, they were not faithful to teſtify againſt thoſe things, and to ſet their light on the candleſtick; but that to ſhun the croſs, and avoid ſufferings, they choſe to go into a ſtrange country. And yet they were ſo preſumptuous as to ſay, they were the pureſt church on earth, and their magiſtrates and preachers were very godly men, and it may be ſome of their cruel executioners, ſeeing how their magiſtrates (as hath been ſaid of Thomas Daufort) did glory in cruelty, have been fooliſh enough to perſuade themſelves, that their exceſſive whipping was ſome kind of meritorious work. But whatever theſe Engliſh people thought, they were worſe than others. For in ſome places of America lived alſo Swedes, who in regard of their worſhip were no leſs deſpiſed by the Engliſh, than of old the Samaritans were by the Jews: and yet thoſe Swedes entertained the Quakers, when they came amongſt them, far better than the Engliſh did; and thus they made it appear that they ſurpaſſed them in life, if not in profeſſion. But the preciſe New-England men ſeemed to place great virtue in a ſturdy ſeverity, of which the following is an inſtance.

Fruits of unfaithfulneſs.

Preciſe New-England men much worſe than the Swedes.

A Dutchman, an Oſtender, whoſe name was John Lawrence, was committed for adultery, and brought before the court at Boſton, where the governor John Endicot aſked him, 'whether he

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Endicot's ſcoffing perverſion of a Dutchman's words, in a caſe of life.

'guilty or not guilty?' to which the priſoner, who, as it ſeems ſpoke but bad Engliſh, ſaid, 'No guilt.' On which Endicot ſaid in a ſcoffing manner, 'No gelt, there's no money:' for gheld ſignifies money in Dutch. Thus the Dutchman's words and meaning were ſcoffingly perverted; and though there was no clear evidence againſt him, yet he was condemned to be hanged. But he denying the fact, the execution was deferred; and in the meanwhile the prieſts John Wilſon, and James Mayo, came to him in priſon, to ſee what they could get out of him; and Mayo told him, 'his time was near at an end, and that he muſt ſhortly 'die; and therefore he would have him now to confeſs.' To which the priſoner returned, 'What! will you have me to confeſs 'that which I never did?' but Mayo did not deſiſt, but ſaid, 'Confeſs, my ſon, and give glory to God.' Yet the priſoner continued in denying the charge, and affirmed, 'he was clear.' But ſaid the prieſt, 'You cannot be clear, for our Lord and Saviour 'ſaith, *Whoſoever looketh upon a fair woman, and luſteth after her,* 'he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' Truly a very perverſe uſe of the ſcripture, for compaſſing a falſe end. But the Dutchman ſeeing how they came to betray him, was cautious; and at length, after a long and tedious impriſonment, found means to break priſon, and thus eſcaped from thoſe who grew accuſtomed to be mercileſs: ſo that ſometimes others as well as Quakers, felt the weight of their ſeverity.

E. Nicholſon and her two ſons, accuſed of murder; and tho' nothing proved, ſhe is fined, and they cruelly whipped.

As it happened, about the time that William Leddra was put to death, when one Elizabeth Nicholſon and her two ſons, Chriſtopher and Joſeph, were charged with the death of her huſband, and their father, Edmund Nicholſon, who was found dead in the ſea; and information being given that theſe people did ſometimes ſhew love to thoſe they called 'curſed Quakers,' they were all three fetched from their habitation at Salem, and carried to Boſton, and were tried for their lives, merely on ſuſpicion; but nothing of murder was proved againſt them; yet the mother was fined a great ſum, and her two ſons were ſentenced to ſtand under the gallows certain hours, with ropes about their necks, and to be whipped in the market-place, which was performed accordingly. And becauſe theſe young men were not daunted, prieſt Wilſon ſtanding by, ſaid, 'Ah, curſed generation.' And at Salem they were whipped alſo, which was done ſo mercileſsly, that one of the young men ſunk down, or died away under the torture, though he was raiſed up, and came to life again.

The deaths of ſome of the New-England perſecutors, viz. Of governor Endicot,

By this we may ſee how theſe New-England perſecutors were become inured to exceſſive ſeverity. But before I leave them, I muſt alſo mention the dreadful exit of ſome of them.

The laſt act of governor Endicot's bloody part that occurs, was the cruel whipping of Edward Wharton at Boſton, related before: for the time was now come that he muſt go off the ſtage, to give an account of his extravagant ſeverity before another tribunal than that of his ſanguinary court. The meaſure of his iniquity was now filled up, and he was viſited with a loathſome diſeaſe, inſomuch that he ſtunk alive, and ſo died with rottenneſs, his name being like to give a bad ſavour through ages to come.

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General Adderton,

Yet more remarkable was the death of major-general Adderton, who, when Mary Dyar was hanged, ſaid ſcoffingly, and in an inſulting way, 'that ſhe hung as a flag, for others to take example 'by;' and who alſo, when Wenlock Chriſtiſon being condemned to death, warned the perſecutors becauſe of the righteous judgments of God, preſumptuouſly ſaid, 'You pronounce woes and 'judgments, and thoſe that are gone before you, pronounced 'woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not 'come upon us as yet.' But how he himſelf was ſtruck by theſe judgments, and ſerved for an example to others, we are to ſee now.

He, upon a certain day having exerciſed his ſoldiers, and riding proudly on his horſe towards his houſe, when he came about the place where they uſually looſed the Quakers, ſo called, from the cart, after they had whipped them, a cow came and croſſed the way, at which his horſe taking a fright, threw him down ſo violently, that he died, his eyes being ſtarted out of his head, his brains out of his noſe, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears. Thus God's judgments came upon him ſuddenly and unawares.

And J. Norton, chief prieſt.

And John Norton, the chief prieſt of Boſton, died likewiſe on a ſudden. It was he who promoted the putting to death of thoſe martyrs that died at Boſton, as hath been related; and when he ſaw the magiſtrates pauſed upon the execution of W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon, he encouraged them thereto, eſpecially becauſe John Winthrope, governor of Connecticut, earneſtly diſſuaded the ſhedding of innocent blood. He it was alſo, who when William Brend was beaten ſo barbarouſly with a rope, as hath been related in its due place, did not ſtick to ſay, 'Since William Brend 'endeavoured to beat their goſpel ordinances black and blue, it 'was but juſt upon him if he was beaten black and blue alſo.' But this Norton was now ſtruck with a blow that made him ſink: for having been at his worſhip-houſe in the forenoon, and intending to go in the afternoon, as he was walking in his houſe, he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head againſt the mantle-tree of the chimney, he was heard to ſay, 'The hand, or the 'judgments of the Lord are upon me.' Theſe were his laſt words, and he ſunk down, and had fallen into the fire, if he had not been caught by ſome body that was preſent. More examples of this nature I could produce, but theſe may ſuffice.

What I have related of theſe cruelties, and much more, was publiſhed in print about that time, that ſo the king and parliament of England might know what happened there. For thoſe actions were come in publick view, and known there all about the country. All that they did, was to ſet a falſe colour upon their ſeverity, and to diſguiſe matters: and it was their happineſs that they had not to do with revengeful people, elſe they might have been involved in great ſtraits: but the friends of the perſecuted committed vengeance to God, though ſome of the great ones in England adviſed them to ſue the perſecutors, which according to law they might have done.

R. Bellingham dies diſtracted.

Richard Bellingham, a fierce perſecutor, and governor after John Endicot, went diſtracted ten years after, and ſo died. Not long

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long before, William Coddington, governor of Rhode-Iſland, wrote a letter to him, wherein he put him in mind of the former times; for he (the ſaid Coddington) had been one of the firſt erectors of colonies in New-England, and the firſt that built an houſe at Boſton, and afterwards was a magiſtrate ſeven years; but when perſecution aroſe, he declared againſt it; and the caſe was debated for three days in the court; but the moderate party was the weakeſt, and was oppoſed by all the prieſts, except one John Cotton, who ſaid, he remembered how at their departure from England, he had preached on Acts iv. 11. and had ſhewed from that text, 'that there was an inward grace which was to be 'minded; and that therefore he would not give his vote for perſe-'cuting the aſſertors of that doctrine;' ſhewing thereby much more ſenſe of religion, than the other perſecuting prieſts. Now, though Coddington was one of the greateſt merchants or traders in that country, and in all probability might have acquired great riches there; yet ſeeing his good counſel was not hearkened to, he reſolved to depart that place, and to go and live ſomewhere elſe. But whatever he ſaid in his letter to Bellingham, this man remained hardened, like Pharaoh, having ſhewed himſelf cruel, even when Mary Fiſher and Ann Auſtin firſt came to Boſton, where he treated them in a barbarous manner.

J. Cotton the only prieſt who oppoſes perſecution.

Will. Coddington remarkable for his moderation.

Yet one thing remarkable I may mention here, which when I firſt heard, I could not fully give credit to; but thinking it worth the while to make a narrow enquiry into it, I did ſo, not only by writing, but alſo from the mouths of perſons that had been eye-witneſſes, or had been informed by ſuch; and from theſe I got this concurring obſervation, viz. that the country about Boſton was formerly a very fruitful ſoil, that produced excellent wheat; but that ſince the time this town had been ſtained with the blood of the Quakers, ſo called, no wheat, &c. would grow to perfection within twenty miles, though the ground had been ploughed and ſown ſeveral times: for ſometimes what was ſown, was ſpoiled by vermin, or inſects; at other times it grew up, but ſcarce yielded more than was ſown, and ſo could not countervail the charge, and in another year the expected harveſt was quaſhed by another accident: and theſe diſappointments continuing many years, the people at length grew weary of making further trial, and ſo left the ground untilled; notwithſtanding that twenty miles off from Boſton, the ſoil is fruitful, and yields very good corn. But there having been ſo many reiterated inſtances of unfruitfulneſs nearer the town, ancient people, that are alive ſtill, and remember the firſt times, generally agree in their opinion, 'that this is a judgment from heaven, and a curſe on the land, 'becauſe of the ſhedding of innocent blood at Boſton.' This relation I had from ſo many credible perſons (though the one knew nothing of the other, as differing much in time) yet what they told me, did ſo well agree in the main, that I could not but believe it, though I don't uſe to be credulous; and therefore I have been the more exact in my inquiry, ſo that I can no longer queſtion the caſe; but it ſeems to me as a puniſhment on that blood-thirſtineſs which hath ceaſed long ago.

The country for 20 miles about Boſton, will not now yield wheat, &c. tho' formerly very fertile.

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In the iſland of Barbados, thoſe called Quakers, ſuffered alſo much by the people, inſtigated not a little by the prieſts, Samuel Graves, Matthew Gray, Thomas Manwaring, and Francis Smith; for theſe being often drunk, gave occaſion thereby to be reproved: and one Thomas Clark once coming into the place of publick worſhip, and exhorting the auditors to deſiſt from lewdneſs, and to fear God, was ſo grievouſly beaten with ſticks, that he fell down in a ſwoon, and Graves who had preached then, went to the houſe of the ſaid Clark, pulled his wife out of doors, and tore her clothes from her back. And Manwaring, who had threatened Clark, that he would procure a law to be made, by which his ears ſhould be cut off, once wrote in a letter to him, 'I am ſorry that your 'zeal ſurpaſſeth your moderation, and that a club muſt beat out 'of you what the Devil hath inſpired.' And this was becauſe Clark had told him, that his converſation was not becoming a miniſter of the goſpel. Other rough treatment Clark met with I paſs by, though once he was ſet in the ſtocks and impriſoned. But now I leave America, and return to England.

T. Clark grievouſly beaten at Barbados.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

HAVING now left America, and being returned to England, let us go and ſee the ſtate of perſecution at London, where deſperate fury now raged; though it was not in that chief city alone the Quakers, ſo called, were moſt grievouſly perſecuted: for a little before this time there was publiſhed in print a ſhort relation of the perſecution throughout all England, ſigned by twelve perſons, ſhewing that more than four thouſand and two hundred of thoſe called Quakers, both men and women, were in priſon in England, and denoting the number of them that were impriſoned in each county, either for frequenting meetings, or for denying to ſwear, &c. Many of theſe had been grievouſly beaten, or their clothes torn, or taken away from them; and ſome were put into ſuch ſtinking dungeons, that ſome great men ſaid, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some priſons were crowded full both of men and women, ſo that there was not ſufficient room for all to ſit down at once; and in Cheſhire ſixty-eight perſons were in this manner locked up in a ſmall room; an evident ſign that they were a harmleſs people, that would not make any reſiſtance, or uſe force. By ſuch ill treatment many grew ſick, and not a few died in ſuch gaols; for no age or ſex was regarded, but even ancient people of ſixty, ſeventy, and more years of age, were not ſpared: and the moſt of theſe being tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, and huſbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty; for their goods were alſo ſeized, for not going to church, ſo called, or for not paying tithes. Many times they were fain to lie in priſon on cold naſty ground, without being ſuffered to have any ſtraw; and often they have been kept ſeveral days without victuals: no wonder therefore that many died by ſuch hard impriſonments as theſe.

Severe perſecution in London, and over all the kingdom.

And a relation is printed of 4200 that were impriſoned.

Many die in gaols.

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About 500 impriſoned in London and its ſuburbs.

At London, and in the ſuburbs, were about this time no leſs than five hundred of thoſe called Quakers, impriſoned, and ſome in ſuch narrow holes, that every perſon ſcarcely had conveniency to lie down; and the felons were ſuffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not impriſoned, nevertheleſs ſuffered hardſhips in their religious meetings, eſpecially that in London, known by the name of Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed generally with muſkets, pikes, and halberds, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magiſtracy, and ruſhing in, in a very furious manner, fell to beating them, whereby many were grievouſly wounded, ſome fell down in a ſwoon, and ſome were beaten ſo violently, that they lived not long after it: among theſe was one John Trowel, who was ſo bruiſed and cruſhed, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corps into the aforeſaid meeting-place, that it might lie there expoſed for ſome hours, to be ſeen of every one. This being done, raiſed commiſeration and pity among many of the inhabitants; for the corps, being beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was ſwoln in a direful manner. This gave occaſion to ſend for the coroner; and he being come, impanelled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true inquiry upon their oaths, and to preſent what they found to be the cauſe of his death. They viewing the corps, had a ſurgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it; and then going together in private, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only deſiring the friends to bury the corps, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times together upon that occaſion, and had many conſultations, yet they never would give in a verdict; but it appeared ſufficiently, that the man was killed by violent beating. The reaſons ſome gave for the ſuſpenſe of a verdict were, 'That 'though it was teſtified that the ſame perſon, now dead, was ſeen 'beaten, and knocked down, yet it being done in ſuch a confuſed 'crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, ſo that any could 'ſay, that man did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the 'deceaſed perſon was killed, and yet no particular perſon charged 'with it, then the city was liable to a great fine, at the pleaſure 'of the king, for conniving at ſuch a murder in the city in the 'day-time, not committed in a corner, but in a publick place, 'and not apprehending the murderer, but ſuffering him to eſcape.' In the mean-while the friends of the deceaſed were not wanting to give publick notice of the fact, and ſent alſo a letter to the lord mayor, which afterwards they gave out in print, together with a relation of this bloody buſineſs. In this letter it was ſaid:

Meetings diſturbed, and the perſons cruelly beaten;

Of which ſome died, and one J. Trowel in particular.

The coroner's inqueſt ſit on him,

But bring in no verdict.

A letter to the lord mayor about it, and,

A relation thereof printed,

IT may be ſuppoſed thou haſt heard of this thing, for it was done not in the night, but at mid-day; not ſuddenly, at unawares, or by miſhap, but intendedly, and in a long ſpace of time a doing; and not in a corner, but in the ſtreets of the city of London; all which circumſtances do highly aggravate this murder, to the very ſhame and infamy of this famous city, and its government.

A

A certain perſon who ſpread ſome of theſe printed relations, was impriſoned for his pains; nevertheleſs another brought one of them to the king, and told him how the thing had been done; at which the king ſaid, 'I aſſure you it was not by my advice that any of 'your friends ſhould be ſlain: ye muſt tell the magiſtrates of the 'city of it, and proſecute the law againſt them.' This ſaying of the king was not long after alſo publiſhed in print: but violence prevailed ſtill; for the perſon that was apprehended for ſpreading the ſaid books, was ſent to priſon by the ſpecial order of alderman Brown, of whom ſince mention may be made ſeveral times in this work, it gives me occaſion to ſay ſomething of what kind of man he was.

1662. And brought to the king.

The diſperſer of it impriſoned by alderman Brown.

In the time of Cromwell he had been very fierce againſt the Royaliſts, eſpecially at Abington, not far from Oxford: for this error he endeavoured now to make compenſation, by violent perſecuting of the harmleſs Quakers; otherwiſe he was a comely man, and could commit cruelty with a ſmiling countenance. But more of his actions may be repreſented hereafter.

A ſhort character of him.

The Quakers, ſo called, ſeeing that they could not obtain juſtice, let the matter of the murdered perſon alone; for ſuffering was now their portion, and therefore they left their cauſe to God. Oftentimes they were kept out of their meeting-houſes by the ſoldiers: but then they did not uſe to go away, but ſtood before the place, and ſo their number ſoon increaſed; and then one or other of their miniſters generally ſtepped upon a bench, or ſome high place, and ſo preached boldly. Thus he got ſometimes more hearers than otherwiſe he might have had. But ſuch an one ſometimes was ſoon pulled down, which then gave occaſion for another to ſtand up and preach, and thus often four or five one after another, were taken away as innocent ſheep, and carried to priſon with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This puts me in mind of what I heard my mother Judith Zinſpenning ſay, who, in the year next following, being gone for England (with William Caton and his wife, who lived at Amſterdam) to viſit her friends there, and coming to London, went with others to the Bull and Mouth meeting; but entrance being denied, they ſtaid in the ſtreet, where ſhe ſaw one preacher after another pulled down, at the inſtant cry of ſome officer or other, 'Conſtable, take him away.' Several being thus led away, the conſtable came alſo to her, and perceiving by her dreſs that ſhe was a Dutch woman, pulled her by the ſleeve, and ſaid with admiration, 'What, a Dutch Quaker!' but meddled no further with her. This keeping of meetings in the ſtreets became now a cuſtomary thing in England; for the Quakers, ſo called, were perſuaded that the exerciſe of their publick worſhip was a duty no man could diſcharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this ſervice at their hands. And by thus meeting in the ſtreets, it happened ſometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting-places could not have been done conveniently. But thus they got abundance of auditors, and among theſe ſometimes eminent men, who paſſing

Quakers being forcibly kept out of their meeting-houſes, preach in the ſtreets.

Accounting publick worſhip an indiſpenſable duty.

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As one preacher is taken away, another ſtands up; even women, and ſometimes boys.

Now the taking away of one preacher, and the ſtanding up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and it laſted yet long after, as I myſelf have been an eye-witneſs of there. And when there were no more men preachers preſent, it may be a woman would riſe, and miniſter to the meeting; nay, there were ſuch, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to ſteadfaſtneſs. In the mean-while many alſo were impriſoned, without being haled out of their meetings; for ſome have been apprehended for ſpeaking only ſomething on the behalf of their friends, as Rebecca Travers, who going to the lieutenant of the tower, deſired him to have compaſſion on ſome who were impriſoned for frequenting of meetings. But he grew angry at this; and when ſhe went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language: on which ſhe exhorting him, 'to be good in his place, whilſt it was the Lord's will he had it,' he was ſo offended, that going back to the lieutenant, he complained that ſhe had ſpoken treaſon, and thereupon ſhe was apprehended, and ſent to priſon. Nay, the rude ſoldiers were encouraged to cruelty by officers who were not a whit better, for they themſelves would ſometimes lay violent hands on peaceable people; as among the reſt the afore-mentioned alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major-general under Cromwell, and now behaved himſelf with ſuch outrageous fierceneſs, that even the comedians did not ſtick to expoſe him, by an alluſion to his name Brown, and ſaying, 'the Devil was brown.'

Rebecca Travers impriſoned.

A relation of alderman Brown's cruelties publiſhed,

A book was alſo printed, wherein many baſe abuſes, and alſo his furious behaviour were expoſed to publick view; and this book was dedicated to him with this ſmall epiſtle:

RICHARD BROWN,

IF thou art not ſealed up already for deſtruction, and if repentance be not utterly hid from thy eyes, the Lord convert thee, and forgive thee all thy hard and cruel dealings towards us: we deſire thy repentance rather than thy deſtruction; and the Lord God of heaven and earth give judgment of final determination between thee and us, that all the earth may know whether thy cauſe againſt us, or our cauſe be juſt before him, who only is the righteous judge.

And preſented to the mayor and ſheriffs.

The ſaid book, though publiſhed without the author's name, yet one of them was not only ſent to Brown, but as a ſign that the Quakers, ſo called, owned it, others were, by about thirty of them, delivered to the lord mayor, and the ſheriffs of London, that ſo they might know what was acted under their authority;

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for ſome, though not authorized, yet being favourites at court, made bold to act againſt the Quakers whatever their malice prompted them to. Among theſe was one Philip Miller, who, though an officer, yet in the month called May of this year, came into a meeting of the ſaid people in John's-Street, in the pariſh of Sepulchres, at London, without any order or warrant, and having a cane in his hand, commanded the rabble who attended him, to ſecure whom he pleaſed; and then he fetched a conſtable, whom he forced by his threats to go along with him, and five perſons he apprehended, among whom was John Crook, of whom further mention is like to be made again. Some days after, this Miller came to the ſaid meeting-place again, and ſtruck ſeveral perſons with his cane, becauſe they would not depart at his command; and then he charged the conſtables, whom he brought along with him, to ſecure and take into cuſtody whom he pleaſed.

Arbitrary proceedings of Philip Miller, who without warrant takes up J. Crook, &c.

About the latter end of the aforeſaid month, on a firſt-day of the week, one captain Reeves, and ſome ſoldiers with muſkets and drawn ſwords, came violently ruſhing into the Bull and Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and preſently laid hold of another, who deſired Reeves to ſhew his order for this his doing: to which he anſwered, 'he would not in 'that place;' but it appeared afterwards that he could not, as having no warrant. Yet he cauſed his ſoldiers to take away about forty perſons, (ſome of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the ſtreets) and have them into Paul's yard, where they were kept till the publick worſhip was ended there: and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the priſoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands firſt on a very aged perſon, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he loſt it. Then he ſerved another in like manner, and a ſoldier ſtruck this perſon a great blow with a piſtol on his bare head: two others Brown uſed in the like manner, and then he ſent them all to Newgate, guarded by ſoldiers.

And of capt. Reeves at the Bull and Mouth, who is ſupported by alderman Brown with great fury.

The ſame day ſome ſoldiers came to a meeting in Tower-ſtreet, and without any warrant, took away twenty one perſons, called Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them ſome time, and then brought them before the ſaid Richard Brown, who in a moſt furious manner ſtruck ſome, and kicked others; which made one of the priſoners, ſeeing how Brown ſmote one with his fiſt on the face, and kicked him on the ſhin, ſay, 'What! Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? thou didſt not do 'ſo when I was a ſoldier under thy command at Abington, and 'thou commandedſt me with others, to ſearch peoples houſes for 'pies and roaſt-meat, becauſe they kept Chriſtmas as a holy time; 'and we brought the perſons priſoners to the guard, for obſerv-'ing the ſame.' For ſuch a preciſe man the ſaid Brown was at that time, that he pretended to root out that ſuperſtitious cuſtom; though there's reaſon to queſtion, whether his heart was ſincere in this reſpect: however, ſuch blind zeal was unfit to convince people of ſuperſtition; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much diſobliged thoſe of the church of England, endeavoured now to make amends for it, by his fierce bru-

Twenty-one perſons ſeized by ſoldiers without warrant, and had before the ſaid Brown, who ſends them to Newgate, but is twitted for his former practices.

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tality againſt the harmleſs Quakers, and ſo to come into favour with the eccleſiaſticks and courtiers. One of Brown's family having heard what was ſaid to him, replied, 'There's an Abing-'ton bird.' To which Brown returned, 'he is a rogue for all 'that,' and ſtruck him with his fiſt under the chin; which made another priſoner ſay, 'What, a magiſtrate and ſtrike!' Upon which Brown with both his hands, pulled him down to the ground by the brim of his hat, and then commanded the ſoldiers to take them all away, and carry them to Newgate.

Others taken at the Bull and Mouth meeting, and by him ſent to Newgate.

Upon a firſt-day of the week, in the month called June, a company of ſoldiers came into the Bull and Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn ſwords, muſkets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they ſhould find none there but harmleſs people. The firſt thing they did, was to pull down him that preached, whom they haled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained ſome great victory: then they brought him to the main-guard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull and Mouth, where they apprehended ſome more, whom they alſo carried to Paul's. After ſome hours, theſe priſoners were carried to the houſe of the ſaid Brown, and he aſking the names of the priſoners, and hearing that of John Perrot, ſaid, 'What, 'you have been at Rome to ſubvert,' but recalling himſelf, ſaid, 'to convert the pope.' On which Perrot told him, 'he had ſuffer-'ed at Rome for the teſtimony of Jeſus.' Whereupon Brown returned, 'If you had converted the pope to your religion, I ſhould 'have liked him far worſe than I do now.' To which Perrot replied, 'But God would have liked him better.' After ſome more ſhort diſcourſe, Brown committed them all to Newgate.

Among them J. Perrot; his anſwers to Brown.

After this manner, the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, were diſturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if neceſſary, many more inſtances. Once one Cox, a wine-cooper, came with ſome ſoldiers into a meeting, where, after great violence uſed, they took up two men of thoſe called Quakers, whom they beat moſt grievouſly, becauſe they refuſed to go along with them, tho' they ſhewed no warrant for it. At length the ſoldiers carried them both upon muſkets into Paul's yard, and when they laid them down, they dragged one of them by the heels on his back, in a very barbarous manner; which being done, the ſaid wine-cooper was heard to ſay, 'he would go and get a cup of ſack, for theſe 'devils had even wearied him out:' and yet he went to another meeting-place of theſe people, where he alſo behaved himſelf very wickedly; and being aſked for his order, his anſwer was, holding out his ſword, 'This is my order.' Thus it ſeems he would ingratiate himſelf with Brown, who now being in favour at court, was knighted, and ſometime after alſo choſen lord mayor of London; and by his furious behaviour, the ſoldiers were alſo encouraged to commit all manner of miſchief; inſomuch, that being aſked, 'what order they had for their doings,' one lifting up his muſket, ſaid, 'This is my order:' ſo that things now were carried by a club-law. Nor did the ſoldiers reſpect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile-End, two boys, one about thirteen, and the other about ſixteen, and they were brought before the

The barbarity of one Cox a wine-cooper.

lieutenant

lieutenant of the Tower, who to one preſent ſaying, 'he ſuppoſed 'they were not of the age of ſixteen years, and then not puniſh-'able by the act,' returned, 'they were old enough to be whip-'ped; and they ſhould be whipped out of their religion.' And ſo he ſent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the ſtocks, and ſo pinched for the ſpace of two hours, that their wriſts were much ſwoln; and this was done becauſe they refuſed to work, as being perſuaded that they had not deſerved to be treated ſo; they alſo eating nothing at the charge of the ſaid work-houſe. Theſe lads, tho' pretty long in that priſon, yet continued ſteadfaſt, rejoicing they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of the Lord: and they wrote a letter to their friends children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their teſtimony for the Lord, againſt all wickedneſs and unrighteouſneſs.

1662. Two boys taken at Mile-End, are ſent to Bridewell, yet remain ſteadfaſt.

Some days before this time, Thomas and John Herbert, living in London, and other muſketeers, came with their naked ſwords into ſome private dwellings, and broke two or three doors; (for when ſome perſons were ſeen to enter a houſe, though it was only to viſit their friends, it was called a meeting.) Now it happened in one houſe, theſe rude fellows found five perſons together, one of whom was William Ames, who was come thither out of Holland, and another was Samuel Fiſher: and when it was demanded what warrant they had, they held up their ſwords and ſaid, 'Do not aſk us for a warrant; this is our warrant.' And thereupon they took away theſe perſons by force, and carried them to Paul's Yard, where they were a laughing ſtock to the ſoldiers; and from thence they were brought to the Exchange, where they met with no better reception from the rude ſoldiers; and from thence they were conducted to alderman Brown's houſe in Ivy-Lane. He ſeeing theſe priſoners, ſent them to Bridewell with a mittimus, to be kept at hard labour. But afterwards bethinking himſelf, and finding that his mittimus was not founded on juſtice, (for theſe perſons were not taken from a meeting) next morning he ſent another mittimus, wherein they were charged with 'unlawful aſſembling themſelves to worſhip.' Now ſuppoſe one of the muſketeers had heard any of theſe perſons ſpeak by way of exhortation to faithfulneſs in this hot time of perſecution, this would have been taken for a ſufficient charge, though not cognizable by law: but they ran upon ſhifts, how poor or ſilly ſoever.

Private dwellings broke open, and viſiting termed a meeting.

Five perſons taken out of a houſe, are ſent to Bridewell by alderman Brown.

Thus theſe perſons were committed to Bridewell, and required to beat hemp; and they were treated ſo ſeverely, that W. Ames grew ſick, even nigh to death, wherefore he was diſcharged; for in a ſenſe it might be ſaid, that his dwelling-place was at Amſterdam in Holland, ſince he was there the moſt part of the time for ſome years ſucceſſively, and that he might not be chargeable, he worked at wool-combing; and it being alledged that he was of Amſterdam, it ſeems they would not have him die in priſon, as ſome of his friends had done. The others having been ſix weeks in Bridewell, were preſented at the ſeſſions in the Old-Baily: but inſtead of being tried for what was charged againſt them, they were required to take the oath of allegiance, as the only buſineſs, according to what the deputy recorder ſaid, they were brought thither

W. Ames, being ſick, and near to death, diſcharged.

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thither for. The priſoners then demanded, that the law might be read, by virtue of which the ſaid oath was required of them. This was promiſed by the court to be done; but inſtead thereof, they ordered the clerk to read only the form of the oath, but would not permit the law for impoſing it to be read. But before the priſoners had either declared their willingneſs to take it, or their refuſal of it, they were commanded to be taken away; which the officers did with ſuch violence, that they threw ſome of them down upon the ſtones. This made Samuel Fiſher ſay, 'take notice people, that we have not yet refuſed to take the oath; but 'the court refuſeth to perform their promiſe which they made but 'juſt now before you all, that this ſtatute for it ſhould be read: if 'ſuch doings as this ever proſper, it muſt be when there is no 'God.' But this was not regarded; and the priſoners, without any juſtice, were ſent to Newgate. Among theſe, was alſo one John Howel, who had been ſent by alderman Brown to work at Bridewell, becauſe he being brought before him, did not tell on a ſudden what was his name: and being demanded in the court why he did not tell his name, he anſwered, 'Becauſe he had been 'beaten and abuſed in the preſence of Richard Brown, when he 'was brought before him.' Brown, who was alſo on the bench, aſked him roughly, 'Wherein were you abuſed?' and Howel replied, 'Blood was drawn on me in thy preſence; which ought 'not to be done in the preſence of a juſtice of peace.' But Brown growing very impetuous, returned, 'Hold your prating, or there 'ſhall as much be done again here in the preſence of the court.'

The reſt with J. Howel brought to the Old-Baily, and then ſent to Newgate.

About Midſummer, Daniel Baker returned into England, (who, as hath been related, had been at Malta) and about a fortnight after his arrival, he, with four others, was taken by a band of ſoldiers from the Bull and Mouth meeting, and carried to Paul's yard, where having been kept for ſome hours, they were brought to Newgate; but in the evening they were had before alderman Brown, to whom Baker with meekneſs ſaid, 'Let the fear of God 'and his peace be ſet up in thy heart.' But Brown fell a laughing, and ſaid, 'I'd rather hear a dog bark;' and uſing more ſuch ſcoffing expreſſions, he charged Baker, &c. with the breach of the king's law in meeting together. To which Baker ſaid, 'The ſervants of God in the apoſtles days, were commanded to ſpeak no 'more in the name of Jeſus; and they anſwered, and ſo do I too, '*whether it be better to obey God than men, judge ye.*' He alſo inſtanced the caſe of the three children at Babylon, and Daniel, who obeyed not the king's decrees. But Brown grew ſo angry, that he commanded his men to ſmite Daniel on the face. This they did, and pulling him four or five times to the ground, they ſmote him with their fiſts, and wrung his neck ſo, as if they would have murdered him. This theſe fellows did to pleaſe Brown, ſhewing themſelves to be ready for any ſervice, how abominable ſoever. And Baker reflecting on his travels, ſignified, that even Turks and Heathens would abhor ſuch brutiſh actions. His fellow-priſoners were alſo abuſed by Brown, and then ſent to Newgate again; and after ſome days, they were called to the ſeſſions, where their indictment was read, which like others in ſuch

D. Baker with four others, taken from the Bull and Mouth meeting.

Carried before alderman Brown,

Where he is illegally and barbarouſly abuſed;

And all of them ſent to Newgate.

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ſuch caſes, did generally run in theſe terms, 'That the priſoners, 'under pretence of performing religious worſhip, otherwiſe 'than by the laws of the kingdom of England eſtabliſhed, un-'lawfully and tumultuouſly did gather and aſſemble themſelves 'together, to the great terror of his majeſty's people, and to the 'diſturbance of the peace of the king, in contempt of our ſaid 'lord the king, and his laws, to the evil example of all others in 'the like caſe offending,' &c. The indictment being read, no witneſs appeared againſt the priſoners ſave Brown, who ſat on the bench: and therefore the oath, as the ordinary ſnare, was tendered to them; for it was ſufficiently known, that their profeſſion did not ſuffer them to take any oath. They denying to ſwear, were ſent back to priſon, to ſtay there until they ſhould have taken the oath.

If I would here ſet down all ſuch like caſes as have happened, I might find more work than I ſhould be able to perform: for this vexing with the oath was become ſo common, that ſome have been taken up in the ſtreets, and brought to a juſtice of the peace, that he might tender the oath to them, and in caſe of denial, ſend them to priſon, though this was directly contrary to the ſtatute of Magna Charta, which expreſsly ſaith, 'No freeman ſhall be taken 'nor impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freehold or liberties, but by the 'law of the land.' But this was not regarded by Richard Brown, who did whatever he would; for force and violence were now predominant: and ſometimes when the priſoners were brought to the bar, for frequenting meetings, freedom was denied to them to juſtify themſelves; but to be hectored and baffled was their lot.

To take up perſons arbitrarily, to tender oaths to, is contrary to Magna Charta.

Once it happened that a priſoner, who had been a ſoldier formerly under Brown, ſeeing that no juſtice or equity was obſerved, called to him, ſaying, 'that he was not fit to ſit on the bench; 'for he made the ſon to hang the father at Abington; ſo that he 'could prove him to be a murderer.' This bold ſaying cauſed ſome diſturbance in the court, and Brown, how heavy ſoever the charge was, did not deny the thing in court, nor clear himſelf from it: yet the other Quaker priſoners did not approve this upbraiding, but ſignified, 'that though the fact was true, yet they 'were not for reproaching any magiſtrate upon the bench, whoſe 'place and office they did reſpect and honour.' But I don't find that Brown, on that account, ever proſecuted him that ſpoke ſo boldly, although otherwiſe he did whatever he would, without fearing that his fellow magiſtrates (who reſpected him that was a favourite at court) would diſclaim it, as may appear by this following inſtance.

A priſoner boldly charges Brown on the bench with murder, which he denies not.

A certain perſon who had been in a very violent and abuſive manner taken to priſon by the ſoldiers out of a meeting, becauſe he was not willing to go, ſaid in the court, 'that his refuſing to 'go, was becauſe they would not ſhew him any warrant for their 'apprehending him; ſince for ought he knew, they might be rob-'bers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go.' But Brown, who was for violence, ſaid to this, 'if they had dragged 'him through all the kennels in the ſtreet, they had ſerved him 'right, if he would not go.' This he ſpoke in ſuch a furious

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Another ſeeing him furious, tenderly warns him: notwithſtanding he continues outrageouſly violent.

manner, that one of the priſoners told him, 'thou haſt had many 'warnings and viſitations in the love of God, but haſt ſlighted 'them; therefore beware of being ſealed up in the wrath of God.' Hereupon one of the gaolers came with his cane, and ſtruck ſeveral of the priſoners ſo hard, that divers of them were much bruiſed; and it was reported by ſome, that Brown cried, 'Knock 'him down,' though others (for mitigating it a little) would have it, 'Pull him down,' but the former ſeems moſt probable; for the blows were ſo violent, that ſome of the ſpectators cried out 'Murder! Murder!' and aſked, 'Will ye ſuffer men to be mur-'dered in the court?' whereupon one of the ſheriffs in perſon came down from his ſeat to ſtop the beating. But Brown was ſo deſperately filled with anger, that he ſaid to the priſoners, 'If any 'of you be killed, your blood ſhall be upon your own head:' and the hangman ſtanding by with his gag in his hand, threatened the priſoners to gag any of them that ſhould ſpeak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical queſtion, 'Guilty, or not guilty,' anſwered 'I deny I am guilty, and I can ſay I am not guilty;' and alſo in Latin, 'non reus ſum;' yet he was ſentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he ſpoke, fully ſignified 'Not guilty,' albeit he had not expreſſed them in the ſame terms. But now they were for croſſing the Quakers in every reſpect.

One ſentenced as mute, and fined for anſwering, 'I 'can ſay I am 'not guilty.'

Further inſtances of Brown's unbecoming behaviour.

I'll yet mention ſome more inſtances of Brown's brutality before I leave him. Another being demanded to anſwer to his indictment, 'Guilty, or not guilty,' and not preſently anſwering, but thinking a little what to ſpeak ſafely, Brown ſcoffingly ſaid, 'We 'ſhall have a revelation by and by.' To which the priſoner ſaid, 'How long will ye oppoſe the innocent? How long will ye perſe-'cute the righteous ſeed of God?' but whilſt he was ſpeaking, Brown undecently began to cry in the language of thoſe wenches that go crying up and down the ſtreets, 'Aha, aha! will you 'have any Wallfleet oyſters?' and, 'Have you any kitchen ſtuff, 'maids?' and when a priſoner at the bar ſaid, 'he could not for 'conſcience-ſake forbear meeting among the people of God,' Brown ſcurrilouſly returned, 'Conſcience! a dog's tail.' And when alderman Adams ſpeaking to one of the priſoners ſaid, 'I am ſorry to 'ſee you here.' 'Sorry!' ſaid Brown, 'what ſhould you be ſor-'ry for?' 'Yes,' ſaid Adams, 'he is a ſober man.' But Brown, who could not endure to hear this, replied, 'that there was never 'a ſober man amongſt them,' meaning the Quakers. The ſpectators, who took much notice of him, diſcommended this his carriage exceedingly. But he ſeemed to be quite hardened; for at a certain time two perſons being upon their trial for robbing of a houſe, he told them, 'they were the verieſt rogues in England, 'except it were the Quakers.'

Sometimes it happened that the priſoners were brought to the bar without being indicted; and when they ſaid, 'What have we 'done?' and deſired juſtice; Brown having no indictment againſt them, often cried, 'Will you take the oath?' and they then ſaying, 'that for conſcience-ſake they could not ſwear,' were condemned as tranſgreſſors, though ſuch proceedings as theſe were

directly

directly againſt the law. But this ſeemed at that time little to be regarded. 1662.

However ſometime before, it happened at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, that judge Windham at that time ſhewing himſelf juſt in the like caſe, ſharply reproved the juſtices upon the bench, for having not only committed ſome perſons to priſon, but alſo had them up to bar, when no accuſer appeared againſt them. But Richard Brown did whatever he would, and ſhewed himſelf moſt furiouſly wicked, when any priſoner was brought before him with his hat on.

Judge Windham ſharply reproves the juſtices for committing perſons, and bringing them to the bar, without an accuſer.

One John Brain being taken in the ſtreet, and not in any meeting, was brought by ſome ſoldiers before Brown, who ſeeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground ſix or ſeven times, and when he was down, they beat his head againſt the ground, and ſtamped upon him; and Brown like a mad man, bad them pull off his noſe; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the noſe. And when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have ſpoken in his own behalf againſt this cruelty, Brown bad them, 'ſtop his mouth.' Whereupon they not only ſtruck him on the mouth, but ſtopped his mouth, and noſe alſo ſo cloſe, that he could not draw breath, and was like to be choaked: at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length ſent him to gaol.

J. Brain's moſt cruel uſage by the order and in the preſence of R. Brown, who afterward ſent him to priſon.

Thomas Spire being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and becauſe it was not done with ſuch violence as he intended, he cauſed it to be put upon his head again, ſaying, 'it ſhould not be pulled off ſo eaſily.' Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, ſo that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableſon was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and ſo beaten on his face, or the ſides of his head, that he ſtaggered, and bled, and for ſome days was under much pain.

More inſtances of Brown's barbarous behaviour, viz. to T. Spire, William Hill, G. Ableſon,

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown, he took his hat with both his hands, endeavouring to pull him down to the ground; and becauſe he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he puſhed him, to throw him backwards, and then gave him a kick on the leg, and thruſt him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himſelf gave him a blow on the face; and Iſaac Merrit, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better; ſo that he ſeemed more fit to have been a hangman, than an alderman or juſtice. But I grow weary of mentioning more inſtances of his cruelty. Theſe his abominable atchievments were publiſhed in print, more at large than I have mentioned them; and the book, as hath been ſaid already, was dedicated to him. And yet I do not find any have been proſecuted on that account; though his wickedneſs was extravagant, and ſuch as if he wanted to have ſtakes erected at Smithfield to vend his wood; being by trade a wood-monger.

N. Blithold, T. Lacy and others.

In

1662.

In this hot time of perſecution, Francis Howgil wrote, and gave forth the following paper for the encouragement of his friends:

F. Howgil's paper for the encouragement of his ſuffering friends.

THE cogitations of my heart have been many, deep, and ponderous ſome months, weeks and days, concerning this people which the Lord hath raiſed to bear teſtimony unto his name, in this the day of his power; and interceſſion hath been made often for them to the Lord, and a patient waiting to know his mind concerning them for the time to come; which often I received ſatisfaction in as to myſelf; but yet ſomething I was drawn by the Lord to wait for, that I might comfort and ſtrengthen his flock by an aſſured teſtimony. And while I was waiting out of all viſible things, and quite out of the world in my ſpirit, and my heart upon nothing but the living God, the Lord opened the ſprings of the great deep, and overflowed my whole heart with light and love; and my eyes were as a fountain, becauſe of tears of joy, becauſe of his heritage, of whom he ſhewed me, and ſaid unto me in a full, freſh, living power, and a holy, full teſtimony, ſo that my heart was raviſhed there with joy unſpeakable, and I was out of the body with God in his heavenly paradiſe, where I ſaw and felt things unutterable, and beyond all demonſtration or ſpeech. At laſt the life cloſed with my underſtanding, and my ſpirit liſtened unto him; and the everlaſting God ſaid, ſhall I hide any thing from them that ſeek my face in righteouſneſs? nay, I will manifeſt it to them that fear me; I will ſpeak, do thou liſten, and publiſh it among all my people, that they may be comforted, and thou ſatisfied. And thus ſaid the living God of heaven and earth; upon the 28th of the third month, 1662.

The ſun ſhall leave its ſhining brightneſs, and ceaſe to give light to the world; and the moon ſhall be altogether darkneſs, and give no light unto the night; the ſtars ſhall ceaſe to know their office, or place; my covenant with day, night, times and ſeaſons, ſhall ſooner come to an end, than the covenant I have made with this people, into which they are entered with me, ſhall end or be broken. Yea, though the powers of darkneſs and hell combine againſt them, and the jaws of death open its mouth, yet will I deliver them, and lead them through all. I will confound their enemies as I did in Jacob, and ſcatter them as I did in Iſrael in the days of old. I will take their enemies, I will hurl them hither and thither, as ſtones hurled in a ſling; and the memorial of this nation, which is holy unto me, ſhall never be rooted out, but ſhall live through ages, as a cloud of witneſſes in generations to come. I have brought them to the birth, yea, I brought them forth; I have ſwaddled them, and they are mine. I will nouriſh them, and carry them as on eagles wings; and though clouds gather againſt them, I will make my way through them; though darkneſs gather together on a heap, and tempeſts gender, I will ſcatter them as with an eaſt wind; and nations ſhall know they are my inheritance, and they ſhall know I am the living God, who will plead their cauſe with all that riſe up in oppoſition againſt them.

Theſe words are holy, faithful, eternal, good, and true: bleſſed

are

are they that hear and believe unto the end; and becauſe of them no ſtrength was left in me for a while; but at laſt my heart was filled with joy, even as when the ark of God was brought from the houſe of Obed-Edom, when David danced before it, and Iſrael ſhouted for joy. 1662.

FRANCIS HOWGIL.

That this writing of F. Howgil, who was a pious man of great parts, together with many other powerful exhortations of ſuch who valiantly went before, and never left the oppreſſed flock, tended exceedingly to their encouragement in this hot time of perſecution, is certain. For how furious ſoever their enemies were, yet they continued faithful in ſupplications and fervent prayers to God, that he might be pleaſed to aſſiſt them in their upright zeal, who aimed at nothing for ſelf, but from a true fear and reverence before him, durſt not omit their religious aſſemblies. And they found that the Lord heard their prayers, inſomuch that I remember to have heard one ſay, that at a meeting where they ſeemed to be in danger of death from their fierce perſecutors, he was as it were raviſhed, ſo that he hardly knew whether he was in or out of the body. They then perſevering thus in faithfulneſs, to what they believed the Lord required of them, in proceſs of time, when their enemies had taken ſuch meaſures that they were perſuaded they had found out ſuch means, by which they ſhould ſuppreſs and extinguiſh the Quakers, they ſaw the Lord God Almighty roſe up in their defence, and quaſhed and confounded the wicked devices of their cruel perſecutors, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory. Effects thereof.

In the mean-while let us take a view of the perſecution in Southwark: here the Quakers meetings were no leſs diſturbed than in London. Several perſons having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed; and after having been in White-Lion priſon about nine weeks, were brought to the bar, where Richard Onſlow ſat judge of the ſeſſions. The indictment drawn up againſt them, was as followeth: Proceedings in Southwark. Several perſons indicted.

'The jurors for our lord the king, do preſent upon their oath, 'that Arthur Fiſher, late of the pariſh of St. Olave, in the bo- 'rough of Southwark, in the county of Surrey, yeoman; Natha- 'niel Robinſon, of the ſame, yeoman; John Chandler of the 'ſame, yeoman; and others, being wicked, dangerous, and ſe- 'ditious ſectaries, and diſloyal perſons, and above the age of ſix- 'teen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the 'reign of our lord Charles the ſecond, by the grace of God, king 'of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, 'have obſtinately refuſed; and every one of them hath obſtinately 'refuſed to repair unto ſome church, chapel, or uſual place of 'common-prayer, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this 'kingdom of England, in the like caſe ſet forth and provided '(after forty days next after the end of the ſeſſion of parliament, 'begun and holden at Weſtminſter, on the 29th day of February, 'in the year of our lady Elizabeth, late queen of England, the 'thirty-fifth, and there continued until the diſſolution of the ſame, The indictment.

1662. 'being the tenth day of April, in the 35th year aboveſaid) to wit, 'on the third day of Auguſt, in the year of the reign of the ſaid 'Charles, king of England, the fourteenth aboveſaid, in the pa- 'riſh of St. Olave aforeſaid, in the borough of Southwark afore- 'ſaid, in the county aforeſaid, of themſelves, did voluntarily and 'unlawfully join in, and were preſent at an unlawful aſſembly, 'conventicle, and meeting, at the ſaid pariſh of St. Olave, in the 'county aforeſaid, under colour and pretence of the exerciſe of 'religion, againſt the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom of England, 'in contempt of our ſaid lord the king that now is, his laws, and 'to the evil and dangerous example of all others in the like caſe, 'offending againſt the peace of our ſaid lord the king that now 'is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the 'ſtatute in this ſame caſe ſet forth and provided.'

I have inſerted this indictment, that the reader may ſee not only the manner of proceeding, but alſo with what black and heinous colours the religious meetings of thoſe called Quakers, were repreſented. This indictment being read, the priſoners deſired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament againſt conventicles. But it was anſwered, they might try them by what they would that was in force. Then the priſoners deſired that that ſtatute, (viz. the 35th of Elizabeth) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was ſaid to the clerk, 'it was enough.' The priſoners ſaid then, 'that that act was made in the time of 'ignorance, when the people were but newly ſtepped out of pope- 'ry;' and they ſhewed alſo how unjuſtly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead, 'Guilty,' or 'Not guilty' to the indictment, ſome who were not very forward to anſwer, were haled out of the court, reputed as confeſſing, and ſo ſent back to priſon. The reſt, being twenty-two in number, pleaded 'Not 'guilty.' Then the jurymen were called, and when they had excepted againſt one, the judge would not allow it, becauſe he did not like the reaſon they gave, viz. that they ſaw envy, prejudice, and a vain deportment in him. Another was excepted againſt, becauſe he was heard to ſay, 'that he hoped ere long, 'that the Quakers ſhould be arraigned at the bar, and be baniſhed 'to ſome land, where there were nothing but bears.' At this the court burſt out into a laughter; yet the exception was admitted, and the man put by. The priſoners not thinking it convenient to make more exceptions, the jury were ſworn, then two witneſſes were called, who teſtified at moſt, that in ſuch a place they took ſuch perſons met together, whoſe names were ſpecified in writing. Then the priſoners bid the jury, 'Take heed how they did ſport 'or dally with holy things, and that thoſe things, which con- 'cerned the conſcience, were holy things. And as a man was not 'to ſport with the health or illneſs of his neighbour, ſo he was 'not to ſport with the liberty or the baniſhment of his neighbour. 'And whereas they were accuſed of being wicked, dangerous, 'and ſeditious ſectaries, that was not true; for they were not 'wicked, but ſuch as endeavoured to live ſoberly, righteouſly, 'and godly in the world; concerning the truth of which, they 'appealed

Some dilatory in their anſwer, ſent back to priſon.

Others plead 'not guilty.'

The priſoners caution to the jury.

'appealed to the mſelves. Neither were they ſeditious, but peace- 1662.
'able. And whereas they were charged for not coming to hear 'the Common-prayer, this was incongruous; for the Service-'Book was not quite printed ſeveral weeks after the ſaid 29th of 'June; ſo that they could not be charged of neglecting to hear 'that which was not to be heard read any where.' This puzzled the court not a little; and other pinching reaſons were alſo given by the priſoners, ſome of which were men of learning; inſomuch that the judge was not able to anſwer the objections but by ſhifts and evaſions. At length the jury went out to conſult, and one of them was heard to ſay, as they were going up ſtairs, 'Here is 'a deal to do indeed, to condemn a company of innocent men.'

After ſome time the jury coming again, and being aſked, 'whether the priſoners at the bar were guilty or not guilty,' they ſaid, 'they were guilty in part, and not guilty in part.' But this verdict did not pleaſe the judge. The jury then going out again, and prevailing upon one another, quickly returned, and declared the priſoners 'guilty, according to the form of the in-'dictment.' Hereupon the judge Onſlow pronounced ſentence, viz. 'That they ſhould return to priſon again, and lie there three 'months without bail; and if they did not make ſubmiſſion, ac-'cording as the law directed, either at, or before the end of the 'aforeſaid three months, that then they ſhould abjure the realm: 'but in caſe they refuſed to make abjuration, or after abjura-'tion made, ſhould forbear to depart the realm within the time 'limited, or ſhould return again without licenſe, they ſhould be 'proceeded againſt as felons.'

They are brought in guilty by the jury, after twice going out.

The ſentence.

Juſt before ſentence given, the judge ſaid to one of the priſoners, 'there was a way to eſcape the penalty, viz. ſubmiſſion.' And being aſked, 'what that was?' the judge anſwered, 'to come 'to Common-prayer, and refrain theſe meetings.' The priſoners giving reaſons for refuſal of both, the judge ſaid, 'then you muſt 'abjure the land.' 'Abjure,' returned the priſoners, 'is forſwear.' To which one of the juſtices ſaid laughingly, 'And ye cannot 'ſwear at all.' Juſt as if it were but jeſt, thus to treat religious men. But they had ſignified already to the jury, that 'they muſt 'rather die than do ſo.' How long they were kept priſoners, and how releaſed, I could not learn; but this I know, that many in the like caſes have been long kept in gaol, till ſometimes they were ſet at liberty by the king's proclamation.

In this year it was the ſhare of John Crook (who himſelf once had been a juſtice) to be taken out of a meeting at London in John's-ſtreet, as hath been ſaid already, by one Miller, though not in office. And he with others was brought to his trial in the ſaid city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder of the ſame, the chief juſtice Forſter, and other judges and juſtices, among whom was alſo Richard Brown.

Trial of J. Crook.

Now ſince J. Crook publiſhed this trial in print, and by that we may judge, as ex ungue leonem, of other trials of the Quakers, I'll give it here at large.

J. Crook being brought to the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey, with two of his friends, viz. Iſaac Gray, doctor of phyſick, and

John

1662. John Bolton, goldſmith: one of the priſoners was called to the bar, and then aſked by the

Chief Judge: "What meeting was that you were at?"

Priſoner. 'I deſire to be heard, where is my accuſer?'

C. Judge. "Your tongue is not your own, and you muſt not have liberty to ſpeak what you liſt."

Priſ. 'I ſpeak in the preſence and fear of the everlaſting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure, and not to ſpeak my own words; and therefore I deſire to be heard: I have been ſo long in priſon'——Then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. "Leave your canting;" and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly by the gaoler. This was the ſubſtance of what the priſoner aforeſaid ſpoke the firſt time.

C. Judge. "Call John Crook to the bar;" which the cryer did accordingly, he being amongſt the felons as aforeſaid.

John Crook being brought to the bar:

C. Judge. "When did you take the oath of allegiance?"

J. C. 'I deſire to be heard.'

C. Judge. "Anſwer to the queſtion, and you ſhall be heard."

J. C. 'I have been about ſix weeks in priſon, and am now called to accuſe myſelf? for the anſwering to this queſtion in the negative, is to accuſe myſelf, which you ought not to put me upon; for, 'Nemo debet ſeipſum prodere.' I am an Engliſhman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſſeized of my freehold, nor called in queſtion, nor put to anſwer, but according to the law of the land; which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day; (or words to this purpoſe.) I ſtand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do deſire that my accuſer may be brought forth to accuſe me for my delinquency, and then I ſhall anſwer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.'

C. Judge. "You are demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you ſhall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it to any man."

J. C. 'Not to me upon this occaſion, in this place; for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuſe myſelf; for I am an Engliſhman, as I have ſaid to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Engliſhman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is preſerved; and this is ſeen in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. 1. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I deſire the benefit and obſervance of them: and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my council, and not my accuſers, but to inform me of the benefit of thoſe laws; and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not ſuffer through my own ignorance of thoſe advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Engliſhman.

Reader, I. here give thee a brief account of my taking and impriſoning, that thou mayſt the better judge what juſtice I had from the court aforeſaid; which is as followeth: I being

1662.

I being in John's-ſtreet, London, about the thirteenth day of the third month (called May) with ſome other of the people of God, to wait upon him, as we were ſat together, there came in a rude man (called Miller) with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with ſome others, beating ſome, and commanding the conſtables, who came in after him, but having no warrant, were not willing to meddle, but as his threatenings prevailed, they being afraid of him, joined with him to carry ſeveral of us before juſtice Powel (ſo called) who the next day ſent us to the ſeſſions at Hicks's-Hall; where, after ſome diſcourſe ſeveral times with them, we manifeſted to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon; yet notwithſtanding, they committed me and others, and cauſed an indictment to be drawn againſt us, founded upon the late act againſt Quakers and others, and then remanded us to New-Priſon, where we continued for ſome days, and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the ſeſſions in the Old-Bailey aforeſaid: whereby thou mayeſt underſtand what juſtice I met withal, by what went before, and now further follows.

C. Judge. "We ſit here to do juſtice, and are upon our oaths; and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore, ſirrah, you are too bold."

J. Crook. 'Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge; for I am no felon; neither ought you to menace the priſoner at the bar: for I ſtand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preſervation of my wife and children, and outward eſtate, [they being now at the ſtake] therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can ſay in my own defence, according to law, and that in its ſeaſon, as it is given me to ſpeak: therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to aſſert my liberty, as an Engliſhman, and as a chriſtian; and if I ſpeak loud, it is my zeal for the truth, and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold'—

Judge. "It is an evil zeal;" interrupting J. Crook.

J. C. 'No, I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlaſting Jehovah, to aſſert the truth, and ſtand as a witneſs for it: let my accuſer be brought forth, and I am ready to anſwer any court of juſtice.'—

Then the judge interrupted me, ſaying, "ſirrah," with ſome other words I do not remember? but I anſwered, 'you are not to threaten me, neither are thoſe menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the ſafety of the priſoner ſtands upon the indifferency of the court: and you ought not to behave yourſelves as parties, ſeeking all advantages againſt the priſoner, but not heeding any thing that may make for his clearing or advantage.'—The judge again interrupted me, ſaying,

Judge. "Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it you;" (bidding, read it.)

J. C. 'Let me ſee mine accuſer, that I may know for what cauſe I have been ſix weeks impriſoned, and do not put me to accuſe myſelf by aſking me queſtions; but either let my accuſer come forth, or otherwiſe let me be diſcharged by proclamation, as you ought to do'—Here I was interrupted again.

1662. Judge Twiſden. " We take no notice of your being here otherwiſe than of a ſtraggler, or as any other perſon, or of the people that are here this day ; for we may tender the oath to any man." And another judge ſpake to the like purpoſe.

J. C. ' I am here at your bar as a priſoner reſtrained of my liberty, and do queſtion whether you ought in juſtice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, becauſe I am ſuppoſed to be an offender ; or elſe why have I been ſix weeks in priſon already ? let me be cleared of my impriſonment, and then I ſhall anſwer to what is charged againſt me, and to the queſtion now propounded ; for I am a lover of juſtice with all my ſoul, and am well known by my neighbours where I have lived, *to keep a conſcience void of offence, both towards God, and towards man.*'

Judge. " Sirrah, leave your canting."

J. C. ' Is this canting, to ſpeak the words of the ſcripture ?'

Judge. " It is canting in your mouth, tho' they are Paul's words."

J. C. ' I ſpeak the words of the ſcripture, and it is not canting, though I ſpeak them ; but they are words of truth and ſoberneſs in my mouth, they being witneſſed by me, and fulfilled in me.'

Judge. " We do aſk you again, whether you will take the oath of allegiance ? it is but a ſhort queſtion, you may anſwer if you will."

J. C. ' By what law have you power to tender it ?' Then, after ſome conſultation together by whiſpering, they called for the ſtatute-book, and turning over the leaves, they anſwered,

Judge. " By the third of king James."

J. C. ' I deſire that ſtatute may be read ; for I have conſulted it, and do not underſtand that you have power by that ſtatute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occaſion, as a delinquent already ; and therefore I deſire the judgment of the court in this caſe, and that the ſtatute may be read.'

Judge. [Then they took the ſtatute-book, and conſulted together upon it, and one ſaid] " We are the judges of this land, and do better underſtand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it."

J. C. ' Is this the judgment of the court ?'

Judge. " Yes."

J. C. ' I deſire the ſtatute to be read that impowers you to tender the oath to me upon this occaſion in this place ; for, ' Vox ' audita perit, ſed litera ſcripta manet,' therefore let me hear it read.'

Judge. " Hear me."

J. C. ' I am as willing to hear as to ſpeak.'

Judge. " Then hear me : you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in caſe you refuſe ; for your firſt denial ſhall be recorded, and then it ſhall be tendered to you again at the end of the ſeſſions ; and upon the ſecond refuſal you run into a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your eſtate, if you have any, and impriſonment."

J. C. ' It is juſtice I ſtand for ; let me have juſtice, in bringing my accuſer face to face, as by law you ought to do, I ſtanding at your bar as a delinquent ; and when that is done, I will anſwer to what can be charged againſt me, as alſo to the queſtion ; until then I ſhall give no other anſwer than I have already done, (at leaſt at preſent.')

Then

Then there was a cry in the court, ‘ take him away,’ which occaſioned a great interruption: and J. Crook ſpake to this purpoſe, ſaying, ‘ Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do juſtice; and take heed of oppreſſing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will aſſuredly plead their cauſe: and for my part, I deſire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads; but let God's wiſdom guide you.’ Theſe words he ſpake at the bar, and as he was carrying away. 1662.

On the ſixth day of the week, in the forenoon following, the court being ſat, John Crook was called to the bar.

Chief Judge. “ Friend Crook, we have given you time to conſider of what was ſaid yeſterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better conſidered of it by this time; therefore without any more words, will you take the oath?” and called to the clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. ‘ I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do deſire to know the cauſe of my ſo long impriſonment; for, as I ſaid, I ſtand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law; therefore let me ſee my accuſer, or elſe free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuſe me: for the law is grounded upon right reaſon, and whatſoever is contrary to right reaſon, is contrary to law; and therefore if no accuſer appear, you ought to acquit me firſt, and then I ſhall anſwer, as I have ſaid, if any new matter appear; otherwiſe it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought not to take notice of my ſo being before you; for what is not legally ſo, is not ſo; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I was not before you: and therefore it cannot be ſuppoſed, in right reaſon, that you have now power, at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.’

Judge. “ Read the oath to him;” and ſo the clerk began to read.

J. C. ‘ I deſire juſtice, according to the laws of England; for you ought firſt to convict me, concerning the cauſe of my ſo long impriſonment: for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws, for you ought to be miniſters of the law.

Judge. “ You are a ſaucy and an impudent fellow: will you tell us what is law, or our duties?” then ſaid he to the clerk, “ read on;” and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. Said, ‘ Read the preface to the act; I ſay again, read the title and preamble to the act; for titles to laws are ‘ claves legum,’ as keys to open the law; for by their titles laws are underſtood and known, as men by their faces.’ Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I ſaid as followeth: ‘ If you will not hear me, nor do me juſtice, I muſt appeal to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we muſt all appear, to give an account for the deeds done in the body; for he will judge between you and me this day, whether you have done me juſtice or not.’

Theſe words following (or the like) I ſpake, as going from the bar, being pulled away, viz. ‘ Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you

1662. you may do juſtice, leſt you periſh in his wrath.' For ſometimes the court cried, 'Pull him away,' and then ſaid, 'Bring him 'again;' and thus they did ſeveral times, like men in confuſion and diſorder.'

The ſame day, in the afternoon, ſilence being made, John Crook was called to the bar, before the judges and juſtices aforeſaid: the indictment being read, the judge ſaid,

"Mr. Crook, you have heard your indictment, what ſay you? are you guilty, or not guilty?"

J. C. 'I deſire to ſpeak a few words in humility and ſoberneſs, in regard my eſtate and liberty lie at ſtake, and I am like to be a precedent for many more; therefore I hope the court will not deny me the right and benefit of the law, as being an Engliſhman: I have ſome reaſon, before I ſpeak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I deſire to know mine accuſers; I have been kept theſe ſix weeks in priſon, and know not, nor have ſeen the faces of them.'

Judge. "We ſhall afford you the right of the law, as an Engliſhman. God forbid you ſhould be denied it; but you muſt anſwer firſt, Guilty, or not guilty, that ſo in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading; but if you go on as you do, and will not anſwer guilty, or not guilty, you will run yourſelf into a premunire, and then you loſe the benefit of the law, and expoſe yourſelf body and eſtate, to great hazards; and whatever violence is offered to your perſon or eſtate, you are out of the king's protection, and loſe the benefit of the law; and all this by your not anſwering (guilty, or not guilty.) If you plead not guilty, you may be heard."

J. C. 'It is recorded in the ſtatutes of the 28 Edw. 3. & 3. and 42 Edw. 3. & 3. in theſe words, "No man is to be taken or impriſoned, or be put to anſwer without preſentment before juſtices, or matter of record, or by due proceſs, or writ original, according to the old law of the land: and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it ſhall be void in law, and holden for-ever." And alſo in the 25th of Edw. 1. 2. and the 3 Car. 1. and the 29th cap. Mag. Chart. "No freeman ſhall be taken and impriſoned but by the law of the land." Theſe words [the law of the land] are explained by the ſtatute of 37 Edw. 3. 8. to be without due proceſs of law; and if any judgments are given contrary to Magna Charta, they are void, 25 Edw. 1. 2.'

Judge. "Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not underſtand the law, though you adore the ſtatute-law ſo much, yet you do not underſtand it."

J. C. 'I would have you tell me the right way.'

Judge. "Mr. Crook, hear me: you muſt ſay, guilty, or not guilty; if you plead not guilty, you ſhall be heard, and know how far the law favours you. And the next thing is, there is no circumſtance whatſoever, that is the cauſe of your impriſonment, that you queſtion, but you have, as a ſubject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and wave other things, and anſwer guilty, or not guilty; and what the law affords you, you ſhall have, if you do what the law requires you; or elſe you

will

will loſe the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection." 1662.

J. C. 'Obſerve how the judge would draw me into a ſnare, viz. by firſt pleading, guilty, or not guilty, and when I have done ſo, he and his brethren intend ſuddenly to put me (as an out-lawed perſon) out of the king's protection; and how then can I have remedy for my falſe impriſonment? therefore firſt clear me, (or condemn me,) from my falſe impriſonment, while I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not to out-law me for an offence created by yourſelves; and then, to ſtop my mouth, you tell me, that "if I have been wronged, or falſe impriſoned, I may "have my remedy afterwards:" this is to trepan me, and contrary to both law and juſtice,' &c.

Judge. "You muſt plead guilty, or not guilty."

J. C. 'I do deſire in humility and meekneſs to ſay, I ſhall not; I dare not betray the honeſty of my cauſe, and the honeſt ones of this nation, whoſe liberty I ſtand for, as well as my own; as I have cauſe to think I ſhall, if I plead to the preſent indictment, before I ſee the faces of my accuſers: for truly, I am not ſatisfied in my judgment and conſcience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be firſt acquitted of the cauſe of my being brought priſoner to your bar; and therefore it ſticks with me to urge this further, viz. that I may ſee my accuſers.'——Interruption.

Judge. "The erranteſt thief may ſay, he is not ſatisfied in his conſcience."

J. C. 'My caſe is not theirs, yet they have their accuſers; and may not I call for mine? and therefore call for them, for you ought to do ſo; as Chriſt ſaid to the woman, *Woman, where are thine accuſers?* So you ought to ſay to me, "Man, where are "thine accuſers?"——Interrupted.

Judge. "Your indictment is your accuſer, and the grand jury have found you guilty, becauſe you did not ſwear: what ſay you, Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? if you will not anſwer, or what you have ſaid, be taken for your anſwer, as I told you before, you loſe the benefit of the law; and what I tell you is for your good."

J. C. 'What is for good, I hope I ſhall take it ſo.'

Judge. "If you will not anſwer, you run yourſelf into a præmunire; and you will loſe the benefit of the law, and of the king's protection, unleſs you plead guilty, or not guilty."

J. C. 'I ſtand as brought forcibly and violently hither; neither had I been here but by a violent action, and that you ſhould take no notice of it, ſeems ſtrange to me; and not only ſo, but that you ſhould haſten me ſo faſt into a courſe, that I ſhould not be able any ways to help myſelf, by reaſon of your haſty and faſt proceedings againſt me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law: was ever the like known, or heard of, in a court of juſtice?'

Judge. "Friend, this is not here in queſtion, whether you are unjuſtly brought here, or not: do you queſtion that by law, but not diſable yourſelf to take advantage by the law: if brought by

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a wrong hand, you have a plea againſt them ; but you muſt firſt anſwer guilty, or not guilty."

J. C. 'How can I help myſelf, when you have out-lawed me ? therefore let proclamation be made in the court, that I was brought by force hither, and let me ſtand cleared by proclamation, as you ought to do ; for you are 'diſcernere per legem, quid ſit 'juſtum*,' and not to do what ſeems good in your own eyes'—Here I was interrupted again, but might have ſpoken juſtice Crook's words in Hambden's caſe, who ſaid, 'That we who are 'judges ſpeak upon our oaths, and therefore muſt deliver our 'judgments according to our conſciences ; and the fault will lie 'upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law:' and further ſaid, 'We that are judges muſt not give our judgments according 'to policy, or rules of ſtate, nor conveniences, but only according 'to law.'—Theſe were his words, which I might have ſpoken ; but was interrupted.

* To determine by law what is juſt.

Judge. "What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, as you ſay ; it being now tendered to you, from the time you refuſed it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refuſing, are indicted : we look not upon what you are here for, but here finding you, we tender you the oath ; and you refuſing it, your impriſonment is now juſt, and according to law." (Something omitted which I ſpoke afterwards.)

J. C. 'How came I here, if you know not ? I have told you it is force and violence, which our law altogether condemns ; and therefore I not being legally before, am not before you ; for what is not legally ſo, is not ſo ; and I not being legally brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.'

Judge. "No, no, you are miſtaken ; ſo you may ſay of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here : I tell you, a man being brought by force hither, we may tender him the oath ; and if he take it not, he may be committed to priſon ; authority hath given us the power, and the ſtatute-law hath given us authority to tender the oath to any perſon, and ſo have we tendered it to you : and for your not taking it, you are indicted by the grand jury : anſwer the accuſation, or confute the indictment ; you muſt do the one or the other ; anſwer, guilty, or not guilty."

Here I was interrupted, but might have ſaid, That the people who were ſpectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them ; becauſe it is their liberty and privilege, as they are Engliſhmen, and the law of England allows the ſame ; ſo that they are not to be termed gazers upon this account, but are legally in that place, to hear trials, and ſee juſtice done, and might have ſpoken, if occaſion had been, any thing in the priſoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court muſt have heard them or him : and this 'as a ſtander-by, or amicus curiæ ;' ſo ſaith Coke.

J. C. 'The law is built upon right reaſon, or right reaſon is the law ; and whatever is contrary to right reaſon, is contrary to law ; the reaſon of the law, being the law itſelf. I am no lawyer, and my knowledge of it is but little, yet I have had a love to it for that

reaſon

reaſon I have found in it, and have ſpent ſome leiſure hours in the reading thereof; and the law is that which I honour, and is good in its place; many laws being juſt and good (not all) but, I ſay, a great part of them, or much of them; and it is not my intention in the leaſt to diſparage, or derogate from them.' 1662.

Judge. "Mr. Crook, you have been told, you muſt plead guilty, or not guilty, or elſe you run yourſelf into a premunire; be not your own enemy, nor be ſo obſtinate."

J. C. 'I would not ſtand obſtinately before you, neither am I ſo; if you underſtand it otherwiſe, it is a miſtake indeed.'

Judge. "Will you ſpeak to the indictment, and then you may plead? If you will not anſwer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment ſhall go againſt you. Clerk enter him."

Recorder. "Mr. Crook, if you will anſwer, you may plead for yourſelf; or will you take the oath? The court takes no notice how you came hither: what ſay you? will you anſwer? for a man may be brought out of Smithfield by head and ſhoulders, and the oath tendered to him, and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here."

J. C. 'That kind of proceeding is not only unjuſt, but unreaſonable alſo——(here was ſome interruption) and againſt the laws aforeſaid, which ſay, 'No man ſhall be taken or impriſoned, but 'by warrant, or due proceſs of law:' ſo that this ſpeech of the recorder's, ſavours more of paſſion than juſtice; and cruelty, than due obſervance of law; for every forcible reſtraint of a man's liberty, is an impriſonment in law. Beſides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and impriſon them, and then aſk them queſtions, the anſwering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itſelf, but againſt law, and makes one evil act the ground of another; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another; and this is my caſe this day'——Interruption.

Judge. "Mr. Crook, you muſt not be your own judge, we are your judges; but for our parts we will not wrong you: will you anſwer guilty, or not guilty? if not, you will run yourſelf into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow; for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath."

J. C. 'Then it ſeems you make the law a trepan to enſnare me, or as a noſe of wax, or what you pleaſe: well! I ſhall leave my cauſe with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteouſneſs. But ſuppoſe I do take the oath [now] at this time, you may call me again [to-morrow] and make a new tender; or others may call me before them.'

Judge. "Yes, if there be new matter; or if there fall out any emergent occaſion, whereby you may miniſter on your part new occaſion: Mr. Crook, will you ſwear?"

J. C. 'If I do take it to day, it may be tendered me again to-morrow, and ſo next day, 'ad infinitum,' whereby a great part of my time may be ſpent and taken up, in taking the oath and ſwearing.'

C. Judge. "When you have once ſworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you miniſter occaſion on your part."

J. C.

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J. C. 'Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath once taken by me is ſufficient, and ought not to be tendered a ſecond time, without new matter miniſtered on my part?'

Judge. "Yes, you making it appear you have once taken it."

J. C. 'Is this the judgment of the whole court? for I would not do any thing raſhly.'

Judges. "Yes, it is the judgment of the court;" to which they all ſtanding up, ſaid, "Yes."

J. C. Then it ſeems there muſt be ſome new occaſion miniſtered by me after I have once taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the ſecond time.'

Judges. "Yes."

J. C. 'Then by the judgment of this court, if I may make it appear that I have taken the oath, once and I have miniſtered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be juſtly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered me the ſecond time: but I am the man that have taken it, once being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free; witneſs the records in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part; if there do, let me know it; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender me it the ſecond time; for, 'De non apparentibus, & non exiſtentibus eadem ratio eſt,'——Interrupted by the ſhout of the court, when theſe laſt words might have been ſpoken.

Judge. "Mr. Crook, you are miſtaken, you muſt not think to ſurprize the court with criticiſms, nor draw falſe concluſions from our judgments."

J. C. 'If this be not a natural concluſion from the judgment of the court, let right reaſon judge; and if you recede from your own judgments in the ſame breath (as it were) given even now, what juſtice can I expect from you? for, if you will not be juſt to yourſelves, and your own judgments, how can I expect you ſhould be juſt to me?'

Judge. "Mr. Crook, if you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again; as for inſtance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again; there be many that have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years ſince, yet this new emergency requires it again; and although you have taken it, yet you muſt not make it appear before you anſwer guilty, or not guilty; therefore do not wrong yourſelf, and prejudice yourſelf and family: do you think that every fellow that comes hither, ſhall argue as you do? we have no more to do, but to know of you, whether you will anſwer guilty, or not guilty, or take the oath, and then you ſhall be freed from the indictment: if you will not plead, clerk, record it: what ſay you, are you guilty, or not guilty?"

J. C. 'Will you not ſtand to your own judgments? did you not ſay, even now, "that if I had once taken the oath, it ought not "to be tendered to me the ſecond time, except I adminiſtered new "matter on my part that I have not kept it,' &c. But no ſuch matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the ſecond time, by your own confeſſion, much leſs to indict me for refuſal.'

Judge.

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Judge. " If you will not plead, we will record it, and judgment ſhall be given againſt you ; therefore ſay, guilty, or not guilty, or elſe we will record it." (The clerk beginning to record it.)

J. C. ' Before I anſwer, I demand a copy of my indictment ; for I have heard it affirmed by counſel learned in the law, " that if " I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my " exceptions afterwards againſt the indictment will be made void :" therefore I deſire a copy of the indictment.'

Judge. " He that ſaid ſo, deſerves not the name of counſellor ; for the law is, you muſt firſt anſwer, and then you ſhall have a copy. Will you plead guilty, or not guilty ?"

J. C. ' If my pleading guilty, or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quaſhing the indictment for inſufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make againſt it, I ſhall ſpeak to it.'

Judge. " No, it will not. Will you anſwer guilty, or not guilty ? if you plead not, the indictment will be found againſt you : will you anſwer ? we will ſtay no longer."

J. C. ' I am upon the point : will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law ? for I am tender in that reſpect, becauſe it is not my own caſe only, but may be the caſe of thouſands more : therefore I would do nothing that might prejudice others, or myſelf, as a chriſtian, or as an Engliſhman.'

Judge. " Underſtand yourſelf, (' but we will not make a bargain ' with you,' ſaid another judge) you ſhall have the right done you as an Engliſhman, the way is to anſwer guilty, or not guilty : if you plead, and find the indictment not good, you may have your remedy : anſwer, guilty, or not guilty ?"

J. C. ' As to the indictment it is very large, and ſeems to be confuſed, and made up of ſome things true, and ſome things falſe ; my anſwer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, becauſe I make conſcience of what I ſay, and therefore, of what is true, I confeſs myſelf guilty, but what is falſe, I am not guilty of.'

Judge. " That is not ſufficient ; either anſwer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given againſt you."

J. C. ' I will ſpeak the truth, as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavoured to do : I am not guilty of that which is falſe, contained in the indictment, which is the ſubſtance thereof.'

Judge. " No more ado ; the form is nothing, guilty, or not ?"

J. C. ' I muſt not wrong my conſcience, I am not guilty of what is falſe, as I ſaid before ; what is true, I am guilty of ; what is not true, I am not guilty of that ; which is the ſubſtance thereof, as I ſaid before.

Recorder. " It is enough, and ſhall ſerve turn. Enter that clerk."

The ſeventh day of the week, called Saturday.

Silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the ſeſſions read ſomething concerning the jury, which was impannelled on purpoſe, as was ſaid ; the jury being diſcharged who were eye-witneſſes of what paſſed between us and the court : and this jury, being divers of them ſoldiers, ſome of whom did by violence and force pull and hale friends out of their meet-

1662. ings, and ſome of us out of our houſes; and theſe were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment (as I remember.)

J. C. 'I deſire to be heard a few words, which are theſe, That we may have liberty till the next quarter-ſeſſions to traverſe the indictment, it being long, and in Latin, and like to be a precedent: and I hope I need not preſs it, becauſe I underſtood that you promiſed (and eſpecially the recorder, who anſwered, when it was deſired, "You ſhall") that we ſhould have counſel alſo, the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of, as yet, the time being ſo ſhort, and we kept priſoners, that we could not go forth to adviſe with counſel, neither could we tell how to get them to us; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning; and becauſe ſo ſuddenly hurried down to the ſeſſions, we cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be provided as to matter of law to make our defence.'

Judge. "We have given you time enough, and you ſhall have no more; for we will try you at this time, therefore ſwear the jury."

J. C. 'I deſire we may have juſtice, and that we may not be ſurprized in our trial, but that we may have time till the next quarter-ſeſſions, our indictment being in Latin, and ſo large as it is; and this is but that which is reaſonable, and is the practice of other courts: for, if it be but an action above forty ſhillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter-ſeſſions, if one be indicted for a treſpaſs, if it be but to the value of five ſhillings, he ſhall have liberty to enter his traverſe, and, upon ſecurity given to proſecute, he ſhall have liberty till the next ſeſſions, which is the ordinary practice, which liberty we deſire, and we hope it is ſo reaſonable, it will not be denied, eſpecially upon this occaſion, we being like to be made a precedent: and courts of juſtice have uſed to be eſpecially careful in making of precedents; for we are not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time; and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a ſurprizal.'

Judge. "There is no great matter of law in the caſe; it is only matter of fact, whether you have refuſed to take the oath or not; that is the point in iſſue: and what law can ariſe here?"

Recorder. "Mr. Crook, the keeper of the priſon was ſpoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counſel might come to you if you would; and alſo that the clerk ſhould give you a copy of the indictment: this is fair; therefore we will go on to ſwear the jury, for the matter is, whether you refuſe the oath, or not? and that is the ſingle point, and there needs neither law nor counſel in the caſe; and therefore we conſidered of it laſt night, when we ſent you word, and did determine to try you; and therefore it is in vain to ſay any thing, for the court is reſolved to try you now; therefore ſwear the jury, cryer."

J. C. 'I hope you will not ſurprize us:' then the other priſoners (who alſo were indicted) cried out (having ſpoken ſomething before) 'Let us have juſtice, and let not the jury be ſworn till we be firſt

'heard

'heard.' So there was a great noiſe, the court being in a confuſion, ſome crying, 'take them away;' others, 'Stay, let them alone;' others ſaying, 'go on to ſwear the jury;' and the cryer in this uproar and confuſion did do ſomething as if he had done it: then we all cried out for juſtice and liberty till the next ſeſſions; the court being in a confuſion, ſome crying one thing and ſome another, which now cannot be called to mind, by reaſon of the great diſtraction that was in the court; neither what we ſaid to them, nor they to us, the noiſe was ſo great, and the commands of the court ſo various to the officers, ſome commanding them, 'to take 'us away;' others, 'to let us alone;' others, 'to bring us near-'er;' others cried, 'put them into the bail-dock;' others, 'to 'put them within the furtheſt bar where the felons uſe to ſtand;' which we were forced into accordingly. And in this hurliburly and confuſion that was amongſt them, ſome men were ſworn, to teſtify that we refuſed to take the oath, which we never poſitively did; other officers of the court, whom they would have ſworn, refuſed to ſwear, though preſſed to it by the chief juſtice; they deſired to be excuſed. Then ſpake one of the priſoners again pretty much, but could hardly be underſtood, by reaſon of the noiſe in the court; but the people, to whom he ſpake with a loud voice, by way of exhortation, might hear the ſubſtance of what he ſaid, which cannot now particularly be called to mind; but it was to expreſs the preſence and love of God to himſelf, and to exhort others to mind his fear, that they alſo might be acquainted with God,' &c. 1662.

Judge. "Stop his mouth, executioner," which was accordingly done.

Priſoners. Then we cried out, 'Will you not give us leave to ſpeak for ourſelves? we except againſt ſome of the jury, as being our enemies, and ſome of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to priſon without warrant, or other due proceſs of law; and ſhall theſe be our judges? we except againſt them.'

Judge. "It is too late now, you ſhould have done it before they had been ſworn jurymen. Jury, go together; that which you have to find, is whether they have refuſed to take the oath, or no, which hath been ſworn before you that they did refuſe: you need not go from the bar." And like words ſaid the recorder and others, there being a confuſion and noiſe in the court, many ſpeaking together.

Priſoners. Then we cried for juſtice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence before the jury gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder ſaid, we ſhould not be heard (making good by their practice, what the chief judge had ſaid the day before, viz. "That if we had liberty to ſpeak, we would make ourſelves "famous, and them odious") crying again, "Stop their mouths, "executioner;" which was done accordingly, with a dirty cloth, and alſo endeavoured to have gagged me*, ſtriving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpoſe; and ſo we were ſerved ſeveral times. Then I called out with a loud voice, 'Will you condemn us without hearing? this is to deal

* J. C.

worſe

1662. worſe with us, than Pilate did with Chriſt, who, though he condemned him without a cauſe, yet not without hearing him ſpeak for himſelf, but you deny us both.'

Judge. "Let Mr. Gray come to the bar." Room being made, he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he ſpake to the court to this purpoſe, 'I deſire to know whether, according to law, and the practice of this court, myſelf and my fellow-priſoners, may have liberty to put in bail, to proſecute our traverſe at the next ſeſſions?'

Court. "No, we will try you preſently."

Judge. "Stop their mouths, executioner:" and this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being ſtill in a continued confuſion; ſome crying to the jury, "Give in your verdict, for we will not "hear them;" with other words, which could not be heard for the noiſe, the court being in confuſion.

J. C. 'You might as well have cauſed us to have been murdered before we came hither, as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence; you had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abuſed, and to have our mouths ſtopped: was ever the like known? let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me? you have often promiſed that you would.'

Judge. "Hear me, and we will hear you:" then he began to ſpeak, and ſome others of the bench interrupted him; ſometimes they ſpeaking two or three at a time, and a noiſe amongſt the officers of the court: but the judge ſaid, "We may give you liberty till the next ſeſſions, but we may chooſe; and therefore we will try you now."

J. C. 'I bad the people take notice of their promiſe, "that I "ſhould have liberty to ſpeak," ſaying, ſee now you be as good as your words.'

Judge. "The law of England is not only juſt, but merciful; and therefore you ſhall not be ſurprized, but ſhall have what juſtice the law allows"—Interruption.

J. C. 'I remember what the judge ſaid even now, "that the "law of England was a MERCIFUL law," that the court had ſaid before, "they might if they would give us liberty till the next "ſeſſions, but they would not;" and the maxim of the law alſo is, 'Summum jus, eſt ſumma injuria;' therefore I hope your practice will make it good, that it is a merciful law; and not to execute Summum jus, &c. upon me, and thereby condemn yourſelves out of your own mouths.'

Judge. "Jury, give in your verdict."

J. C. 'Let me have liberty firſt to ſpeak, it is but few words, and I hope I ſhall do it with that brevity and pertinency my underſtanding will give me leave, and the occaſion requires; it is to the point in theſe two heads, viz. 'matter of law,' and 'matter 'of conſcience:' to 'matter of law,' I have this to ſay, firſt, as to the ſtatute itſelf, it was made againſt the Papiſts, occaſioned by the gunpowder-plot, and is entitled, 'For the better diſcovery 'and ſuppreſſing of popiſh recuſants:' but they have liberty, and we are diſtroyed, what in you lies.'—Interrupted by the judges,

and

and diſturbance of the court.) As to conſcience, I have ſomething to ſay, and that is, it is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it; and therefore we dare not break Chriſt's commands, who hath ſaid, *Swear not at all;* and the apoſtle James ſaid, *Above all things my brethren ſwear not.*—Interrupted. The court calling again to the executioner to "ſtop my "mouth;" which he did accordingly, with his dirty cloth as aforeſaid, and his gag in his hand. 1662.

Judge. "Hear the jury;" who ſaid ſomething to him, which was ſuppoſed to give in the verdict, according to his order; for they were fit for his purpoſe, as it ſeems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had ſpoke any thing to them, only upon his words.

Judge. "Cryer, make ſilence in the court:" then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purpoſe, viz. "The jury for the king do find, that John Crook, John Bolton, and Iſaac Gray, are guilty of refuſing to take the oath of allegiance; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real eſtates during life, and your perſonal eſtates for-ever; and you to be out of the king's protection, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure: and this is your ſentence."

J. C. 'But we are ſtill under God's protection.'

Then the priſoners were remanded to Newgate, where J. Crook found opportunity to make a narrative of the whole trial, which was printed as aforeſaid, together with the Latin indictment, in which he ſhewed ſeveral errors, either by wrong expreſſions, or by omiſſions. Thus the injuſtice of theſe arbitrary proceedings were expoſed to publick view, when this trial appeared in print; that the king himſelf might ſee thereby, how ill his ſubjects were treated. But at that time there were ſo many among the great ones and biſhops, who were inclined to promote the extirpation of the Quakers, that there ſeemed no human help. J. Crook ſhewed alſo circumſtantially, how in many caſes of the trial, they had acted againſt law; for he himſelf having formerly been a juſtice, knew well enough how, and after what manner, juſtice ought to be adminiſtred and maintained. How long he continued priſoner, I can't tell. But by this trial alone the reader may ſee, how the Quakers, ſo called, were treated in regard of the oath; and ſuch kind of proceeding was the lot of many of them, becauſe the intent of thoſe in authority ſeemed to be to ſuppreſs them quite.

Now follows a copy of the indictment, with ſome notes and obſervations on the ſame; whereby it may appear, how falſe it is, and how eaſily it might have been quaſhed for inſufficiency, had we been allowed time, (which by law they ought to have granted) and been ſuffered to have made our own defence; but that they would not do, but ſtopped our mouths, as before is ſaid, by the hands of the executioner, to prevent what otherwiſe (as the judge ſaid) might have come to paſs, viz. 'by having liberty to 'make our defence,' by that means 'we ſhould make ourſelves 'famous, and them odious.'

1662.

Copy of the Latin indictment.

London Sess. JUR. pro. dno. rege ſuper ſacra. ſuu. preſentant qd. ad general. quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis dni. regis tent. pro civitat. London. apud guihald. ejuſdem civitat. die mercurij ſcilt. viceſimo quinto die junij anno regni dni. n'ri. Caroli ſc'di dei gra. Angliæ, Scot' Franc' & Hiberniæ regis fidei defenſor. &c. quarto decimo, coram Joh. Frederick milite major civitat. London. Thoma Adams milite & baronet, Rico' Browne milite & baronet, & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac al. ſociis ſuis juſtic. dci. d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conſervand. necnon ad diver's felon. tranſgr. & al. malef'ca infra eandem civitat. perpretrat. audiend. & terminand. aſſign. ſeſſio. iſta pacis adjornat. fuit. per præfat. juſtic. dc'id'ni regis ib'm uſq ; diem jovis ſcilt. viceſim. ſext. diem ejuſdem menſis Junij anno ſupradicto ad horam ſeptimam ante merid. ejuſtdem diei apud juſticehall in le Old Baily in paroch. ſci. Sepulchri in warda de Farringdon extra London-præd. tenend. coram præfat. juſtic. & al. ſociis ſuis ad faciend. ulterius prout. cur. con. &c. ac ad eundem diem jovis viceſimum ſextum diem Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto general. quarteral. ſeſſio iſta pacis tent. fuit pro civitat. London. præd. per adjornament. præd. aput juſticehall præd. in paroch & ward. præd. coram præfat. Johe Federick milite majore civitat. London, Thoma Adams milite & baronet Ricardo Browne milite & baronet, & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac Willo Wilde milite & baronet, uno ſcrivien. dc'i deni regis ad legem ac recordator. civitat. præd. ac al. ſociis ſuis juſtic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conſervand. necnon ad divers. felon. tranſgr. & al malefa. infra eandem civitat. prepetrat. audiend. & terminand. aſſign. ac adtunc & ibm. præd. general. quarterial. ſeſſio pacis præd. ulterious adjornat. fuit per præfat. juſtic. uſque diem veneris ſcilt. viceſim. ſeptem diem. dci. menſis Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto, ad horam ſeptimam ante merid. ejuſdem diei apud juſticehall præd. in parochia & warda præd. tenend. coram præft. juſtic. & al. ſociis ſuis ad faciend. ulterius. prout cur. con. ac ſuperiende ad iſtam eandem general. quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis tent. pro civitat. London. per adjornament. præd. apud juſticehall præd. in paroch. & warda præd. dco die veneris viceſimo ſeptimo die Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto, coram præfat Johe Frederick milite majore civitat. London' Thoma Adams milite & baronet, Rico Brown milite & baronet, * Rico Chiverton armigero, & Thoma Aleyn milite & baronet, aldr'is d'ce civitat. ac Willo Wilde milite & baronet. uno ſcriven. dci. d'ni regis ad legem ac recordator. ejuſdem civita. ac al ſociis ſuis juſtic. d'ci d'ni regis ad pacem in civitat. præd. conſervand. necnon ad divers. felon. tranſgr. & al. malef'ca infra eand. civitat. perpetrat. audiend. & terminand. aſſign. in aperta general. quarterial. ſeſſion. præd. præfat. juſticiar. pacis, ult noiat. exiſtentes major pars juſtic. pacis ipſius d'ni regis infra d'cam civitat. London' ad tunc ſcilt. dco. viceſimo. ſeptimo die Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradco. apud d'cam parach. ſci. Sepulchri in warda de Farringdon extra. London. præd. preſen. exiſtend. obtuler. anglice did tender Johi Crook nuper de London generoſo, Johi Bolton nuper de London. aurifabro, & Iſaac Gray nuper de London. generoſo &c eor. cuilibt ſeparatim per

* This is error, for R. C. Arm was not before named.

ſe

1662.

ſe (ad tunc exiſten. & cuilibt. eor. exiſten. ultra ætat. octodecim annor.*) jurament. content. in quodam actu in parliament. dni. Jacobi nuper regis Angliæ tent. per. Prorogationem † apud Weſtm. in com. Middleſ. quinto die Novembris anno regni ſui Angliæ Franc. & Hiberniæ tertio, & Scotiæ triceſimo nono nuper edit. & pro vis in his anglicanis verbis ſequen. viz. I * do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify and declare, in my conſcience, before God and the world, that our ſovereign lord king CHARLES the ſecond ** is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majeſty's dominions and countries: and that the pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church, or ſee of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or to diſpoſe of any of his majeſty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licenſe or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majeſty's royal perſon, ſtate or government, or to any of his majeſty's ſubjects, within his majeſty's dominions. Alſo, I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtanding any declaration, or ſentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee, againſt the ſaid king, his heirs or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their perſons, their crown and dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence or declaration, or otherwiſe; and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know, or hear of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in *my conſcience am reſolved, that neither the pope, nor any perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a chriſtian. So help me God. Ac ad prefat. juſtic. pacis ult. no'iat ** ad tunc * ſcilt. dco. viceſimo ſeptimo die Junii anno quarto decimo ſupradicto apud paroch. & ward. præd. in dca. ** quarterial. ſeſſion. pacis præd. eoſdem

Joh'em

* This is error, becauſe, it is not ſaid 'Et ſubditi d'ni regis.'

† This ſhould be prorogationes, for there was a double prorogation.

* This is error, becauſe it wants A. B.

** It ought to be with ſome expreſſion of 'mutatis mutandis,' of the name of k. Charles II. inſtead of k. James, who is only named in the act. This is error, it's not agreeable to the ſtatute; for that ſaith only k. James: and certainly the ſtat. intended no otherwiſe; for it's ſaid, for the trial of his majeſty's ſubjects, how they ſtand affected, &c. and not the ſubjects of his majeſty's heirs and ſucceſſors.

* (My) not in the ſtatute.

** 'ad pacem 'conſervand 'nec non,' &c. left out.

* '& ibidem,' is left out.

** generalis, left out.

1662. Joh'em Crooke, Joh'em Bolton, & Iſaacum Gray, & eor. quemlibt. ſeparatam per ſe requiſiver. ad jurament. illud ſuper ſacroſco. dei evangel. cæpiend. quodq; iidem Johes Crooke, Johes Bolton, & Jſaacus Gray, jurament. præd. ſic per pr. noi' at. juſtic. pacis ejuſdem Johi Crook, Johi Bolton, & Iſaaco Gray, ut præfectur oblat. & requiſit. adtunc & ibm. obſtinate & pertinaciter cape. recuſaver. & quilibt. eor. recuſavit*. In malum exemplum omniu. alior. dcti. dni regis nunc fidel. ſubdit. et in contempt. dci. dni. regis nunc legumq; ſuar. contra formam ſtatut. præd. ac contra pacem dci. dni regis nunc coron. & dignitat. ſuas, &c.

WILD.

Any Engliſhman that underſtands Latin, may, notwithſtanding the abbreviations, indifferently underſtand this indictment; but a foreigner not underſtanding Engliſh, tho' a ſcholar, will be at a loſs in many places; yet to complete my work, I thought it convenient not to omit ſuch an authentick piece.

Memorand. That in the writ of Oyer and Terminer, paſche 9. Hen. 8. upon the inſurrection in London, it was reſolved clearly by all the juſtices of England, that the juſtices of Oyer and Terminer cannot inquire one day, and the ſame day determine; no more can the juſtices of the peace, &c. But the juſtices of gaol-delivery, and juſtices in Eyre, may well do it; El. 8. Keyleway's rep. f. 159. b. pl. 2. But they do not call themſelves ſo in the indictment.

If one in his abſence be found guilty of an offence, whereby he incurs a premunire, he hath two months time allowed him, after he is outlawed, to be heard 27 Ed. 3, 1 cap. Cook upon Littl. ſect. 201. fo. 134. b. ſaith, 'That the ancient law was upon trials for felony,' &c. the defendant had fifteen days time, or more, (if he prayed it) to conſider of his anſwer.

With this agrees Britton, fo. 10 b.

Forteſcue in libro de laudib legum angliæ.

Mirror of juſtice, cap. 4. ſect. 7.

The ſtatute of 28 Edw. 1. 9. provides that inqueſts ſhall be of the next neighbours, moſt ſufficient, and leaſt ſuſpicious, upon penalty of double damages.

25 Edw. 3. cap. 3. No indictor be upon the inqueſts for felony nor treſpaſs, if challenged.

34 Edw. 3. 4. Juries to be of the next people, not to be ſuſpected or procured. With this agrees regiſt. fo. 178.

11 Hen. 4. 9. That if any indictment be made, but by inqueſt returned by the ſheriff, (without denomination to him of their names) by any but his ſworn officer, it ſhall be void.

By theſe and the like treatments, we ſee how the perſecutors endeavour to root out the Quakers, if poſſible; for the effecting of which, alderman Richard Brown did whatever he could, continually letting looſe the reins to his exorbitant malice, without regarding whether that which he was bent againſt, was really puniſhable, or not, whereof the following inſtance may ſerve for an evidence.

A

* 'Contra debitam quoadlibet eor.' Legeanciam, ought here to be inſerted; for if he be not a natural ſubject, the oath is not to be tendered to him. Immediately after the tender to J. C. J. B. and J. G. tho' they be termed, 'ſubditos dci. end. Re.'

1662.

A certain mender of old ſhoes, who belonged to the ſociety of the Quakers, was deſired by a labouring man, on a ſeventh day of the week, late at night, to mend a pair of ſhoes for him, that he might have them again in the morning, becauſe he had no other to wear. The cobbler, to accommodate the man, ſat up at work till after midnight; but the ſhoes not being finiſhed then, he went to bed, and riſing early in the morning, went to his work again as privately as he could in his chamber; but an envious neighbour informed againſt him for working on a Sunday; whereupon he was had before the ſaid Richard Brown, who committed him to Bridewell, to be there kept to hard labour. And he refuſing to beat hemp, as being fully perſuaded that he had not deſerved ſuch a puniſhment, was cruelly whipped, but he bore it with great conſtancy, and not yielding, he was turned up among thoſe of his ſociety, who were impriſoned there on a religious account.

Caſe of a Quaker, a cobbler.

As this caſe, which befel an honeſt man, was to be pitied, ſo there happened about that time, ſomething among the Quakers at London, which was facetious and ridiculous: for ſeveral of them being taken out of their religious meetings, were confined in Newgate, where in the night they lodged in a large room, having in the middle of it a great pillar, to which they faſtened their hammocks at the one end, and to the oppoſite wall on the other, quite round the room, in three ſtories high, one over another; ſo that they who lay in the upper and middle rows, were fain to go to bed firſt, being obliged to climb up to the higher, by getting into the lower: and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall-ſide, were laid beds upon the floor. Such a multitude of bedding for ſo many perſons in one room, could not but ſomewhat infect the air, and cauſe an unhealthy ſteam; ſo that ſome of the priſoners grew ſick, and one of them died. This cauſed ſome buſtle, and it was not without good reaſon, that an ancient grave citizen, having ſeen the priſoners thus crowded up, ſaid, 'This is enough 'to breed an infection among them.' And this having been told to ſir William Turner, one of the ſheriffs of London, he came into Newgate, and bidding the turnkey bring down the ſaid priſoners to him in the preſs-yard, where he was, he ordered they ſhould return to Bridewell, where they had been before.

The condition of friends confinement in Newgate.

Now among theſe was a ſhabby fellow, who, to get victuals without working, had thruſt himſelf among the Quakers, when they were taken at a meeting, on purpoſe to be ſent to priſon, and to be maintained by them. This lazy varlet was no ſmall burden to our priſoners; for whenever any victuals were brought in to them, either for their money, or ſent to them by their friends, he did not ſtick to thruſt in with his knife in hand, and make himſelf his own carver; and ſuch was his impudence, that if he ſaw the proviſion was ſhort, he would be ſure to take enough, tho' others wanted. But how burdenſome ſoever this lazy drone was to the priſoners, they could get no relief; for to whom ſhould they complain, ſince the keepers, as well as others, were for vexing and oppreſſing them? But now at length an opportunity was come to be rid of his troubleſome company. Among the priſoners was Thomas Elwood, a man of literature, and of an

A ſhabby fellow thruſt in among them, removed by means of T. Elwood.

1662. acute wit, with whom, long after, I entered into a familiar and pleaſing correſpondence by letters. The ſaid Elwood, when he had heard that they were to be ſent to Bridewell, drew near to the ſheriff, and pointing to the aforeſaid fellow, ſaid, 'that man is 'not only none of our company, but an idle diſſolute fellow, who 'hath thruſt himſelf among our friends, that he might live upon 'them; therefore I deſire we may not be troubled with him at 'Bridewell.' The ſheriff ſmiling, and ſeeing this fellow ſtanding with his hat on, and looking as demurely as he could, that the ſheriff might take him for a Quaker, called him forth, and ſaid to him, 'how came you to be in priſon?' 'I was taken at a meeting,' ſaid he. 'But what buſineſs had you there,' ſaid the ſheriff. 'I 'went to hear,' returned the fellow. 'Ay, you went upon a worſe 'deſign, it ſeems,' replied the ſheriff; 'but I'll diſappoint you,' continued he; 'for I will change your company, and ſend you 'to them that are like yourſelf.' Then calling for the turnkey, he ſaid, 'take this fellow, and put him among the felons; and 'be ſure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.' The fellow not a little aſtoniſhed at the hearing of this doom, on a ſudden parted with his quakerſhip; for off went his hat, and falling to bowing and ſcraping, he ſaid to the ſheriff, 'good your worſhip 'have pity upon me, and ſet me at liberty.' 'No, no,' ſaid the ſheriff, 'I will not ſo far diſappoint you: ſince you had a mind to be 'in priſon, in priſon you ſhall be for me.' Then bidding the turnkey once more to take him away, he had him up, and put him among the felons. After this manner this pretended Quaker was rewarded according to his deeds; and ſo the true Quakers got rid of him.

Breaking off now this jocoſe and diverting, though true narrative, I return to a ſerious relation of the ſufferings of the faithful, which cauſed the death of ſome of them; among theſe was Richard Hubberthorn, who ſome time before, as hath been related, had a conference with the king, who then promiſed him, that he and his friends ſhould not ſuffer for their opinions or religion. But now he was, in the month called June, violently haled from the meeting, bearing the name of the Bull and Mouth, and brought before alderman Richard Brown, who with his own hands pulled down his hat upon his head with ſuch violence, that he brought his head near to the ground, and then committed him to Newgate, where being thronged among others, he ſoon grew ſick, and his ſickneſs ſo increaſed, that he had hardly been two months in priſon, before he was taken away by death. Two days before his departure, being viſited by ſome of his friends, who aſked him if any thing was upon his ſpirits, he ſaid, 'That there was no need 'to diſpute matters, for he knew the ground of his ſalvation, and 'was ſatisfied for-ever in his peace with the Lord.' He alſo ſaid, 'That faith which hath wrought my ſalvation, I well know, 'and have grounded ſatisfaction in it.' In the morning before he deceaſed, one Sarah Blackberry was with him, to whom he ſaid, 'Do not ſeek to hold me, for it is too ſtrait for me, and out of 'this ſtraitneſs I muſt go; for I am wound into largeneſs, and am 'to be lifted up on high, far above all.' In this frame of mind, he departed this life, in the evening, and ſo entered with happineſs into eternity.

R. Hubberthorn taken at a meeting; abuſed by R. Brown, ſent to Newgate, and dies there.

Now

1662.

Paſſages previous to the death of E. Burrough.

Now I come alſo to the glorious exit of E. Burrough, that valiant hero, of whom mention hath often been made in this hiſtory. For ſeveral years he had been very much in London, and there preached the goſpel with piercing and powerful declarations. And that city was ſo near to him, that oftentimes, when perſecution grew hot, he ſaid to Francis Howgil his boſom-friend, 'I 'can freely go to the city of London, and lay down my life for 'a teſtimony to that truth, which I have declared through the 'power and ſpirit of God.' Being in this year at Briſtol, and thereabouts, and moved to return to London, he ſaid to many of his friends, when he took his leave of them, 'that he did not know 'he ſhould ſee their faces any more;' and therefore he exhorted them, 'to faithfulneſs and ſteadfaſtneſs, in that wherein they had 'found reſt for their ſouls.' And to ſome he ſaid, 'I am now go-'ing up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the 'goſpel, and ſuffer amongſt friends in that place.'

Not long after coming to London, and preaching in the meeting-houſe, called the Bull and Mouth, he was violently pulled down by ſome ſoldiers, and had before alderman Richard Brown, and committed to Newgate. Several weeks afterwards, being brought to the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey, he was fined by the court twenty marks, and to lie in priſon till payment. But judging this unreaſonable in a high degree, he could not bend thereto for conſcience-ſake. He was kept there in priſon about eight months, with ſix or ſeven ſcore priſoners beſides, upon the ſame account. But they being ſo crowded, that for want of room their natures were ſuffocated, many grew ſick and died, of which number he was one. And though a ſpecial order from the king, was ſent to the ſheriffs of London, for his and ſome other priſoners releaſe, yet ſuch was the enmity of ſome of the city magiſtrates, eſpecially Brown, that they did what was in their power to prevent the execution of the ſaid order. And thus E. Burrough continued priſoner, though his ſickneſs increaſed. During the time of his weakneſs, he was very fervent in prayer, as well for his friends as for himſelf; and many conſolatory and glorious expreſſions proceeded from his mouth. Once he was heard to ſay, 'I have 'had the teſtimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth; 'and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I 'have preached the goſpel freely in this city, and have often 'given up my life for the goſpel's-ſake; and now, O Lord, rip 'open my heart, and ſee if it be not right before thee.' Another time he ſaid, 'There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the pre-'ſence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel juſtifies me.' Another day he was thus heard in prayer to God, 'Thou haſt 'loved me when I was in the womb; and I have loved thee from 'my cradle; and from my youth unto this day; and have ſerved 'thee faithfully in my generation.' And to his friends that were about him, he ſaid, 'Live in love and peace, and love one ano-'ther.' And at another time he ſaid, '*The Lord taketh the righte-'ous from the evil to come.*' And praying for his enemies and perſecutors, he ſaid, 'Lord forgive Richard Brown if he may be for-'given.' And being ſenſible that death was approaching he ſaid,

Some of his expreſſions during his weakneſs.

'Though

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'Though this body of clay muſt turn to duſt, yet I have a teſti-
'mony that I have ſerved God in my generation; and that ſpirit
'which hath lived and acted, and ruled in me, ſhall yet break forth
'in thouſands.' The morning before he departed this life (which
He died the 14th of the month called Feb. 1662. was about the latter end of this year) he ſaid, 'Now my ſoul and
'ſpirit is centred into its own being with God; and this form of
'perſon muſt return from whence it was taken;' and after a lit-
tle ſeaſon he gave up the ghoſt. This was the exit of E. Burrough,
who, in his flouriſhing years, viz. about the age of eight and
twenty, in an unmarried ſtate, changed this mortal life for an in-
corruptible, and whoſe youthful ſummer-flower was cut down in
the winter-ſeaſon, after he had very zealouſly preached the goſpel
about ten years.

His character. About the nineteenth year of his age, he firſt came to London with a publick teſtimony, and continued almoſt eight years toge-
ther to preach the word of GOD in that city, with great ſucceſs,
ſo that many came to be convinced, and great addition was
made to the church there. In his youth he ſurpaſſed others of
his age in knowledge; and though G. Croeſe, who wrote the pre-
tended hiſtory of the Quakers, calls him a 'ruſtick fellow,' yet
he was no more ſuch than the ſaid author himſelf, who is a coun-
try preacher: for he was well educated and inſtructed in that
learning which the place of his nativity, viz. the barony of
Kendal in Weſtmoreland afforded. Inſomuch, that tho' he was
not ſkilful in languages, yet he had the tongue of the learned;
and in his publick miniſtry was very fluent, and elegant in ſpeech,
even according to the judgment of learned men.

His enemies now began to rejoice, for they ſeemed to imagine
that the progreſs of that doctrine, which he ſo powerfully and
ſucceſsfully had preached, by his deceaſe would have been ſtopped
or retarded: but they made a wrong reckoning. Francis How-
gil then gave forth a kind of Epicedium, which, though in proſe,
yet was not void of poetical expreſſions, and was as followeth:

F. Howgil's teſtimony concerning him. SHALL days, or months, or years, wear out thy name, as tho' thou hadſt no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou haſt wrought through the power of him that ſeparated thee from the womb, live in gene-
rations to come? Oh yes! The children that are yet unborn, ſhall
have thee in their mouths; and thy works ſhall teſtify of thee in gene-
rations who yet have not a being, and they ſhall count thee bleſſed.
Did thy life go out as the ſnuff of a candle? Oh nay! Thou haſt
penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the juſt ſhall
live for-ever, and be had in renown among the children of men
for-ever: for thou haſt turned many to righteouſneſs, and ſhalt
ſhine as a ſtar of God in the firmament of God's power, for-ever
and ever; and they that are in that, ſhall ſee thee there, and en-
joy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more
be ſeen in mutability; yet thy life and thy ſpirit ſhall run parallel
with immortality. Oh Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn
for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having
a perfect teſtimony of thy well-being in my heart, by the ſpirit

of

of the Lord; yet thy abſence is great, and years to come ſhall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for a worſe man than thee, even for Abner, when in wrath he periſhed by the hand of Joab, without any juſt cauſe, though he was a valiant man? David lamented over Abner and ſaid, *Died Abner as a fool dieth?* Oh nay! he was betrayed of his life. Even ſo haſt thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppreſſor, whoſe habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my ſoul, come not thou within their ſecret, for thy blood ſhall be required at the hands of them who thirſted after thy life; and it ſhall cry as Abel's, who was in the faith; even ſo wert thou; it ſhall weigh as a ponderous millſtone upon their necks, and ſhall cruſh them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth, and ſhall not die. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true ſorrow; and becauſe of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my ſubſtance is even as diſſolved. Shall I not ſay as David did of Saul and Jonathan, when they were ſlain in Mount Gilboa, *The beauty of Iſrael is ſlain upon the high places:* even ſo waſt thou ſtifled in naſty holes and priſons, and many more, who were precious in the eyes of the Lord: and ſurely precious waſt thou to me, Oh dear Edward, *I am diſtreſſed for thee my brother, very pleaſant haſt thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, paſſing the love of women: Oh thou whoſe bow never turned back, nor ſword empty from the blood of the ſlain, from the ſlaughter of the mighty:* who made nations and multitudes ſhake with the word of life in thy mouth, and was very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord; for thou didſt cut like a razor, and yet to the ſeed of God brought forth, thy words dropped like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb. Thou ſhalt be recorded amongſt the valiants of Iſrael, who attained to the firſt degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and waſt worthy of double honour, becauſe of thy works. Thou waſt expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the ſlain of the Lord have been many; many have been pricked to the heart through the power of the word of life; and coals of fire from thy life came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket and among many briars and thorns it came to be kindled, and did devour much ſtubble that cumbered the ground, and ſtained the earth. Oh how certain a ſound did thy trumpet give! and how great an alarm didſt thou give in thy day, that made the hoſt of the uncircumciſed greatly diſtreſſed! What man ſo valiant, though as Goliah of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many deſpiſed thy youth? And how have I ſeen thee with thy ſling and thy ſtone (deſpiſed weapons to war with) wound the mighty! And that which hath ſeemed contemptible to the dragon's party, even as the jaw-bone of an aſs, with it thou haſt ſlain the Philiſtines heaps upon heaps, as Sampſon. Thou haſt put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and haſt often faſtened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies, as Jael did to Siſera; and many a rough ſtone haſt thou poliſhed and ſquared, and made it fit for the buildings of God; and much knotty wood haſt thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the build-

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1662. ing of God's houſe. Oh thou prophet of the Lord; thou ſhalt for-ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witneſs for thee from the beginning, and at laſt haſt overcome, and been found worthy to ſtand with the Lamb upon Mount Sion, the hill of God, as I have often ſeen thee, and thy heart well tuned as a harp, to praiſe the Lord, and to ſound forth his great ſalvation, which many a time hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and ſtrengthened their faith and hope. Well, thou art at reſt, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, becauſe there was no cauſe of ſorrow in thee: for I know thou witneſſedſt the old things done away, and there was no curſe, but bleſſings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty ſhower, and trouble was far from thy dwelling; though in the outward man trouble on every ſide, and haſt had a greater ſhare in that, for the goſpel-ſake (though a youth in thy time) than many beſides: but now thou art freed from that, and haſt obtained a name through faith, with the ſaints in light. Well, hadſt thou more to give up than thy life for the name of JESUS in this world? Nay, and to ſeal the teſtimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou haſt often ſaid in thy day, which ſhall remain as a crown upon thee for-ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death, and from thy outward enemies, who hated thee becauſe of the love that dwelt in thee, and remaineſt at the right hand of GOD, where there is joy and pleaſure for evermore in the everlaſting light, which thou haſt often teſtified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghoſt, and art at reſt in the perfection thereof, in the *beauty of holineſs*: yet thy life and thy ſpirit I feel as preſent, and have unity with it, and in it, beyond all created and viſible things, which are ſubject to mutation and change; and thy life ſhall enter into others, to teſtify unto the ſame truth, which is from everlaſting to everlaſting; for God hath raiſed, and will raiſe up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead ſtones; his power is Almighty, great in his people in the midſt of their enemies.

With theſe ſublime expreſſions F. Howgil lamented his endeared friend E. Burrough.

The ſickneſs and death of W. Ames.

In the latter end of this year, William Ames alſo deceaſed at Amſterdam, being come from England in a weak condition, for he had ſuffered ſo much hardſhip in Bridewell in London, that his health was much impaired when he came into Holland. In his ſickneſs, which was a lingering diſeaſe, he was told, that among the Baptiſts and collegians, it was ſaid of him, 'that he had changed 'his judgment, and was grieved for having judged them wrong-'fully.' But to this he ſaid, 'it was not ſo; but that he ſtill 'judged their way of worſhip, eſpecially their diſputations and 'will-worſhip, to be out of the way of the Lord.' And in this belief he died in peace.

In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and a lover of ſuch company:

company: but being in that condition often diſquieted in his mind, he became a cloſe follower of the prieſts and teachers, and exerciſed himſelf diligently in reading the holy ſcriptures, which, though good in itſelf, yet did not bring him to true peace with God; but being of a quick underſtanding, he could talk much out of them, inſomuch, that entering into ſociety with the Baptiſts, he became a teacher among them. Now, though he was more preciſe, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of ſins, yet he found that root, from whence they ſprang, remained alive in him; for when he met with ſomething that was contrary to his own will, or mind, anger ſoon prevailed: nevertheleſs, in that ſtate he would ſpeak of juſtification, ſanctification, and cleanſing by the blood of Chriſt, though he himſelf was not come to that pure waſhing. In this ſtate he perceived that he was no true member of Chriſt, becauſe regeneration was ſtill wanting. Thus he ſaw that a high profeſſion would not avail, and that ſomething more was required to obtain a happy ſtate: but as yet he knew not what it was that thus diſquieted him, though ſometimes on the committing of any ſin, he felt ſomething that ſtruck him with terror. At length it pleaſed the Lord, that he hearing one of the Quakers, ſo called, preach, that that which convinceth man of ſin, was the light of Chriſt, which enlightens every man coming into the world; this doctrine entered ſo deep with him, that he embraced it as wholeſome; and thus walking with great circumſpection and fear before the Lord, he found that by giving diligent heed to that which inwardly reproved and condemned him of evil, he came to be delivered therefrom, and to witneſs ſanctification. And thus advancing in godlineſs, he himſelf became a zealous preacher of that doctrine, which had ſtruck him ſo to the heart. He was indeed a zealous man, and though ſome were ready to think him too zealous, yet he was diſcreet, and I know that he was condeſcending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were cuſtoms, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was alſo generous, and leſt he might ſeem to be burdenſome to any, he rather choſe to work with his hands.

1662. Something concerning his convincement and converſion.

Now I return again to the occurrences of G. Fox whom we left at London, where having ſpent ſome time, he went about the beginning of the year 1663, to Norwich, and from thence to Cambridgeſhire, where he heard of E. Burrough's deceaſe: and being ſenſible how great a grief this loſs would be to his friends, wrote the following lines to them:

1663. G. F. goes to Norwich and Cambridgeſhire, and writes a few lines on the death of E. Burrough.

FRIENDS,

BE ſtill and quiet in your own conditions, and ſettled in the ſeed of God, that doth not change; that in that ye may feel dear E. B. among you in the ſeed, in which, and by which he begot you to God, with whom he is; and that in the ſeed ye may all ſee and feel him, in which is the unity with him in the life; and to enjoy him in the life that doth not change, which is inviſible. G. F.

G. Fox afterwards travelling through ſeveral places, came again to London, where having viſited his friends in their meetings,

1663.

Afterward goes with T. Briggs to Tenterden in Kent, where they are taken into cuſtody and examined, but civilly diſmiſſed.

ings, which were numerous, he travelled with Thomas Briggs into Kent, and coming to Tenterden they had a meeting there, where many came and were convinced of the truth that was declared. But when he intended to depart with his companion, he ſaw a captain, and a company of ſoldiers, with muſkets and lighted matches; and ſome of theſe coming to them, ſaid, 'they 'muſt come to their captain.' And when they were brought before him, he aſked, 'where was G. Fox? which was he?' to which G. Fox anſwered, 'I am the man.' The captain being ſomewhat ſurpriſed, ſaid, 'I will ſecure you among the ſoldiers:' yet he carried himſelf civilly, and ſaid ſome time after, 'You muſt go 'along with me to the town;' where being come, he brought G. Fox, and T. Briggs, with ſome more of their friends, to an inn, which was the gaoler's houſe. And after a while the mayor of the town, with the ſaid captain and the lieutenant, who were juſtices, came and examined G. Fox, aſking, 'why he came 'thither to make a diſturbance?' G. Fox told them, 'he did not 'come to make a diſturbance, neither had he made any there.' They then ſaid, 'there was a law, which was againſt the Quakers 'meetings, made only againſt them.' G. Fox told them, 'he knew 'no ſuch law.' Then they produced the act that was made againſt Quakers and others. G. Fox ſeeing it, told them, 'That law 'was againſt ſuch as were a terror to the king's ſubjects, and were 'enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government; and 'therefore it was not againſt his friends, for they held truth, 'and their principles were not dangerous to the government, and 'their meetings were peaceable, as was well known.' Now it was not without good reaſon that George ſaid, he knew no ſuch law; ſince they had ſaid, there was a law made only againſt the Quakers meetings; whereas the act had the appearance of being made againſt plotters, and enemies to the king, which certainly the Quakers were not. Yet it was ſaid to G. Fox, 'he was an 'enemy to the king:' but this he denied, and told them, how he had once been caſt into Derby dungeon, about the time of Worceſter-fight, becauſe he would not take up arms againſt the king; and how afterwards he had been ſent up to London by colonel Hacker, as a plotter to bring in king Charles, and that he was kept priſoner at London till he was ſet at liberty by Oliver Cromwell. They aſked him then, 'whether he had been impri-'ſoned in the time of the inſurrection?' and he ſaid, 'Yes,' but 'that 'he was releaſed by the king's own command.' At length they demanded bond for his appearance at the ſeſſions, and would have had him 'promiſe to come thither no more.' But he refuſed the one as well as the other. Yet they behaved themſelves moderately, and told him and Thomas Briggs, and the others, 'Ye ſhall ſee we 'are civil to you; for it is the mayor's pleaſure you ſhould all be ſet 'at liberty.' To which G. Fox returned, 'their civility was noble:' and ſo they parted; and he paſſed on to many places, where he had ſingular occurrences; and though wiles were laid for him, yet ſometimes he eſcaped the hands of his perſecuting enemies.

Quakers no dangerous people.

Coming into Cornwal he found there one Joſeph Hellen, and George Bewly, who though they profeſſed truth, yet had ſuffered themſelves

themſelves to be ſeduced by Blanch Pope, a ranting woman, who had enſnared them chiefly by aſking, 'Who made the Devil, did 'not God?' This ſilly queſtion, which Hellen and Bewly were at a loſs to anſwer, they propounded to G. Fox, and he anſwered it with, 'no: for,' ſaid he, 'all that God made was good, and 'was bleſt, but ſo was not the Devil: he was called a ſerpent, be-'fore he was called a Devil, and an adverſary: and afterward he 'was called a dragon, becauſe he was a deſtroyer. The Devil 'abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he be-'came a Devil. Now there is no promiſe of God to the Devil, 'that ever he ſhall return into truth again; but to man and wo-'man, who have been deceived by him, the promiſe of God is, '*That the ſeed of the woman ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's head*, and 'break his power and ſtrength to pieces.' With this anſwer G. Fox gave ſatisfaction to his friends; but Hellen was ſo poiſoned, and run out, that they denied him; but Bewly was recovered from his fault by ſincere repentance.

1663.

G. F. comes into Cornwal, where he recovers G. Bewly, who had been ſeduced with J. Hellen, by B. Pope, a ranter.

G. Fox having performed his ſervice there, went to Helſton near Falmouth, where he had a large meeting, at which many were convinced, for he opened to the auditory, 'the ſtate of the 'church in the primitive times, and the ſtate of the church in 'the wilderneſs, as alſo the ſtate of the falſe church that was 'got up ſince:' next he ſhewed 'that the everlaſting goſpel was now 'preached again, over the head of the whore, beaſt, antichriſt, 'and the falſe prophets, which were got up ſince the apoſtles days; 'and that now the everlaſting goſpel was received and receiving, 'which brought life and immortality to light.' And this ſermon was of ſuch effect, that the people generally confeſſed, it was the everlaſting truth that had been declared there that day.

Has ſervice at Helſton.

G. Fox paſſing on, came at length to the land's end, where there was an aſſembly of his friends, and alſo a fiſherman, called Nicholas Joſe, who preached among them, having three years before been convinced there by the miniſtry of G. Fox.

And at length comes to the land's end, where N. Joſe, a fiſherman had a publick teſtimony.

Whilſt in theſe parts there happened a very diſmal and dreadful caſe.

One colonel Robinſon was, ſince the king came in, made juſtice of the peace, and became a cruel perſecutor of thoſe called Quakers, of whom he ſent many to priſon; and hearing that ſome liberty was allowed them, by the favour of the gaoler, to come home ſometimes to viſit their wives and children, he made complaint thereof to the judge at the aſſizes, againſt the gaoler, who thereupon was fined an hundred marks by judge Keeling. Not long after the aſſizes, Robinſon ſent to a neighbouring juſtice, deſiring he would go with him a fanatick hunting, (meaning the diſturbing of Quakers meetings.) On the day that he intended thus to go a hunting, he ſent his man about with his horſes, and walked himſelf to a tenement that he had, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his ſervants were then milking. Being come there, he aſked for his bull, and the maids ſaid, they had ſhut him into the field, becauſe he was unruly amongſt the kine. He then going into the field, and having formerly accuſtomed himſelf to play with the bull, he

Judge Keeling fines a gaoler on the complaint of col. Robinſon for favouring friends with ſome liberty.

1663. The dreadful judgment that fell on the ſaid Robinſon, going a fanatick hunting, as he called it.

began to fence at him with his ſtaff, as he uſed to do; but the bull ſnuffing, went a little back, and then ran fiercely at him, and ſtruck his horn into his thigh, and lifting him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly; and when he came to the ground, he broke his leg, and the bull then gored him again with his horns, and roared, and licked up his blood. One of the maid-ſervants hearing her maſter cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off; but he, without hurting her, gently put her by with his horns, and ſtill fell to goring of him and licking up his blood. Then ſhe ran and got ſome workmen that were not far off, to come and reſcue her maſter; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought maſtiff dogs to ſet on him; and then the bull fled. His ſiſter having notice of this diſaſter, came and ſaid, 'Alack, brother, what a heavy 'judgment is this!' and he anſwered, 'Ah ſiſter, it is a heavy 'judgment indeed: pray let the bull be killed, and the fleſh given 'to the poor.' So he was taken up and carried home, but ſo grievouſly wounded, that he died ſoon after; and the bull was become ſo fierce, that they were forced to kill him by ſhooting. This was the iſſue of Robinſon's miſchievous intent to go a fanatick hunting. I remember that in my youth I heard with aſtoniſhment the relation of this accident from William Caton, who by a letter from England had received intelligence of it; for the thing was ſo remarkable, that the tidings of it were ſoon ſpread afar off.

G. F. travels to Briſtol, into Wales, &c. and comes to York, whence he writes againſt plotting, &c. See Journal, page 287. Comes to Swarthmore, and goes to viſit col. Kirby, who had ſent to ſearch for him, but diſmiſſed him courteouſly.

Now I return to G. Fox, who from Cornwal travelled to Briſtol, and ſo into Wales, from whence paſſing through Warwickſhire and Derbyſhire, he came to York. Here he heard of a plot, which made him write a paper to his friends, wherein he admoniſhed them to be cautious, and not at all to meddle with ſuch buſtlings. And travelling towards Lancaſhire, he came to Swarthmore, where they told him, that colonel Kirby had ſent his lieutenant thither to ſearch for him, and that he had ſearched trunks and cheſts. G. Fox having heard this, the next day went to Kirby-Hall, where the ſaid colonel lived; and being come to him, he told him, 'I am come to viſit thee, underſtanding that thou wouldeſt 'have ſeen me; and now I would fain know what thou haſt to ſay 'to me, and whether thou haſt any thing againſt me.' The colonel who did not expect ſuch a viſit, and being then to go up to London to the parliament, ſaid before all the company, 'As I am a 'gentleman I have nothing againſt you: but Mrs. Fell muſt not 'keep great meetings at her houſe; for they meet contrary to the 'act.' G. Fox told him, 'that act does not take hold on us, but 'on ſuch as meet to plot and contrive, and to raiſe inſurrections 'againſt the king; and we are none of thoſe, but are a peaceable 'people.' After ſome words more, the colonel took G. Fox by the hand, and ſaid, 'he had nothing againſt him; and others ſaid 'he 'was a deſerving man.'

Then G. Fox parted, and returned to Swarthmore, and ſhortly after he heard, there had been a private meeting of the juſtices and deputy-lieutenants at Houlker-Hall, where juſtice Preſton lived,

lived, and that there they had iſſued a warrant to apprehend him. Now he could have gone away, and got out of their reach; but conſidering that there being a noiſe of a plot in the north, if he ſhould go away they might fall upon his friends; but if he ſtaid, and was taken, his friends might eſcape the better; he therefore gave himſelf up to be taken. Next day an officer came with his ſword and piſtols to take him: G. Fox told him, 'I knew thy er-'rand before, and have given up myſelf to be taken; for if I 'would have eſcaped impriſonment, I could have been gone forty 'miles off; but I am an innocent man, and ſo matter not what 'ye can do to me.' Then the officer aſked him, 'how he heard 'of it, ſeeing the order was made privately in a parlour.' G. Fox ſaid, 'it was no matter for that; it was ſufficient that he 'heard of it.' Then he aſked him to ſhew his order. But he laying his hand on his ſword, ſaid, 'You muſt go with me be-'fore the lieutenants, to anſwer ſuch queſtions as they ſhall pro-'pound to you.' Now though G. Fox inſiſted to ſee the order, telling him it was but civil and reaſonable to ſhew it, yet the officer would not; and then G. Fox ſaid, 'I am ready.' So he went along with him, and Margaret Fell alſo, to Houlker-Hall. Being come thither, there was one juſtice Rawlinſon, ſir George Middleton, juſtice Preſton, and ſeveral more, whom he knew not. Then they brought one Thomas Atkinſon, one of his friends, as a witneſs againſt him, for ſome words which he had told to one Knipe, who had informed againſt him; and theſe words were, 'that he had written againſt the plotters, and had knocked them 'down:' but from theſe words little could be made. Then Preſton aſked him, 'whether he had an hand in the Battledoor?' (Being a folio book already mentioned) 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox. He then aſked him, 'whether he underſtood languages?' he anſwered, 'Sufficient for myſelf.'

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The juſtices have a private meeting for his apprehenſion, which he hears of, but will not withdraw, and ſo is taken,

And examined before juſtice Rawlinſon, ſir G. Middleton, juſtice Preſton, &c. and at laſt appointed to appear again.

Preſton having ſpoken ſomething more on that ſubject, ſaid, 'Come, we will examine you of higher matters;' then ſaid George Middleton, 'You deny God, and the church, and the faith.' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox, 'I own God, and the true church, and the true 'faith; but,' aſked he, (having underſtood Middleton to be a Papiſt) 'what church doſt thou own?' The other, inſtead of anſwering this queſtion, ſaid, 'You are a rebel and a traitor.' G. Fox perceiving this Middleton to be an envious man, aſked him, 'whom he ſpoke to? or, whom he called rebel?' The other having been ſilent a while, ſaid at laſt, 'I ſpoke to you.' G. Fox then ſtriking his hand on the table, told him, 'I have ſuffered 'more than twenty ſuch as thou, or any that are here; for I have 'been caſt into Derby dungeon for ſix months together, and have 'ſuffered much becauſe I would not take up arms againſt this 'king, before Worceſter-fight: and I have been ſent up priſon-'er out of my own country by colonel Hacker to O. Cromwell, 'as a plotter to bring in king Charles. Ye talk of the king, a 'company of you; but where were ye in Oliver's days; and 'what did ye do then for the king? but I have more love to him 'for his eternal good and welfare, than any of you have.' Then they aſked him, 'whether he had heard of the plot?' and he ſaid,

'Yes.'

1663. 'Yes.' Hereupon he was aſked, 'how he had heard of it, and whom 'he knew in it?' and he anſwered, 'he had heard of it through 'the high-ſheriff of Yorkſhire, who had told Dr. Hodgſon, that 'there was a plot in the north; but that he never heard any 'thing of it in the ſouth; and that he knew none of them that 'were in it.' Then they aſked him, 'why would you write 'againſt it, if you did not know ſome that were in it.' 'My reaſon 'was,' anſwered he, 'becauſe ye are ſo forward to maſh the innocent 'and guilty together; therefore I write againſt it to clear the truth 'from ſuch things, and to ſtop all forward fooliſh ſpirits from 'running into ſuch things: and I ſent copies of it into Weſt-'moreland, Cumberland, Biſhoprick, and Yorkſhire, and to you 'here; and I ſent alſo a copy of it to the king and his council; 'and it is like it may be in print by this time.' Then ſaid one of them, 'O, this man hath great power.' 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'I have 'power to write againſt plotters.' 'But,' ſaid one of them, 'you are 'againſt the laws of the land.' 'Nay,' ſaid he, 'for I and my friends 'direct all the people to the ſpirit of God in them, to mortify the 'deeds of the fleſh: this brings them into well-doing, and from 'that which the magiſtrates ſword is againſt; which eaſes the 'magiſtrates, who are for the puniſhment of evil-doers,' &c.

Middleton now weary, as it ſeemed, of his ſpeaking, cried, 'Bring the book, and put the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy 'to him.' But G. Fox knowing him to be a Papiſt, aſked him, 'whether he, who was a ſwearer, had taken the oath of ſuprema-'cy?' for this oath tending to reject the pope's power in England, was a kind of teſt to try people whether they were Papiſts, or no; 'but as for us,' ſaid G. Fox, 'we cannot ſwear at all, becauſe Chriſt 'and his apoſtle have forbidden it.' Now ſome of theſe that ſat there, ſeeing Middleton was thus pinched, would not have had the oath put to G. Fox, but others would, becauſe this was their laſt ſnare, and they had no other way to get him into priſon; for all other things had been cleared: but this was like the Papiſts ſacrament of the altar, by which they formerly enſnared the Martyrs: and in the low countries they aſked the Baptiſts, 'whether they 'were re-baptized?' and if this appeared, then they ſaid, 'we 'don't kill you, but the emperor's decree condemns you.' So they tendered G. Fox the oath, and he refuſing to take it, they conſulted together about ſending him to gaol; but all not agreeing, he was only engaged to appear at the ſeſſions; and ſo for that time they diſmiſſed him.

The oath a ſnare to Quakers, as the popiſh ſacrament had been to proteſtants.

Then he went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmore, where colonel Weſt, who was at that time a juſtice of the peace, came to ſee him; and G. Fox aſking him, 'what he thought they would 'do with him at the ſeſſions?' he ſaid 'they would tender the oath 'to him again.' The time of the ſeſſions now approaching, G. Fox went to Lancaſter, and appeared according to his engagement, where he found upon the bench, juſtice Flemming, who in Weſt-moreland had offered five pounds to any man that would apprehend G. Fox. There were alſo the juſtices Spencer and Rawlinſon, and colonel Weſt; and a great concourſe of people in court, and when G. Fox came up to the bar, and ſtood with his hat on,

they

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G. F. appears at the ſeſſions, and being re-examined is at laſt committed for refuſing the oath.

they looked earneſtly upon him. Then proclamation being made for all, 'to keep ſilence on pain of impriſonment,' he ſaid twice, 'Peace be among you.' Then Rawlinſon, who was a chairman, ſpoke, and aſked, 'if he knew where he was?' to which he anſwered, 'Yes, I do; but it may be my hat offends you; but 'that's a low thing, that's not the honour I give to magiſtrates: 'for the true honour is from above; and I hope it is not the hat 'which ye look upon to be the honour.' To which the chairman ſaid, 'We look for the hat too. Wherein do you ſhew your reſpect 'to magiſtrates, if you don't put off your hat?' G. Fox replied, 'In coming when they call me.' They then bid one, 'take off 'his hat.' After ſome pauſe, the chairman aſked him. 'whe-'ther he knew of the plot?' to which he returned, 'that he had 'heard of it in Yorkſhire, by a friend that had it of the high 'ſheriff.' The next queſtion was, 'whether he had declared it to 'the magiſtrates?' and his anſwer was, 'I have ſent papers 'abroad againſt plots and plotters, and alſo to you, as ſoon as I 'came into the country, to take all jealouſies out of your minds 'concerning me and my friends: for it was, and is our principle 'to declare againſt ſuch things.' Then they aſked him, 'if he 'knew not of an act againſt meetings?' to which he made anſwer, 'that he knew there was an act that took hold of ſuch as met to 'the terrifying of the king's ſubjects, and were enemies to the 'king, and held dangerous principles. But I hope,' ſaid he 'ye 'do not look upon us to be ſuch men; for our meetings are not 'to terrify the king's ſubjects, neither are we enemies to him, or 'any man.'

That which followed hereupon, was the tendering of the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy to him. To which he told them, 'that he had never taken any oath in his life; and that he could 'not take any oath at all, becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtles had for-'bidden it.' Then Rawlinſon, who was a lawyer, aſked him, 'whether he held it was unlawful to ſwear?' G. Fox preſently perceived this queſtion to be put on purpoſe to enſnare him; for by a certain act 13 and 14 car. 2. cap. 1. ſuch who ſaid, 'it was 'unlawful to ſwear,' were liable to baniſhment, or to a great fine. Therefore to avoid this ſnare, he told them, 'that in the time of 'the law amongſt the Jews, before Chriſt came, the law command-'ed them to ſwear; but Chriſt who did fulfil the law in the goſ-'pel time, commands, *not to ſwear at all*, and the apoſtle James 'forbids ſwearing, even to them that were Jews, and had the law 'of God.' Now after much other diſcourſe, the gaoler was called, and G. Fox committed to priſon. He then having the paper about him which he had written againſt plots, deſired it might be read in the court: but this they would not ſuffer. Being thus committed for refuſing to ſwear, he ſaid to thoſe on the bench, and all the people, 'Take notice that I ſuffer for the doctrine of Chriſt, and 'for my obedience to his command.' Afterwards he underſtood, the juſtices ſaid, that they had private inſtructions from colonel Kirby to proſecute him, notwithſtanding his fair carriage, and ſeeming kindneſs to him before.

An enſnaring queſtion.

Leaving G. Fox in priſon, I am to ſay that the act already men-

1663. tioned, whereby a penalty was laid on all ſuch who ſhould ſay, 'It was unlawful to take an oath,' was that which extended to baniſhment, being made not long before, and expreſsly levelled againſt the Quakers, as plainly appeared by the title*. This is that act, by direction whereof the Quakers, ſo called, were afterwards baniſhed, as may be related in due time and place; and though the king himſelf was pretty good-natured, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſwayed by the inſtigations of ſome envious men, as well among the eccleſiaſticks, as among the laity, that he gave the royal aſſent thereto.

* See the ſame printed at large, in p. 384.

Whilſt G. Fox was priſoner at Lancaſter, many of his friends were alſo impriſoned, for frequenting religious meetings, refuſing to take oaths, and for not paying tithes to the prieſts: but ſince he was not brought to his trial till next year, we will leave him ſtill in gaol, and in the mean-while will take a turn to Colcheſter, where perſecution now was exceeding fierce.

Cruel and bloody perſecution at Colcheſter, W. More mayor.

In the month of October, William More, mayor of that town, came on a firſt-day of the week, and broke up the meeting of the Quakers ſo called, and committed ſome of them to priſon; the next week he did ſo again; and a week after he cauſed a party of the county-troop to come to the meeting. Theſe beat ſome, and did much miſchief to the forms, ſeats, and windows of the meeting-place. And afterward the mayor employed an old man to ſtop people from going in at the gate to the meeting-room; who told thoſe that would have entered, that the mayor had ſet him there to keep them out. Now though they knew he was no officer, nor had any warrant, yet they made no reſiſtance, but continuing in the ſtreet, thus kept their meeting in a peaceable manner, being not free for conſcience-ſake to leave off their publick worſhip of God, though in that time of the year it was cold, and often wet weather; and thus it continued many weeks, though attended with ſo much difficulty.

In the fore part of December there came about forty of the king's troopers, on horſeback, in their armour, with ſwords, carbines and piſtols, crying, 'What a devil do ye here?' and falling violently upon this harmleſs company, they beat them, ſome with ſwords, and others with carbines, without diſtinction of male or female, old or young, until many were much bruiſed, chaſing them to and fro in the ſtreets. The next firſt-day of the week theſe furious fellows came again, having now got clubs, wherewith, as well as with ſwords and carbines, they moſt grievouſly beat thoſe that were peaceably met together in the ſtreet to worſhip God. This cruel beating was ſo exceſſive, that ſome got above an hundred blows, and were beaten ſo black and blue, that their limbs loſt their natural ſtrength: one there was whom a trooper beat ſo long, till the blade of his ſword fell out of the hilt, which he that was thus beaten ſeeing, ſaid to the other, 'I will 'give it thee up again,' which he did, with theſe words, 'I deſire 'the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge.'

A remarkable inſtance of a chriſtian ſpirit.

But to avoid prolixity, I ſhall not mention all the particular miſuſages which I find to have been committed there. Theſe cruel doings continued yet ſeveral weeks, and ſome were beaten ſo violently,

lently, that their blood was ſhed in the ſtreets, and they ſunk down, and fainted away. One Edward Graunt, a man of about threeſcore and ten years of age (whoſe wife and daughters I was well acquainted with) was ſo terribly knocked down, that he outlived it but a few days. So hot was this time now, that theſe religious worſhippers, when they went to their meeting, ſeemed to go to meet death; for they could not promiſe to themſelves to return home, either whole or alive. But notwithſtanding all this, their zeal for their worſhip was ſo lively, that they durſt not ſtay at home, though human reaſoning might have adviſed them thereto. And ſome of them had been people of note in the world; among others one Giles Barnadiſton, who having ſpent ſix years in the univerſity, in the ſtudy of human literature, afterwards came to be a colonel; but in proceſs of time, having heard G. Fox the younger preach, he was ſo entirely convinced of the truth by him declared, that laying down his military command, he entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, and continuing faithful, he in time became a miniſter of the goſpel among the ſaid people; being a man of a meek ſpirit, and one whom I knew very well. This Barnadiſton did not forbear frequenting meetings, how hot ſoever the perſecution was, being fully given up to hazard his life with his friends.

1663.

E. Graunt killed.

G. Barnadiſton educated at the univerſity, and afterward made a colonel; convinced by G. F. jun. becomes a miniſter and ſufferer.

One Soloman Fromantle, a merchant, with whom I was well acquainted, was ſo grievouſly beaten, that he fell down, and loſt much of his blood in the ſtreet; and yet the barbarous troopers did not leave off beating him: his wife, a daughter of the aforeſaid Edward Graunt, fearing leſt he ſhould be killed, fell down upon him, to cover and protect him from the blows, with the hazard of her own body, as ſhe herſelf told me in the preſence of her ſaid huſband; a conjugal love and fidelity well worthy to be mentioned, and left upon record. And though ſhe then did not receive very fierce blows, yet there were ſome women whoſe lot it was to be ſorely beaten with clubs, whereinto iron ſpikes were driven; as among the reſt an aged widow, who received no leſs than twelve ſuch bloody blows on ſeveral parts of her body; and another woman was pierced in her loins with ſuch a ſpiked club. An ancient man of ſixty-five years was followed a great way by three on foot, and one on horſeback, and ſo beaten and bruiſed, that a woman, pitying this old man, ſpoke to theſe miſchievous fellows to leave off; but this ſo incenſed him that was on horſeback, that he gave her a hard blow with his ſword on the ſhoulder, with curſing and railing. This barbarity continued, till the perſecutors ſeemed to be more wearied out than the perſecuted, who ſeemed to grow valiant in theſe ſore tribulations, how grievous ſoever. A great promoter of this furious violence was capt. Turner, who drove on his troopers to act this; nay, ſuch was his malice, that once at the breaking up of a meeting, he not only gave order to beat the people, but alſo to ſpoil the doors, windows, and walls, ſo that the damage came to five and twenty pounds.

S. Fromantle, a merchant, barbarouſly beaten; his wife greatly endangers her own perſon to ſave her huſband.

Other inſtances of cruelty.

Capt. Turner a great promoter of theſe violences.

Now I could enter upon a large relation of the trial of many priſoners at Worceſter, before the judges Hide and Terril; but ſince that trial was much after the ſame manner, as that of John Crook,

Proceedings at Worceſter before the judges Hide and Terril.

1663. Crook, here before-mentioned at large, I'll but curſorily make ſome mention of it. When the priſoners, being brought to the bar, aſked, 'why they had been kept ſo long in priſon?' they were anſwered with the queſtion, 'whether they would take the 'oath of allegiance?' and endeavours were uſed to draw ſome to betray themſelves, by aſking them, 'where they had been on 'ſuch a day?' for if they had ſaid, 'at meeting,' then it would have appeared from their own mouth that they had acted contrary to the law; but they anſwered warily, 'that they were not bound 'to accuſe themſelves.' Others by evidence were charged with having been at a meeting, and when they ſaid, 'that their meet-'ings were not always for publick worſhip, but that they had 'alſo meetings to take care of widows, fatherleſs, and others that 'were indigent;' yet it was ſaid to the jury, that though there was no evidence, that there had been any preaching in the meeting, 'yet if they did but believe that the priſoners had kept a 'meeting for religious worſhip, it was ſufficient for them to ap-'prove the indictment.' And yet ſuch proceedings in other caſes would have been thought unwarrantable.

Strange advice to a jury.

E. Bourn fined for having been at a meeting. His queſtion to the judge anſwered raſhly.

One Edward Bourn being impriſoned for having been at a meeting, and afterwards brought to his trial, the oath was tendered to him. Among other words he ſpoke in defence of himſelf, he ſaid, 'Suppoſe Chriſt and his apoſtles kept a meeting here 'in this time, would this act againſt conventicles alſo take hold 'of them?' 'Yes,' ſaid the judge, 'it would;' but bethinking himſelf, he ſaid, 'I won't anſwer your queſtions: ye are no apoſ-'tles.' The concluſion was, that Bourn and ſeveral of his friends were fined each of them five pounds.

Diſtreſs made often for two or three times the value.

Now ſince thoſe that were fined thus, did not uſe to pay the fines, judging that the thing which they were fined for, was an indiſpenſable duty they owed to God, and therefore they could not pay any ſuch fine with a good conſcience; the conſequence therefore generally was impriſonment, and diſtraining of their goods, whereby ſome loſt twice, and it may be, thrice as much as the fine amounted to. Some of the priſoners made it appear, that they had been ſomewhere elſe, and not in the meeting, at the houſe of one Robert Smith, at ſuch time as the evidence declared by oath; yet becauſe they gave no ſatisfactory anſwer to the queſtion, 'whether they had not been there on that day?' they were deemed guilty. The ſaid Robert Smith was premunired: for the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, and he menaced by the judge with a premunire, he aſked, 'for whom that law [for taking the ſaid oath] was made; whether not for Papiſts?' and on ſuſpicion that ſome of that perſuaſion ſat on the bench, he aſked alſo, 'whether they, for the ſatisfaction of the people, there pre-'ſent, ought not alſo to take the oath?' But the judge waved this, telling him, 'he muſt take the oath, or elſe ſentence ſhould be pro-'nounced againſt him.' Smith aſked then, 'whether the exam-'ple of Chriſt ſhould decide the queſtion?' But the judge ſaid 'I 'am not come here to diſpute with you concerning the doctrine of 'Chriſt, but to inform you concerning the doctrine of the law.' Then Smith was led away, and afterwards, when an indictment

R. Smith premunired for refuſing the oath of allegiance, while Papiſts on the bench are not regarded.

for

for his refuſing the oath was drawn up, he was brought into the court again, and aſked, 'whether he would anſwer to the in-'dictment, or no?' and the reaſons he gave not being accepted, the judge ſaid, before Smith had done ſpeaking, 'This is your 'ſentence, and the judgment of the court. You ſhall be ſhut out 'of the king's protection, and forfeit your perſonal eſtate to the 'king for-ever, and your real eſtate during life.' To this Robert ſaid with a compoſed mind, 'The Lord hath given, and if he 'ſuffers it to be taken away, his will be done.' Thus Robert Smith ſuffered, with many more of his friends, there and elſewhere, all which I believe my life-time would not be ſufficient to deſcribe circumſtantially. 1663.

Paſſing then by the other perſecutions of this year, I will relate one remarkable caſe that happened in this year 1663, where patience triumphed very eminently over violence. But before I enter upon this narrative, it won't be amiſs to go back a little, and mention ſome ſingular caſes of the chief actor of the fact I am going to deſcribe.

Relation of T. Lurting, who of a fighting ſailor, became a peaceable chriſtian.

His name was Thomas Lurting, who formerly had been boatſwain's mate in a man of war, and often had been preſerved in imminent dangers, as once being at the Canary iſlands, under admiral Blake commander in this expedition, they ruined the admiral and vice-admiral of the Spaniſh galleons, and this being done, he with ſeven men was ſent with a pinnace to ſet three galleons in the bay on fire; which order he executed, by ſetting one of them on fire, which burnt the other two. But returning, and paſſing by a breaſt-work, they received a volley of ſmall ſhot, by which two men, cloſe to one of which Thomas ſat, were killed, and a third was ſhot in his back, but Thomas received no harm. And going out of the bay, they came within about four ſhips length of the caſtle, which had forty guns; and when they came directly over-againſt the caſtle, the guns were fired, and a ſhot cut the bolt-rope a little above Thomas's head, without hurting him. In more dangers he was eminently preſerved, but that I may not be too prolix, I will now relate, how from a fighting ſailor he became a harmleſs chriſtian.

About the Year 1654, it happened that among the ſoldiers which were in the ſhip he was in, there was one that had been at a meeting of thoſe called Quakers in Scotland, and there were two young men in the ſhip who had ſome converſe with him; but he was ſoon taken away from the ſhip. Yet theſe two young men ſeemed to be under ſome convincement; for, about ſix months after, they ſcrupled to go and hear the prieſt, and to put off their hats to the captain; by which they came to be called Quakers. Theſe two met often together in ſilence, which being ſeen by others of the ſhip, their number increaſed; but this troubled the captain exceedingly, and the prieſt grew not a little angry, and ſaid to our boatſwain, 'O Thomas, an honeſt man and a good chriſ-'tian; here is a dangerous people on board, viz. the Quakers, a 'blaſphemous people, denying the ordinances and word of God.' This made Thomas ſo furious, that in a bigoted zeal he fell to beating and abuſing theſe men, when religiouſly met together.

He beats the Quakers aboard.

1663. But this was not the way to have a quiet and ſedate mind; for the remembrance of his former deliverances ſtuck ſo cloſe upon him, that he could no more beat any of the ſaid people; and then he came to a further ſight, inſomuch that he clearly ſaw what a fellow the prieſt was: for when Thomas could no longer abuſe the ſaid people, then he was not accounted by him either an 'honeſt man or a good chriſtian.' Now being under condemnation becauſe of his outgoings, he made many promiſes to the Lord; but theſe being made in his own will, were of little effect. Yet by the grace of God it was ſhewed him, that ſince he did not perform theſe promiſes, he could not be benefitted thereby, which cauſed to him much trouble.

Is under trouble of mind.

R. Dennis has much influence upon him.

Among thoſe called Quakers in the ſhip, was one Roger Dennis, whom he entirely loved, and therefore never ſtruck him; for this man had a check on Thomas, to that degree, that looking only upon him, he durſt not touch any of thoſe which he intended to have abuſed. In this ſtate, feeling no peace in his mind, after ſome time he much deſired to be alone, the more freely to pour out his heart before the Lord; and though he then felt himſelf inwardly condemned, yet judgments became pleaſant to him, becauſe thereby his heart was tendered and broken; in which ſtate he could not forbear ſometimes to cry out, 'O Lord!' But this being obſerved by the ſhip's crew, made ſome ſay, 'he was mad.' and others, 'he was diſtracted;' and of this ſome wrote home to England. Now it fell to his ſhare to be mocked and ridiculed; but he endeavoured to be fully given up, if he might but have peace in his conſcience with God.

He is moved, but very averſe to join with the Quakers.

And being one evening alone, he was very earneſt with the Lord, to know what people he ſhould join himſelf to; and then it was plainly ſhewed him, the Quakers. But this ſo ſtartled him at that time, that he deſired of the Lord rather to die, than to live: for to join with a people whom he ſo often had been beating and abuſing, ſeemed to be harder to him than death itſelf; and by the ſubtilty of Satan he was often aſſaulted by various thoughts, to keep him off from the ſaid people. But when the Lord made him mindful of his manifold preſervations and deliverances, it mollified his heart, ſo that at length he came to this reſolution, 'Whether Quaker, or no Quaker, I am for peace with 'God.' Yet it coſt him many a bitter ſigh, and many a ſorrowful tear, before he could come to a full reſignation. But the inward reproofs of the Lord, attended with judgments, followed him ſo cloſe, that he could no longer forbear, but gave up. And then he took opportunity to diſcover his heart to his friend Roger Dennis, who ſpoke ſo to the purpoſe, that he had great ſatisfaction. But not long after temptations aſſaulted him again in this manner, 'What, to join thyſelf to ſuch a fooliſh people?' And the very thoughts of this were ſo grievous to him, that he grew even weary of his life; for thus to expoſe himſelf to ſcorn, ſeemed to him an intolerable croſs. But this ſtruggling was not the way to get peace with God. The firſt-day of the week being come, he reſolved to go to the ſmall meeting, who were now ſix in number; but it being reported that he was among the Quakers, many of the company.

Yet reſolves to do it.

He goes to their meeting.

pany left their worſhip to ſee him; and they made a great noiſe. When the worſhip was over, the captain aſked the reaſon of that noiſe; and it was told him, that Thomas was amongſt the Quakers; on which he ſent for him, there being ſeveral officers alſo preſent; but the firſt that ſpoke was the prieſt, ſaying, 'Thomas, 'I took you for a very honeſt man, and a good chriſtian, but am 'ſorry you ſhould be ſo deluded.' And the captain endeavoured to prove from the bible, the Quakers were no chriſtians. Thomas in the mean-while was ſtill and quiet; and the others ſeeing they could not prevail upon him that way, took another courſe, and ſaid, that the Quakers ſometimes came to him, ſaying, 'Do ſuch 'and ſuch a thing.' But becauſe he knew this to be altogether falſe, and ſaw how they would bear him down with lies, he was the more ſtrengthened; ſo that going to his friends, he ſaid to them, 'When I went to the captain, I was ſcarce half a Quaker; 'but by their lies and falſe reports they have made me almoſt a 'whole Quaker; or at leaſt I hope to be one.' 1663.

He continuing to meet with his friends for performing of worſhip, ſome more came to be joined to them, ſo that in leſs than ſix months after, they were twelve men and two boys, one of which was the prieſts. Now there was none aboard that would abuſe the Quakers, though much tried by the captain; for he got ſome men out of other ſhips on purpoſe to vex them: but how fiercely ſoever theſe behaved themſelves, a higher power limited them. At length there was a ſickneſs in the ſhip, which ſwept away above forty in a ſhort time; and moſt of thoſe called Quakers had the diſtemper alſo, but none died of it, though ſome were brought very low: but they took great care of one another when ſick, and whatever one had was free for all; which care being ſeen by others, made ſome of them cry upon their death-bed, 'O carry me to the Quakers, for they take great care one of 'another, and they will take ſome care of me alſo.' This viſitation in the ſhip, changed the captain ſo much, that he was very kind to Thomas, and often ſent him part of what he had. Thomas ſeeing him in ſuch a good humour, deſired of him to have the cabin he lay in before his change, which requeſt was granted; for none were willing to lie therein, becauſe they told one another it was troubled with an evil ſpirit, ſince three or four had died therein within a ſhort ſpace of time. This cabin he made uſe of alſo for a meeting-place; and the captain was now ſo well pleaſed with him, that when ſomething was to be done, he would often ſay, 'Thomas, take thy friends, and do ſuch or ſuch a 'thing:' for as yet they were not againſt fighting, and therefore no complete Quakers. And thus when Thomas and his friends were ſent out on ſome expedition, they did their work beyond his expectation. But though they were not brought off from fighting, yet when with others they annoyed their enemies, they would take none of the plunder; and in all deſperate attempts they received no hurt, though ſeveral others were killed and wounded; and they behaved themſelves ſo valiantly, that their captain would ſay to other captains, 'that he cared not if all his men 'were Quakers, for they were the hardieſt men in his ſhip.' But

They are vexed by the captain;

Who becomes more friendly.

Thomas and his friends ſucceſsful in expeditions.

though

1663. though this was a time of liberty, yet Thomas looked upon it as a fore-runner of further exerciſe; for he ſaw what was done in pretended friendſhip, was but to ſerve their own ends; and therefore he expected a time of trial would come, and ſo it did.

For being come to Leghorn, they were ordered to go to Barcelona, to take or burn a Spaniſh man of war. Their ſtation was to lie againſt a caſtle, and batter it; which they did; and one corner of the caſtle playing ſome ſhot into their ſhip, Thomas was for beating down that part: and thoſe called Quakers, fought with as much courage as any, he himſelf being ſtripped to his waiſtcoat; and going into the fore-caſtle, he levelled the guns, but ſaid, 'Fire not, till I go out to ſee where the ſhot lights, that we may 'level higher or lower: he being yet as great a fighter as any; but as he was coming out of the fore-caſtle-door, to ſee where the ſhot fell, ſuddenly it run through him, 'What if now thou killeſt 'a man?' This ſtruck him as a thunder-bolt, and he that can turn all men's hearts at his pleaſure, changed his in a minute's time to that degree, that whereas juſt before he bent all his ſtrength to kill men, he now found in himſelf no will thereto, though it were to gain the world; for he preſently perceived it was from the Lord; and then putting on his clothes he walked on the deck, as if he had not ſeen a gun fired: and being under great exerciſe of mind, ſome aſked him, 'if he was hurt.' He anſwered, 'No; 'but under ſome ſcruple of conſcience on the account of fighting,' though then he knew not that the Quakers refuſed to fight.

He becomes averſe to fighting.

When night came, they went out of the reach of the caſtle-ſhot, and he took occaſion to ſpeak with two of his friends in the ſhip, and inquired their judgment concerning fighting; but they gave little anſwer to it, but ſaid however, 'if the Lord ſent them 'well home, they would never go to it again.' To which he returned, 'that if he ſtood honeſt to that of God in his own con-'ſcience, and they came to it to-morrow, with the Lord's aſſiſt-'ance he would bear his teſtimony againſt it;' for he clearly ſaw, that foraſmuch as they had been ſuch great actors in fighting, they now muſt bear their teſtimony againſt it, and wait what would be the iſſue; ſaying with themſelves, 'The will of the Lord 'be done.' The next day they heard that ſeveral were killed on ſhore, which grieved Thomas not a little. Some time after, one of Thomas's friends went to the captain to be cleared; and he aſking 'Why?' His anſwer was, 'that he could fight no longer.' To which the captain ſaid, 'He that denies to fight in time of 'engagement, I will put my ſword in his guts.' 'Then,' ſaid the other, 'thou wilt be a manſlayer, and guilty of ſhedding blood:' for which the captain (who was a Baptiſt-preacher) beat him ſorely with his fiſt and cane; and he that had been their friend, was now become their open enemy.

They reſolve againſt it.

Some time after (about the year 1655) being at Leghorn, they were ordered to go a cruizing; and one morning ſpied a great ſhip bearing down upon them, which they ſuppoſed to be a Spaniſh man of war. Preſently orders were given to clear the ſhip for fight. Thomas then being upon the deck, ſaw plainly that a time of trial was now come, and he prayed to the Lord very earneſtly

earneſtly for ſtrength: and that which ſeemed moſt expedient to him, was to meet with his friends; which, after notice given, was done accordingly. Being all met, he told them how it was with him, and that things ſeemed very dark and cloudy, yet his hopes were, 'that the Lord would deliver him, and all ſuch as 'were of his faith;' to which he added, 'I lay not this as an in-'junction upon any one, but leave you all to the Lord.' Moreover he ſaid, 'I muſt tell you, that the captain puts great confidence in 'you; therefore let us be careful that we give no juſt occaſion; 'and all that are of my mind, let us meet in the moſt publick 'place upon the deck, in the full view of the captain, that he may 'not ſay we deceived him, in not telling him that we would not 'fight, ſo that he might have put others in our room.' 1663.

Then Thomas went upon the deck, and ſet his back againſt the geer-capſtan, and a little after turning his head, he ſaw his friends behind him; at which, though he rejoiced, yet his bowels rolled within him for them, who ſtood there as ſheep ready for the ſlaughter. Within a little time came the lieutenant, and ſaid to one of them, 'Go down to thy quarters:' to which he returned, 'I can fight no more.' The lieutenant then going to the captain, made the worſt of it, ſaying, 'Yonder the Quakers are all 'together; and I do not know but they will mutiny; and one 'ſays he cannot fight.' The captain having aſked his name, came down to him, flung his hat over-board, and taking hold of his collar, beat him with a great cane, and dragged him down to his quarters. Then he went upon the half-deck again, and called for his ſword, which his man having brought him, he drew with great fury. No ſooner was this done, but the word of the Lord, (as Thomas took it) run through him, ſaying, 'The ſword of the 'Lord is over him: and if he will have a ſacrifice, proffer it him.' And this word was ſo powerful in him, that he quivered and ſhook, though he endeavoured to ſtop it, fearing they ſhould think he was afraid; which he was not; for turning his head over his ſhoulder, he ſaid to his friend Roger, 'I muſt go to the 'captain.' To which he returned, 'Be well ſatisfied in what thou 'doeſt.' And Thomas replied, 'there was a neceſſity upon him.' Then ſeeing the captain coming on with his drawn ſword, he fixed his eye with great ſeriouſneſs upon him, and ſtepped towards him, keeping his eye upon him, (in much dread of the Lord) being carried above his furious looks. At which the captain's countenance changed pale, and he turning himſelf about, called to his man to take away his ſword, and ſo went off. Not long after, the ſhip they expected to fight withal, proved to be a Genoeſe, their friend; and before night, the captain ſent the prieſt to Thomas, to excuſe his anger, it having been in his paſſion. To which Thomas's anſwer was, 'that he had nothing but good will to 'him;' and he bad the prieſt tell the captain, 'that he muſt have 'a care of ſuch paſſions; for if he killed a man in his paſſion, 'he might ſeek for repentance, and perhaps not find it.' Thus Thomas overcame this ſtorm, and at length got ſafe home.

And refuſe to fight.

The furious captain calm of a ſudden.

Now leaving men of war, he afterwards went to ſea in a merchant-man, or trading ſhip: but then it fell to his lot ſeveral

1663. Thomas comes home safe, then goes in a merchant-ship, and being often pressed into the king's service, meets with many troubles.

times to be pressed into the king's service, and being carried into a man of war, he suffered very much. Once he fasted five days, taking only at times a draught of water; for he could easily guess, that if he had eaten of their victuals, it would have gone the harder with him, since he scrupled to do any ship-work, tho' it did not belong to fighting; for he judged all this to be assistance to those whose business it was to fight; and that therefore in such a ship he could do nothing, whatever it was, but it was being helpful and assisting.

In this condition he met with several rude occurrences for some years together. Being once at Harwich, hard at work in a ship, heaving out corn in a lighter, he was pressed; but one of the men saying, 'that he was a Quaker,' the captain, who with his boat was come aboard, said in a scoffing manner to him, 'Thou art no 'Quaker; for if thou wast a Quaker, thou shouldst be waiting 'upon the Lord, and let his ravens feed thee, and not be toiling 'thy body.' For Thomas being stripped to his shirt and drawers, his shirt was wet with sweat; and being a little time silent, he said at length to the captain, 'I perceive thou hast read some part 'of the scriptures: didst thou never read, that he is worse than an 'infidel that will not provide for his family? I have often heard 'the Quakers blamed for not working, but thou art the first that 'ever I heard blame them for working.' At this the captain said, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker.' But a little after, he cried, 'Pull him again, he is no Quaker;' and said to Thomas, 'Thou 'art no Quaker; for here thou bringest corn, and of it is made 'bread, and by the strength of that bread we kill the Dutch; 'and therefore no Quaker. Or art not thou as accessary to their 'deaths, as we? answer me.' Thomas not presently answering, was much scoffed and jeered by the seamen; but at length he said to the captain, 'I am a man that can feed my enemies, and well 'may I you, who pretend to be my friends.' To which the captain replied, 'Turn him away, he is a Quaker:' and thus that storm ceased.

But a few days after he was pressed again out of the same vessel, and carried on board a man of war: there he was ordered to go into the cabin, where the captain and several officers were; and being entered, the captain began to curse the Quakers, and swore, 'that if he did not hang Thomas, he would carry him to the duke 'of York, and he would.' But Thomas said very little, and felt himself kept by the Lord from fear. And when the captain had tired himself with scolding and railing, he said more mildly, 'What, dost thou say nothing for thyself?' To which Thomas answered, 'Thou sayest enough for thee and me too:' and he found it most safe to say little: this was indeed the best way; for generally no reasons, how good soever, avail with passionate men, who often think it a disparagement to them, when they hearken to what is said by one they look upon to be their inferior. But such sometimes find they reckon amiss, as this captain did, who, notwithstanding his haughtiness, was soon struck by a superior power; for the next night a sudden cry was heard, 'Where is the Qua-'ker? Where is the Quaker?' Thomas hearing this, said, 'Here

'I

1663.

'I am: what lack you at this time of the night?' To which it was told him, 'You muſt come to the captain preſently.' He then coming to the cabin-door, the captain ſaid, 'Is the Quaker there?' To which Thomas having anſwered, 'Yes,' the captain ſaid, 'I 'cannot ſleep, thou muſt go on ſhore.' Thomas replied, 'I am 'in thy hand, and thou mayeſt do with me as thou pleaſeſt.' So with the boat he was put on ſhore at Harwich, by order of the captain, who in his fury had ſaid, 'that hanging was too 'good for him;' but now, becauſe his mind was diſquieted, he could not ſleep, though Thomas, who lay on the hard boards, ſlept very well.

Having ſaid thus much of this ſeaman, let us now take a view, and behold how, and in what an induſtrious manner, he, without paſſing the bounds of a peaceable diſpoſition, re-took a ſhip that was taken by a pirate; which happened in the year 1663, after this manner.

A further relation of occurrences that befel T. Lurting, mate to Geo. Pattiſon, maſter of a ſhip taken by the Algerines.

A maſter of a ſhip, whoſe name was George Pattiſon, one of the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, about the month of October, being with his ſhip in the Mediterranean, coming from Venice, near the iſland of Majorca, was chaſed by a pirate of Algiers, and their veſſel ſailing well, they endeavoured to eſcape; but by carrying overmuch ſail, ſome of their materials gave way, by which means the Turks came up with them, and commanded the maſter on board, who accordingly, with four men more, went in his boat, leaving only his mate (the before-mentioned Thomas Lurting) with three men and a boy on board his veſſel. As ſoon as thoſe came on board the pirate, the Turks put thirteen or fourteen of their men into the boat, to go towards the Engliſh ſhip. In the mean-while the mate was under great exerciſe of mind, the rather becauſe the maſter, with four of his men, were then with the Turks, and thoſe that were left, were ſomewhat unruly. In this concern however, he believed it was told him inwardly by the Lord, 'Be not 'afraid, for thou ſhalt not go to Algiers:' for having had formerly great experience of the Lord's deliverances, as hath been ſaid above, he had already learned to truſt in God, almoſt againſt hope. On the conſideration of this, all fear was removed from him; and going to the ſhip's ſide to ſee the Turks come in, he received them as if they were his friends, and they alſo behaved themſelves civilly: then he ſhewed them all the parts of the veſſel, and what ſhe was laden with. Afterwards he ſaid to the men that were with him, 'Be not afraid, for all this we ſhall not go to Algiers: but 'let me deſire you, as ye have been willing to obey me, to be as willing now to obey the Turks.' This they promiſed him, and by ſo doing, he ſoon perceived they gained upon the Turks: for they ſeeing the ſeamen's diligence, grew the more careleſs and favourable to them. And having taken ſome ſmall matter of the lading, ſome went again to their own ſhip, and eight Turks ſtaid with the Engliſh.

The pirates come up with them, and command the maſter on board, who goes with four men.

T. Lurting encouraged to believe they ſhall not go to Algiers.

Then the mate began to think of the maſter, and the other four that were in the Turk's ſhip: as for himſelf, and the others with him, he had no fear at all; nay, he was ſo far from it, that he ſaid to one of his men, 'Were but the maſter on board, and the

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1663. 'reſt of our men, if there were twice as many Turks, I ſhould 'not fear them.' By this he encouraged the ſeamen, who not being of his perſuaſion, thought much otherwiſe than he, and would have been ready enough to have killed the Turks, if they had ſeen opportunity. In the mean-while the mate's earneſt deſire to the Lord was, that he would put it into the heart of the Turks, to ſend the maſter and the four others back. And his deſire was anſwered; for ſoon after the maſter and thoſe men were ſent on board.

The maſter with the four men ſent back.

Then all manner of fear concerning going to Algiers, was taken away from him, which made ſome ſay to him, 'he was a ſtrange 'man, ſince he was afraid before he was taken, but now he was 'not.' For before they were taken, he having heard there were many Turks at ſea, endeavoured to perſuade the maſter to have gone to Leghorn, and there to ſtay for a convoy, and ſo long they would have no wages; but to this the maſter would not agree. Now the mate, to anſwer the ſeamen, who blamed his behaviour, ſaid to them, 'I now believe I ſhall not go to Algiers; and if you 'will be ruled by me, I will act for your delivery, as well as for 'my own.' However, though he ſpoke thus boldly, yet he ſaw no way for it; for the Turks were all armed, and the Engliſh without arms. Now theſe being all together, except the maſter, he ſaid to them, 'What, if we ſhould overcome the Turks, and 'go to Majorca.' At which they very much rejoiced, and one ſaid, 'I will kill one or two;' 'and I,' ſaid another, 'will cut as 'many of their throats as you will have me.' But at theſe ſayings the mate was much troubled, for he intended not to hurt any, and therefore told the men, 'If I knew that any of you would 'touch a Turk at that rate, I would tell it the Turks myſelf. But,' ſaid he, 'if you will be ruled, I will act for you; if not, I will 'be ſtill.' They ſeeing that he would not ſuffer them to take their own courſe, agreed to do what he would have them. 'Well,' ſaid he, 'if the Turks bid you do any thing, do it without grumb-'ling, and with as much diligence and quickneſs as ye can, for 'that pleaſes them, and will cauſe them to let us be together.' To this the men all agreed; and then he went to the maſter, and told him their intention. But his anſwer was, 'If we offer to riſe, 'and they overcome us, we had as good be burnt alive.' The mate knew very well the maſter was in the right, viz. that if they failed in the attempt, they were like to meet with the moſt cruel treatment from the Turks that could be thought of. Now the reaſon why the maſter, though a very bold ſpirited man, did not readily conſent to the propoſal, was, becauſe he feared they would ſhed blood; but his mate told him, 'they were reſolved, and he 'queſtioned not but to do it, without ſhedding one drop of 'blood;' and beſides, 'he would rather have gone to Algiers, 'than to kill one Turk.' Speaking thus, he ſo ſwayed the maſter, that at laſt he agreed to let him do what he would, provided they killed none.

The mate and crew agree not to kill the Turks.

The maſter leaves the mate to his diſcretion.

Now ſince two Turks lay in the cabin with the maſter, it was agreed that he ſhould continue to lie there, leſt they ſhould miſtruſt any thing. In the mean-while it began to be bad weather,

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ſo that they loſt the company of the Turkiſh man of war, which was the thing the mate much deſired; and the Turks ſeeing the diligence of the Engliſh ſailors, grew careleſs concerning them, which was what the mate aimed at. The ſecond night after, the captain of the Turks, and one of his company, being gone to ſleep in the cabin with the maſter, the mate perſuaded one to lie in his cabin, and about an hour after another in another cabin; and at laſt it raining very much, he perſuaded them all to lie down and ſleep: and when they were all aſleep, he coming to them, fairly got their arms into his poſſeſſion. This being done, he told his men, 'Now we have the Turks at our command, no man 'ſhall hurt any of them; for if ye do, I will be againſt you: but 'this we will do, now they are under deck, we will keep them ſo 'and go for Majorca.' And having ordered ſome to keep the doors, they ſteered their courſe to Majorca, and they had ſuch a ſtrong gale, that in the morning they were near it. Then he ordered his men, if any offered to come out, not to let above one or two at a time: and when one came out, expecting to have ſeen his own country, he was not a little aſtoniſhed inſtead thereof to ſee Majorca. Then the mate ſaid to his men, 'Be careful of the 'door, for when he goes in we ſhall ſee what they will do; but 'have a care not to ſpill blood.' The Turk being gone down, and telling his comrades what he had ſeen, and how they were going to Majorca, they, inſtead of riſing, all fell a crying, for their courage was quite ſunk; and they begged, 'that they might not 'be ſold.' This the mate promiſed, and ſaid, 'they ſhould not.' And when he had appeaſed them, he went into the cabin to the maſter, who knew nothing of what was done, and gave him an account of the ſudden change, and how they had overcome the Turks; which when he underſtood, he told their captain, 'that 'the veſſel was now no more in their poſſeſſion, but in his again; 'and that they were going for Majorca.' At this unexpected news the captain wept, and deſired the maſter not to ſell him; which he promiſed he would not. Then they told him alſo, they would make a place to hide them in, that the Spaniards coming aboard ſhould not find them. And ſo they did accordingly, at which the Turks were very glad.

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The mate diſarms the Turks while aſleep, and ſails for Majorca.

He promiſes not to ſell them.

Hides them from the Spaniards;

Being come into the port of Majorca, the maſter with four men went aſhore, and left the mate aboard with ten Turks. The maſter having done his buſineſs, returned on board, not taking licenſe, leſt the Spaniards ſhould come and ſee the Turks; but another Engliſh maſter being an acquaintance, lying there alſo with his ſhip, came at night on board; and after ſome diſcourſe, they told him what they had done, under promiſe of ſilence, leſt the Spaniards ſhould come and take away the Turks. But he broke his promiſe, and would have had two or three of the Turks, to have brought them to England. His deſign then being ſeen, his demand was denied: and ſeeing he could not prevail, he ſaid to Pattiſon and his mate, 'that they were fools, becauſe they would not 'ſell the Turks, which were each worth two or three hundred pieces 'of eight.' But they told him, 'that if they would give many 'thouſands, they ſhould not have one, for they hoped to ſend

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Who being informed, threaten to take them away; and so they put out to sea.

'them home again; and to sell them,' the mate said, 'he would 'not have done for the whole island.' The other master then coming ashore, told the Spaniards what he knew of this, who then threatened to take away the Turks. But Pattison and his mate having heard this, called out the Turks, and said to them, 'Ye must help us, or the Spaniards will take you from us.' To this the Turks, as one may easily guess, were very ready, and so they quickly got out to sea: and the English, to save the Turks, put themselves to the hazard of being overcome again; for they continued hovering several days, because they would not put into any port of Spain, for fear of losing the Turks, to whom they gave liberty for four or five days, until they made an attempt to rise; which the mate perceiving, he prevented, without hurting any of them, though he once laid hold of one: yet generally he was so kind to them, that some of his men grumbled, and said, 'he had more care for the Turks than for them.' To which his answer was, 'they were strangers, and therefore he must treat 'them well.' At length, after several occurrences, the mate told the master, that 'he thought it best to go to the coasts of Barbary 'because they were then like to miss their men of war.' To this the master consented. However, to deceive the Turks, they sailed to and fro for several days; for in the day-time they were for going to Algiers, but when night came they steered the contrary way, and went back again, by which means they kept the Turks in ignorance, so as to be quiet.

The Turks being loose on deck, attempt to rise, but are prevented.

But on the ninth day being all upon deck, when none of the English were there but the master, his mate, and the man at the helm, they began to be so untoward and haughty, that it rose in the mate's mind, 'what if they should lay hold of the master 'and cast him overboard:' for they were ten lusty men, and he but a little man. This thought struck him with terror; but recollecting himself, and taking heart, he stamped with his foot, and the men coming up, one asked for the crow, and another for the axe, to fall on the Turks; but the mate bid them, 'Not to 'hurt the Turks,' and said, 'I will lay hold on their captain,' which he did; for having heard them threaten the master, he stepped forward, and laying hold of the captain, said, 'he must 'go down,' which he did very quietly, all the rest following him. Two days after being come on the coast of Barbary, they were, according to what the Turks said, about fifty miles from Algiers, and six from land; and in the afternoon it fell calm. But how to set the Turks on shore was yet not resolved upon. The mate saw well enough, that he being the man who had begun this business, it would be his lot also to bring it to an end. He then acquainted the master that he was willing to carry the Turks on shore; but how to do this safely, he as yet knew not certainly; for to give them the boat was too dangerous, for then they might get men and arms, and so come and retake the ship with its own boat; and to carry them on shore with two or three of the ship's men, was also a great hazard, because the Turks were ten in number: and to put one half on shore was no less dangerous; for then they might raise the country, and so surprise the English

Mutinous again.

Sail towards the Barbary shore, designing to land the Turks;

But at a loss how to do it with safety.

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when they came with the other half. In this great ſtrait the mate ſaid to the maſter, 'If he would let him have the boat and three 'men to go with him, he would venture to put the Turks on 'ſhore.' The maſter relying, perhaps, on his mate's conduct, conſented to the propoſal, though not without ſome tears dropped on both ſides. Yet the mate taking courage ſaid to the maſter, 'I 'believe the Lord will preſerve me, for I have nothing but good 'will in venturing my life; and I have not the leaſt fear upon me; 'but truſt that all will do well.'

The mate propoſes with three to go with him in the boat, to put them on ſhore being ten in number, and accordingly

The maſter having conſented, the mate called up the Turks, and going with two men and a boy in the boat, took in theſe ten Turks, all looſe and unbound. Perhaps ſomebody will think this to be a very inconſiderate act of the mate, and that it would have been more prudent to have tied the Turks hands, the rather becauſe he had made the men promiſe, that they ſhould do nothing to the Turks, until he ſaid, 'he could do no more;' for then he gave them liberty to act for their lives ſo as they judged convenient. Now ſince he knew not how near he ſhould bring the Turks aſhore, and whether they ſhould not have been neceſſitated to ſwim a little, it ſeemed not prudent, to do any thing which might have exaſperated them; for if it had fallen out ſo that they muſt have ſwam, then of neceſſity they muſt have been untied; which would have been dangerous. Yet the mate did not omit to be as careful as poſſibly he could; for calling in the captain of the Turks, he placed him firſt in the boat's ſtern; then calling for another, he placed him in his lap, and one on each ſide, and two more in their laps, until he had placed them all; which he did to prevent a ſudden riſing. He himſelf ſat with a boat hook in his hand on the bow of the boat, having next to him one of the ſhip's men, and two that rowed, having one a carpenter's adz, and the other a cooper's heading-knife. Theſe were all their arms, beſides what belonged to the Turks which they had at their command. Thus the boat went off, and ſtood for the ſhore; but as they came near it, the men growing afraid, one of them cried out of a ſudden, 'Lord have mercy on us, there are Turks in the buſhes on ſhore.' The Turks in the boat perceiving the Engliſh to be afraid, all roſe at once. But the mate, who in this great ſtrait continued to be hearty, ſhewed himſelf now to be a man of courage, and bid the men to 'take up ſuch arms as they had; but do nothing with 'them until he gave them leave.' And then ſeeing that there were no men in the buſhes, and that it was only an imagination, all fear was taken away from him, and his courage increaſing, he thought with himſelf, 'It's better to ſtrike a man, than to cleave 'a man's head;' and turning the boat-hook in his hand, he ſtruck the captain a ſmart blow, and bid him ſit down; which he did inſtantly, and ſo did all the reſt. After the boat was come ſo near the ſhore, that they could eaſily wade, the mate bid the Turks jump out, and ſo they did, and becauſe they ſaid they were about four miles from a town, he gave them ſome loaves, and other neceſſaries.

He ſets the Turks on ſhore, Gives them proviſions,

They would fain have perſuaded the Engliſh to go with them aſhore to a town, promiſing to treat them with wine, and other

good

1663. good things: but though the mate truſted in Divine Providence, yet he was not ſo careleſs as freely to enter into an apparent danger, without being neceſſitated thereto: for though he had ſome thoughts that the Turks would not have done him any evil, yet it was too hazardous thus to have yielded to the mercy of thoſe that lived there: and therefore he very prudently rejected their invitation, well knowing that the ſcripture ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* The Turks ſeeing they could not perſuade him, took their leave with ſigns of great kindneſs, and ſo went on ſhore. The Engliſh then putting the boat cloſer in, threw them all their arms on ſhore, being unwilling to keep any thing of theirs. And when the Turks got up the hill, they waved their caps at the Engliſh, and ſo joyfully took their laſt farewell. And as ſoon as the boat came again on board, they had a fair wind, which they had not all the while the Turks were on board. Thus Thomas Lurting ſaved the ſhip and its men; which being thus wonderfully preſerved, returned to England with a proſperous wind.

And returns them their arms.

The boat comes aboard and they ſail with a fair wind.

Now before the veſſel arrived at London, the news of this extraordinary caſe was come thither, and when ſhe was coming up the Thames, the king, with the duke of York, and ſeveral lords being at Greenwich, it was told him, there was a Quaker's ketch coming up the river that had been taken by the Turks, and redeemed themſelves without fighting. The king hearing this, came with his barge to the ſhip's ſide, and holding the entering rope in his hand, he underſtood from the mate's own mouth, how the thing had happened. But when he heard him ſay, how they had let the Turks go free, he ſaid to the maſter, 'You have done like 'a fool, for you might have had good gain for them,' and to the mate he ſaid, 'You ſhould have brought the Turks to me.' But the mate anſwered, 'I thought it better for them to be in their 'own country.' At which the king and others ſmiled, and ſo went away, thinking that the maſter had done fooliſhly; but he and his mate were of another opinion, and they made it appear that they did approve the leſſon of our Saviour, *Love your enemies, and do good to thoſe that hate you*, not only with their mouths, but that they had alſo put it into practice.

The king being at Greenwich, comes in a barge to the ſhip's ſide, and has the relation from the mate.

Though I have deſcribed this fact from a printed relation, yet I have added ſome circumſtances from the mouth of the ſaid mate, with whom I had ſome acquaintance.

Several years afterwards, when ſome ſeamen of the people called Quakers were in ſlavery at Algiers, G. Fox wrote a book to the grand ſultan, and the king at Algiers, wherein he laid before them their indecent behaviour, and unreaſonable dealings, ſhewing them from their alcoran that this diſpleaſed God, and that Mahomet had given them other directions. To this he added a ſuccinct narrative of what hath been here related of G. Pattiſon's ſhip, being taken and retaken, and how the Turks were ſet at liberty, without being made ſlaves; by which the Mahometans might ſee what kind of chriſtians the Quakers were, viz. ſuch as ſhewed effectually that they loved their enemies, according to the doctrine of their ſupreme lawgiver, Chriſt. Now concerning thoſe Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were

Some Quakers ſlaves at Algiers. G. Fox writes to the ſultan concerning them.

ſlaves

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ſlaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them; but in the mean-while they ſo faithfully ſerved their maſters, that they were ſuffered to go looſe through the town, without being chained or fettered; and liberty was alſo allowed them to meet at ſet times for religious worſhip; and their patrons themſelves would ſometimes come and ſee what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as Papiſts ſlaves in the exerciſe of their worſhip made uſe of, but hearing from their ſlaves that they reverently adored and worſhipped the living God, Creator of heaven and earth, they commended them for it, and ſaid it was very good, and that they might freely do ſo. And ſince one of them was raiſed to ſpeak by way of edification to his friends, ſome other Engliſh ſlaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the mean-while the name Quakers came to be known at Algiers, as a people that might be truſted beyond others.

They are ſuffered to walk looſe through the town, and to have religious meetings.

Their way of worſhip commended by their patrons.

It was in this year that William Caton went into England with his wife from Holland, (where he was married) and two friends more, one of which was Judith Zinſpenning my mother, who was moved to ſpeak at the meeting at Kingſton, where W. Caton interpreted for her. At another time being in a meeting at London, and he not preſent, and feeling herſelf ſtirred up to declare of the loving kindneſs of the Lord to thoſe that feared him, ſhe deſired one Peter Sybrands to be her interpreter; but he, though an honeſt man, was not very fit for that ſervice, yet one or more friends told her, they were ſo ſenſible of the power by which ſhe ſpoke, that though they did not underſtand her words, yet they were edified by the life and power that accompanied her ſpeech, and therefore they little mattered the want of interpretation; and ſo ſhe went on without any interpreter. She had indeed a very good talent, and left ſuch repute behind, that I coming ſeveral years after into England, kindneſs was ſhewed me in ſeveral places on her account. After a ſtay of ſome weeks at London, and thereabouts, ſhe went to Colcheſter, in order to return with W. Caton's wife to Holland; but making ſome ſtay in that town, ſhe there wrote a book of Proverbs, which W. Caton having tranſlated into Engliſh, was printed at London: and after her departure, he ſtaying behind, travelled through Eſſex, Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Yorkſhire; and coming into Lancaſhire, he repaired to Swarthmore, and found there not only his ancient miſtreſs, Margaret Fell, who received him very kindly, but alſo G. Fox, not long before he was taken priſoner.

W. Caton interpreter to the author's mother at a meeting in Kingſton.

Another time ſhe ſpeaks to edification, without an interpreter.

She writes a book of Proverbs, tranſlated by W. Caton.

From thence Caton went to Sunderland, and ſo to Scarborough, where meeting with a veſſel bound for Holland, he embarked, and went off with a fair wind: but it was not long before the wind changed; and being about ten leagues from the land, the ſky began to look tempeſtuous; which made Caton adviſe the maſter to return; but he thinking the weather would ſoon change, was unwilling to do ſo; yet it fell out otherwiſe, for a violent ſtorm aroſe, by which the ſhip was ſo exceedingly toſſed, that ſhe grew leaky, and took ſo much water, that the pumps continually muſt be kept going. But this ſo wearied the ſeamen, that Caton alſo fell to pumping; for though he found himſelf prepared to

He embarks for Holland.

A dreadful ſtorm ariſes, and the ſhip ſeems in extreme danger.

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Now Caton, though given up in the will of the Lord, and prepared to have found his grave in the deep, yet did not omit to call upon the Lord, and to pray to the Moſt High for deliverance, if it were conſiſtent with his holy will; and when the ſtorm was at the higheſt, his ſupplication was heard, and the tempeſt on a ſudden began to ceaſe, and the wind to abate; which gave him occaſion to praiſe the Almighty for the great mercy ſhewed to him and the mariners. Yet the wind being contrary, the maſter reſolved to enter Yarmouth, where Caton met with another ſtorm: for on the firſt-day of the week, being at a meeting of his friends, he with ſeven more were apprehended, and carried to the main-guard. The next day they were brought before the bailiffs of the town, who tendered them the oath of allegiance; which they refuſing to take, were ſent to priſon, where he was kept above ſix months, ſo that it was not till the next year that he returned into Holland.

At laſt puts into Yarmouth, where W. Caton is taken up and impriſoned above ſix months.

Whilſt he was in gaol Stephen Criſp came the firſt time into Holland to viſit his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. It won't be amiſs here to ſay a little of his qualifications. He was a man of notable natural abilities, and had been zealous for religion before ever he entered into fellowſhip with thoſe called Quakers. But when the report of this people ſpread itſelf in the place where he lived, he made inquiry after them and their doctrine, and though he heard nothing but evil ſpoken of them, it nevertheleſs made ſome impreſſion upon his mind, when he conſidered how they were derided, hated, ſlandered, and perſecuted; becauſe this generally had been the lot of thoſe that truly feared God. But having heard that one of their tenets was, that ſin might be overcome in this life, this ſeemed to him a great error. And therefore when James Parnel came to Colcheſter, he armed himſelf with arguments, to oppoſe him earneſtly: for looking upon him as one that was but a youth, he thought he ſhould be able to prevail upon him. He himſelf was then about ſeven and twenty years of age, being not only well verſed in ſacred writ, but alſo in the writings of many of the ancient philoſophers. After he had heard Parnel preach very powerfully, and found his words more piercing than he had imagined, he ventured to oppoſe him with ſome queries: but he ſoon found that this young man was endued with ſound judgment; and with all his wiſdom and knowledge he was not able to reſiſt him, but was forced to ſubmit to the truth he held forth. Now he thought himſelf ſo enriched, that for a month or two he made it his buſineſs, by the ſtrength of his reaſon, to defend the truth he had embraced. But he ſoon found that this was not ſufficient; for ſelf was not ſubdued under the croſs, and he was not yet come to an experimental knowledge

A brief account of S. Criſp.

Who is convinced by J. Parnel.

ledge of what he aſſerted and defended with words. In this condition he ſaw that he muſt truly become poor in ſpirit, if God ever ſhould enrich him with heavenly wiſdom. This brought him to mourning and ſorrow, by which he came more and more to be weaned from his natural knowledge, wherein he uſed to delight. And continuing faithful in this way of ſelf-denial, he at length began to enjoy peace in his mind, and ſo advanced in virtue and real knowledge, that in time he became an eminent miniſter of the goſpel, and travelling to and fro, many were converted by his miniſtry. 1663.

L. Muggleton and J. Reeves their monſtrous blaſphemies.

About this time appeared in England, one Lodowick Muggleton, who pretended that he and one John Reeves, were the two witneſſes which are ſpoken of Rev. xi. 3. And though it was not long before Reeves died, yet Muggleton continued in his wild imaginations, which grew to that degree, that he gave forth a paper, in which he ſaid, 'That he was the chief judge in the world, and in 'paſſing the ſentence of eternal death and damnation upon the ſouls 'and bodies of men. That in obedience to his commiſſion, he had 'already curſed and damned many hundreds of people, both body 'and ſoul, from the preſence of God, elect men, and angels, to 'eternity. That he went by as certain a rule in ſo doing, as the 'judges of the land do, when they give judgment according to 'law. And that no infinite ſpirit of Chriſt, nor any god, could, 'or ſhould be able to deliver from his ſentence and curſe,' &c. Theſe abominable blaſphemies he gave forth in publick.

R. Farnſworth publiſhes a book in anſwer.

Richard Farnſworth, a zealous and intelligent miniſter, among thoſe called Quakers, anſwered this blaſphemer in writing, and diſcovered the horribleneſs of his profane and curſed doctrine and poſitions; and he ſaid, among the reſt, in a book he publiſhed in print, 'Conſider the nature of thy offence, how far it extends it-'ſelf; and that is, to paſs the ſentence of eternal death and damnation, 'both upon the bodies and ſouls of men and women, and that to 'eternity. Conſider that thy injuſtice, done by colour of office, 'deſerves to have a puniſhment proportionable to the offence; and 'can the offence in the eye of the Lord, be any leſs than *ſin againſt* '*the Holy Ghoſt*, becauſe thou haſt pretended to do it in the name of 'the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo would make the Holy Ghoſt the author 'of thy offence, which it is not? And ſeeing thou art guilty of '*ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, there is a puniſhment already propor-'tioned for ſuch an offence; and alſo thou art puniſhable by the 'law of the land, for preſuming, under pretence of a commiſſion, 'and as a judge, to paſs the ſentence of death upon the bodies of 'men and women, and pretending to go by as certain a rule in 'ſo doing, as the judges of the land do,' &c. Thus continued Farnſworth to anſwer Muggleton at large, and ſhewed him how his judgment was not only contrary to truth, but alſo againſt the law of the land. But he was daring enough to give a reply to this ſerious anſwer, and ſaid in it, 'that he ſhould commend Farnſ-'worth, firſt, for ſetting his name to it; and, ſecondly, for ſetting 'down his words ſo truly and punctually, that it made his com-'miſſion and authority to ſhine the more bright and clear. And 'that he was as true an ambaſſador of God, and judge of all mens

Muggleton replies.

'ſpiritual

1663. 'ſpiritual eſtate, as any ever was ſince the creation of the world. 'And if you Quakers, and others,' (thus continued he) 'can ſa-'tisfy yourſelves, that there never was any man commiſſioned of 'God to bleſs and curſe, then you ſhall all eſcape that curſe I have 'pronounced upon ſo many hundreds: and I only ſhall ſuffer for 'curſing others, without a commiſſion from God. But my com-'miſſion is no pretended thing, but as true as Moſes's, the pro-'phets, and the apoſtles commiſſion was.'

A multitude more of abominations this blaſphemer belched out, and among the reſt, 'that no man could come to the aſſurance of 'the favour of God, but in believing that God gave this power 'unto John Reeves and himſelf. That he had power given him 'over all other gods, and infinite ſpirits whatſoever: that he '[Muggleton] had the keys of heaven, and of hell; and that 'none could get into heaven, except he opened the gates. That 'he had power to remit their ſins who received his doctrine, and 'to retain and bind their ſins more cloſe upon their conſciences, 'for their deſpiſing, or not receiving his doctrine. That he was ſin-'gle in doctrine, knowledge, judgment, and power, above all men, 'either prophets, or apoſtles, ſince the beginning of the world, or that 'ſhould be hereafter whilſt the world doth endure. That there was no 'true miniſter, meſſenger, or ambaſſador of God in the world, but 'himſelf; neither ſhould there be ſent any of God after him to the 'world's end. That a God without him, ſpoke to him by voice 'of words, to the hearing of the ear. That no perſon condemned 'by him, could make his appeal unto God, neither by himſelf, 'nor by any other; becauſe God was not in the world at all. 'This power to condemn,' ſaith he, 'hath God given unto me, 'and in this regard I am the only and alone judge, what ſhall be-'come of men and women after death; neither ſhall thoſe that 'are damned by me, ſee any other God or judge but me.' I am loth to tranſcribe more of theſe moſt horrible blaſphemies; and we have cauſe to wonder at the long forbearance of God, that he thus bore the diſdainful affront offered by this inhuman monſter, in defiance of his almightineſs.

This Muggleton ſaid alſo to Farnſworth, 'that becauſe he was 'not under the ſentence of his commiſſion by verbal words, or 'writing, he ſhould give anſwer to his letter. For,' ſaid he, 'I 'never give anſwer in writing to any one that is under the ſen-'tence of my commiſſion.' This ſhuffle, not to be bound to an-ſwer, when he had ſhut up any one under his pretended damnation, ſeemed comical and facetious. Yet Farnſworth did not omit to anſwer his blaſphemous poſitions publickly, and to ſhew the abſurdity of Muggleton and John Reeves being the two witneſſes.

Hereafter I ſhall have occaſion again to make mention of this Muggleton, for he lived yet ſeveral years; and I don't find that any puniſhment was inflicted on him by the magiſtrates, other than the pillory and half a year's impriſonment; though many think, (not without good reaſon) that ſuch blaſphemers ought to be ſecluded from converſation with men.

Francis Howgil in the latter part of this year, being in the market at Kendal in Weſtmoreland about his buſineſs, was ſum-

moned

moned by the high conſtable to appear before the juſtices of the peace at a tavern. For being a zealous preacher among thoſe called Quakers, occaſion was watched to impriſon him under ſome colour of juſtice, how unjuſt ſoever. Being come to the place appointed, the oath of allegiance was tendered him; and becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to ſwear, they committed him to priſon till the aſſizes at Appleby. Then appearing at Appleby, the ſame oath was tendered him in court by the judges; for not taking of which he was indicted, only he had liberty to anſwer to the indictment at the next aſſizes. In the mean-time there being a gaol-delivery at Appleby, he was required to enter into bond for his good behaviour: but well knowing this was only a ſnare to bring him into further bonds, he refuſed, and ſo was recommitted to priſon; and not being tried till next year, we ſhall leave him there.

1663.

F. Howgil impriſoned for refuſing to ſwear.

About this time happened a ſingular caſe, which I can't well paſs by unmentioned. One Oliver Atherton, a man of a weak conſtitution, having refuſed to pay tithes to the counteſs of Derby, who laid claim to the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the pariſh of Ormſkirk, where he lived, was by her proſecution impriſoned at Derby, in a moiſt and unwholeſome hole, which ſo weakened him, that after having lain there two years and a half, he grew ſick; and a letter was wrote in his name to the counteſs, in which was laid before her, not only the cauſe why he had refuſed the payment of tithes, viz. for conſcience-ſake, but alſo that his life was in danger, if he ſtaid longer in that unwholeſome priſon; and that therefore ſhe ought to ſhew compaſſion, leſt ſhe drew the guilt of innocent blood upon her.

O. Atherton dies in priſon.

Now though Oliver's ſon, who brought this letter, met with rough treatment for not uncovering his head, yet the letter was delivered into her own hands: but the counteſs continued hard-hearted. Godfrey the ſon returned to his father in priſon, and told him (who was now on his death-bed) that the counteſs would not allow him any liberty. To which he ſaid, 'ſhe had been the 'cauſe of much blood-ſhed; but this will be the heavieſt blood to 'her that ever ſhe ſpilt,' and not long after he died. His friends having got his corps, carried it to Ormſkirk, but at Garſtang, Preſton, and other towns they paſſed, they faſtened to the market-croſs, the following inſcription, which alſo had been put on his coffin.

'This is Oliver Atherton from the pariſh of Ormſkirk, who by 'the counteſs of Derby had been perſecuted to death, for keeping 'a good conſcience towards God and Chriſt, in not paying of 'tithes to her.'

Inſcription on his coffin.

Now though three more, who with him were impriſoned for the ſame cauſe, gave notice of this to the counteſs, that they might not likewiſe die in priſon, as their fellow-priſoner had, yet ſhe would ſhew no pity; and threatened to accuſe thoſe at Garſtang, to the king and his council, for having ſuffered the putting up of the ſaid inſcription. But by this ſhe opened peoples mouths the more, and an omnipotent hand prevented the executing of her threatening: for exactly three weeks after the day Atherton was buried ſhe died.

1663. The death of H. Smith,

This year alſo in October, Humphry Smith, a preacher among thoſe called Quakers, having been priſoner a year at Wincheſter, for his religion, was by death delivered from his bonds. He had a viſion in the year 1660, in the month called July, concerning the fire of London, which happened ſix years after; a relation of which he gave forth in print.

Which he foreſaw, with his impriſonment.

In the year 1662, being about London, he ſaid unto ſome of his friends, 'that he had a narrow path to paſs through;' and more than once ſignified, 'He ſaw he ſhould be impriſoned, and 'that it might coſt him his life.' And coming not long after to Alton in Hampſhire, he was taken from a meeting of his friends, and committed to a ſtinking cloſe priſon at Wincheſter, where after a whole year's impriſonment he fell ſick; and in the time of his ſickneſs ſpoke many excellent words to thoſe about him, ſignifying, that he was given up to the will of the Lord, either in life or death. And lying in great weakneſs, he ſaid, 'My heart is 'filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at ſuch a 'time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend.' At another time he was heard to ſay, 'Lord, thou haſt ſent me forth to do thy 'will, and I have been faithful unto thee in my ſmall meaſure, 'which thou haſt committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try 'me further, thy will be done!' Alſo he ſaid, 'I am the Lord's, 'let him do what he will.' Not long before his departure he prayed very earneſtly, ſaying, 'O Lord, hear the inward ſighs and 'groans of thine oppreſſed, and deliver my ſoul from the oppreſ-'ſor! Hear me, O Lord, uphold and preſerve me! *I know that 'my Redeemer liveth.* Thou art ſtrong and mighty, O Lord!' He alſo prayed to God, 'that he would deliver his people from their 'cruel oppreſſors;' and for thoſe that had been convinced by his miniſtry, 'that the Lord would be their teacher.' He continued quiet and ſenſible to the laſt period of his life, dying a priſoner for bearing witneſs to TRUTH; and thus he ſtepped from this troubleſome and tranſitory life, to one that is everlaſting.

Expreſſions in his laſt ſickneſs.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

1664. At Lancaſter G. Fox is brought before judge Twiſden, and examined, but refuſing to ſwear,

IN the foregoing year we left G. Fox in Lancaſter priſon, where at the ſeſſions the oath of allegiance being tendered to, and refuſed by him, he was brought to his trial in the month called March, which begins the year 1664. Being brought to the bar before judge Twiſden, he ſaid, 'Peace be amongſt you all.' At which the judge looking upon him, ſaid, 'What, do you come 'into the court with your hat on?' Whereupon the gaoler taking it off, G. Fox ſaid, 'The hat is not the honour that comes from God.' Then ſaid the judge, 'Will you take the oath of allegiance?' G. Fox anſwered, 'I never took any oath in my life.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge 'will you ſwear or no?' G. Fox replied, 'I am a chriſ-'tian, and Chriſt commands me not to ſwear; and ſo doth the 'apoſtle James likewiſe; and whether I ſhould obey God or man,

'do

'do thou judge.' 'I aſk you again,' ſaid the judge, 'whether 1664.
'you will ſwear or no?' To which he made anſwer, 'I am neither
'Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Chriſtian, and ſhould ſhew forth
'chriſtianity. Doſt thou not know,' (thus he went on) 'that
'chriſtians in the primitive times, under the ten perſecutions,
'and ſome alſo of the martyrs in queen Mary's days refuſed
'ſwearing, becauſe Chriſt and the apoſtles had forbidden it? Ye
'have experience enough, how many men have ſworn firſt to the
'king, and then againſt him. But as for me, I have never taken
'an oath in all my life; and my allegiance doth not lie in ſwear-
'ing, but in truth and faithfulneſs: for I honour all men, much
'more the king. But Chriſt, who is the great prophet, who is the
'King of kings, the Saviour of the world, and the great judge of
'the whole world, he ſaith, I muſt not ſwear. Now the point is,
'whether I muſt obey Chriſt or thee. For it is in tenderneſs of
'conſcience, and in obedience to the command of Chriſt, that I
'do not ſwear. And we have the word of a king for tender con-
'ſciences.' G. Fox having ſpoken thus much aſked the judge, 'if
'he did own the king?' To which he ſaid, 'Yes, I do own the
'king.' 'Why then,' ſaid he, 'doſt thou not obſerve his declara-
'tion from Breda, and his promiſes made ſince he came into Eng-
'land, "That no man ſhould be called in queſtion for matters of
"religion, ſo long as they lived peaceably?" Now if thou owneſt
'the king, why doſt thou call me into queſtion, and put me upon
'taking an oath, ſeeing thou, nor any, can charge me with un-
'peaceable living?' The judge looking angry, ſaid, 'Sirrah, will
'you ſwear?' To which G. Fox told him, 'I am none of thy
'ſirrahs; I am a chriſtian; and for thee, who art an old man
'and a judge, to ſit there and give nick names to the priſoners,
'doth not become either thy grey hairs or thy office.' The judge
being a little more cool, after ſome words to and fro, ſaid, 'G. Fox,
'ſay whether thou wilt take the oath, yea, or nay?' To which he
replied, 'If I could take any oath at all, I ſhould take this: for I
'do not deny ſome oaths only, or on ſome occaſion, but all
'oaths, according to Chriſt's doctrine, who ſaid, *Swear not at all.*
'Now if thou, or any of you, or any of your miniſters or prieſts
'here, will prove that ever Chriſt or his apoſtle, after they had
'forbidden all ſwearing, commanded chriſtians to ſwear, then I
'will ſwear.' None of the prieſts offering to ſpeak, the judge ſaid,
'I am a ſervant to the king, and the king ſent me not to diſpute
'with you, but to put the laws in execution. And therefore I
'tender the oath of allegiance.' G. Fox continuing to refuſe
ſwearing, was ſent again to priſon. Two days after, being brought
again before the judge, it was aſked him, 'whether he would tra-
'verſe or ſubmit?' To which G. Fox ſaid, 'he deſired he might
'have liberty to traverſe the indictment, and try it.' Then order
was given to take him away, and he was kept in priſon till the
next aſſizes.

Is ſent back to priſon till the next aſſizes.

Being priſoner in Lancaſter-caſtle, there was much talk of the
Turks great progreſs in Hungary, there being at that time a war
between the emperor and the Turks; and many being afraid, he
ſaid to ſome, 'that walking once in his chamber, he ſaw the

What happened to him in Lancaſter-caſtle.

'Lord's

1664. 'Lord's power turn againſt the Turk, and that he was turning 'back again.' And within a month after news came that he was defeated. Another time, as he was walking in his room, with his mind upon the Lord, he ſaw an extraordinary great light, and looking up, he beheld an angel of the Lord, with a glittering ſword ſtretched ſouthward, which ſhone ſo bright, as if the court had been all on fire. Of which I have for proof what he mentions of it in his journal, and alſo another ſmall book he gave out with the title of a 'Warning to England.' Not long after a war broke out between England and Holland, and ſome time after the peſtilence appeared at London, (which lies ſoutherly from Lancaſter) and after two years that city by the fire was turned into rubbiſh.

M. Fell confined. But I return to the Lancaſter aſſizes. Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, was alſo under confinement for refuſing the oath of allegiance. And G. Fox being in priſon, wrote ſeveral papers to the magiſtrates, in which he manifeſted the evil of perſecution, and exhorted to virtue and piety.

Both brought before judge Turner at Lancaſter next aſſizes. In the month called Auguſt, the aſſizes were held again at Lancaſter, G. Fox being brought thither, (judge Turner then ſitting on the crown-bench) and being called to the bar, the judge aſked the juſtices, 'whether they had tendered him the oath at the 'foregoing ſeſſions?' They ſaying, 'they had,' and having ſworn it, the jury were ſworn too. Then the judge aſked him, 'whe-'ther he had not refuſed the oath at the laſt aſſizes?' To which he anſwered, 'I never took an oath in my life; and Chriſt the Saviour 'and judge of the world ſaid, *Swear not at all.*' The judge ſeeming not to take notice of this anſwer, aſked him, 'whether or no 'he had not refuſed to take the oath at the laſt aſſizes?' G. Fox maintaining the unlawfulneſs of ſwearing, the judge ſaid, 'he 'was not at that time to diſpute whether it was lawful to ſwear, 'but to inquire whether he had refuſed to take the oath, or no.' G. Fox then ſignifying that he did not diſapprove the things mentioned in the oath, ſaid, 'Plotting againſt the king, and owning 'the pope's, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.' 'Well,' ſaid the judge, 'you ſay well in that: but did you deny to take 'the oath; what ſay you?' 'What wouldſt thou have me to ſay?' replied he, 'I have told thee before what I did ſay.' After ſome more words from both ſides, the indictment was read. G. Fox having informed himſelf of the errors that were in it, ſaid, 'he 'had ſomething to ſpeak to it, for there were many groſs errors 'in it.' The judge ſignified that he would not hear him; but when he was at the point of giving judgment. The jury going out, ſoon returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon he told them, 'that both the juſtices and they too had forſworn them-'ſelves;' which cauſed confuſion in the court, that the pronouncing of judgment was delayed. Margaret Fell being next brought to the bar, was alſo declared guilty.

He is brought in guilty, but tells them they are forſworn.

The next day ſhe and G. Fox were brought up again to receive ſentence. Her counſel pleading many errors in her indictment, ſhe was ſet by; and G. Fox then being called, ſhewed himſelf unwilling to let any man plead for him; which ſeemed to make

ſome

1664.

ſome ſtop; yet he was aſked by the judge, 'what he had to ſay, 'why he ſhould not paſs ſentence upon him?' At which he told him, 'I am no lawyer, but yet I have much to ſay, if thou wilt 'but have patience to hear.' Thereupon thoſe on the bench laughed, and ſaid, 'Come, what have you to ſay?' Then he aſked the judge, 'whether the oath was to be tendered to the king's ſubjects, 'or to the ſubjects of foreign princes.' To which the judge ſaid, 'To the ſubjects of this realm.' Then ſaid George, 'Look on 'the indictment, and ye may ſee that ye have left out the word 'ſubject: and not having named me in the indictment as a 'ſubject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath.' They then looking to the ſtatute, and the indictment, ſaw that it was as he ſaid, and the judge confeſſed that it was an error. Next G. Fox told him, 'he had ſomething elſe to ſtop judgment;' and he deſired them to look 'what day the indictment ſaid, the oath 'was tendered to him at the ſeſſions there?' They looking, ſaid, 'it was the eleventh of January:' then he aſked, 'What day of 'the week was that ſeſſion held on?' 'On a Tueſday,' ſaid they. To which G. Fox ſaid, 'Look in your almanack, and ſee whether 'there was any ſeſſion held at Lancaſter on the eleventh of Janua-'ry.' They looking, found that the eleventh day was the day called Monday, and that the ſeſſions were on the day called Tueſday, which was the twelfth day of the ſaid month. 'Look ye now,' ſaid he, 'ye have indicted me for refuſing the oath in the quarter-ſeſſions 'held at Lancaſter on the eleventh day of January laſt, and the 'juſtices have ſworn that they tendered me the oath in open ſeſſions 'here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty 'thereupon; and yet ye ſee there was no ſeſſions held at Lancaſter 'that day.' The judge, to cover the matter, aſked, 'whether the 'ſeſſions did not begin on the eleventh day?' To which ſome in the court anſwered, 'No; the ſeſſions held but one day, and that 'was the twelfth.' Then the judge ſaid, 'this was a great miſ-'take, and an error.' Some of the juſtices grew ſo angry at this, that they ſeeming ready to have gone off the bench, ſtamped, and ſaid, 'Who hath done this? Somebody hath done this on pur-'poſe.' Then ſaid G. Fox 'Are not the juſtices here that have 'ſworn to this indictment, forſworn men? but this is not all; I 'have more yet to offer why ſentence ſhould not be given againſt 'me. In what year of the king was it; that the laſt aſſize, 'which was in the month called March, was holden here?' To this the judge ſaid, 'It was in the ſixteenth year of the king.' 'But,' ſaid G. Fox, 'the indictment ſays it was in the fifteenth 'year.' This was alſo acknowledged to be an error: but both judge and juſtices were in ſuch a fret, that they knew not what to ſay; for it had been ſworn alſo, that the oath was tendered to G. Fox at the aſſize mentioned in the indictment, viz. in the fifteenth year of the king, whereas it was in the ſixteenth; which made G. Fox ſay, 'Is not the court here forſworn alſo, they 'having ſworn a whole year falſe?' Some other remarkable errors he ſhewed, which I, having no mind to be tedious, paſs by with ſilence.

Proves the indictment erroneous in ſeveral inſtances.

G. Fox then deſiring juſtice, and ſaying, 'that he did not look

1664.

The indictment quaſhed.

'for mercy,' the judge ſaid, 'You muſt have juſtice, and you 'ſhall have law:' which made him aſk, 'Am I now free from 'all that hath been done againſt me in this matter?' 'Yes,' ſaid the judge; but then ſtarting up in a rage, he ſaid, 'I can put the 'oath to any man here; and I will tender you the oath again.' G. Fox then telling him, that he had examples enough of yeſterday's ſwearing, and falſe ſwearing; 'for I ſaw before my eyes,' ſaid he, 'that both juſtices and jury forſwore themſelves;' yet the judge aſked him, 'if he would take the oath?' but he replied,

He is acknowledged to be at liberty, yet not diſmiſſed.

'Do me juſtice for my falſe impriſonment all this while:' for he had been locked up, as was well known, in a wet and cold room, and therefore he ſaid, 'I ought to be ſet at liberty.' At which the judge ſaid, 'You are at liberty, but I will put the oath to you 'again.' G. Fox then turning himſelf about, ſaid to the people, 'Take notice, this is a ſnare; but I ought to be ſet free from the

The oath is tendered, and he indicted again, tho' he ſhews by the book given him to ſwear on, that chriſtians are forbid to ſwear at all.

'gaoler, and from this court.' But the judge inſtead of hearkening to that, cried, 'Give him the book.' G. Fox then taking the book, and looking in it, ſaid, 'I ſee it is a bible, and I am glad 'of it.' In the mean-while the jury being called by order of the judge, they ſtood by; for though they had deſired, after they had brought in their former verdict, to be diſmiſſed, yet he told them, 'he could not diſmiſs them yet, becauſe he ſhould have buſineſs 'for them; and therefore they muſt attend, and be ready.' G. Fox perceiving his intent, looked him in the face, which made him bluſh: nevertheleſs he cauſed the oath to be read, and then aſked G. Fox 'whether he would take the oath, or no?' To which he ſaid, 'Ye have given me a book here to kiſs, and to ſwear on; 'and this book ſays, *Kiſs the Son;* and the Son ſaith in this book, '*Swear not at all*, and ſo ſays alſo the apoſtle James: now I ſay, 'as the book ſays, and yet ye impriſon me, for doing as the book 'bids me. How chance ye do not impriſon the book for ſaying 'ſo? How comes it that the book is at liberty among you, which 'bids me *ſwear not?* Why don't ye impriſon the book alſo?' Whilſt he was ſpeaking thus, he held up the bible open, to ſhew the place where Chriſt forbids ſwearing. But the book was taken from him, and the judge ſaid, 'No, but we will impriſon George 'Fox.'

This caſe was ſo ſingular, that it was ſpread over all the country, as a by-word, 'that they gave G. Fox a book to ſwear on, 'that commanded him, *not to ſwear at all;* and that this book, 'viz. the bible, was at liberty, and he in priſon, for doing as the 'bible ſaid.' But the judge urged him ſtill to ſwear; to which G. Fox ſaid, 'I am a man of a tender conſcience; conſider therefore, 'that it is in obedience to Chriſt's command that I cannot ſwear: 'but if any of you can convince me, that after Chriſt and the 'apoſtle had commanded *not to ſwear*, they did alter that com-

Neither prieſts nor others confute his reaſons,

'mand, and commanded chriſtians to ſwear, then ye ſhall ſee 'I will ſwear.' And he ſeeing there ſeveral prieſts, ſaid, 'if ye 'cannot do it, let your prieſt do it.' But none of the prieſts ſaid any thing; and the judge ſaid, 'All the world cannot convince 'you.' To which he replied, 'How is it like the world ſhould 'convince me? for the whole world lies in wickedneſs: but bring

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'out your ſpiritual men, as ye call them, to convince me.' Then the ſheriff and the judge ſaid, 'that the angel ſwore in the revela-'tions.' To which G. Fox replied, 'When God bringeth in his 'firſt-begotten Son into the world, he ſaith, *Let all the angels of* '*God worſhip him*, and he ſaid, *Swear not at all.*' 'Nay,' ſaid the judge, 'I will not diſpute.' Then he told the jury, 'It was 'for Chriſt's-ſake that he could not ſwear; and therefore he warn-'ed them not to act contrary to that of God in their conſciences, 'becauſe they muſt all appear before his judgment ſeat.' After ſome more words ſpoken, the gaoler took him away.

Yet he is brought in guilty, and after further examination recommitted.

In the afternoon he was brought up again. And the jury having brought him in guilty of what he was charged with in the indictment, viz. his not taking the oath, the judge aſked him, 'what he had to ſay for himſelf.' He then deſired the indictment to be read; ſince he could not anſwer to that which he had not heard. The clerk reading it, the judge ſaid, 'Take heed it be 'not falſe again.' But the clerk read it in ſuch a manner, that G. Fox could hardly underſtand what he read. And when he had done, the judge aſked G. Fox 'What he had to ſay to the indict-'ment?' To which he ſaid, 'At once hearing ſo large a writing 'read, and that at ſuch a diſtance, that I could not diſtinctly 'hear all the parts of it; I cannot well tell what to ſay to it; but 'if you will let me have a copy of it, and give me time to con-'ſider, I ſhall anſwer it.' This put the court to a little ſtand; but at length the judge aſked him, 'what time he would have?' And he anſwered, 'Till the next aſſize.' 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'what 'plea will you make now; are you guilty, or not guilty?' To which he replied, 'I am not guilty at all of denying ſwearing ob-'ſtinately and wilfully: and as for thoſe things mentioned in the 'oath, as jeſuitical plots, and foreign powers, I utterly deny them 'in my heart: and if I could take any oath, I ſhould take this, 'but I never took any oath in all my life.' To this the judge returned, 'You ſay well; but the king is ſworn, the parliament is 'ſworn, I am ſworn, the juſtices are ſworn, and the law is pre-'ſerved by oaths.' On which G. Fox told him, 'they had had ſuf-'ficient experience of mens ſwearing, and had ſeen how the juſ-'tices and jury ſwore wrong the other day:' and continued he, 'if thou haſt read in the book of martyrs, how many of them did 'refuſe to ſwear, both within the time of the ten perſecutions, and 'in biſhop Bonner's day, thou mayſt ſee that to deny ſwearing in 'obedience to Chriſt's command, is no new thing.' To this the judge ſaid, 'He wiſhed the laws were otherwiſe.' G. Fox ſaid then, 'Our yea is yea, and our nay is nay: and if we tranſgreſs our yea 'and our nay, let us ſuffer as they do, or ſhould do, that ſwear 'falſely. This I have offered to the king, and the king ſaid it was 'reaſonable.' After ſome further diſcourſe, G. Fox was committed to priſon again, and,

Colonel Kirby's ſeverity, and the gaoler's cruelty.

Col. Kirby ordered the gaoler 'to keep him cloſe, and to ſuffer no 'body to come to him, as one that was not fit to be diſcourſed with.' The gaoler did not ſcruple to follow this order, for he locked him up in a ſmoky tower, where the ſmoke of the other priſoners came up ſo thick, that ſometimes one could hardly ſee a burning candle;

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ſo that there ſeemed to have been an intent to choke him; for the turnkey could hardly be perſuaded to unlock one of the upper doors a little to let out the ſmoke. Beſides this hardſhip, in wet weather it rained in upon his bed to that degree, that his ſhirt grew wet. In this pitiful condition he lay during a long cold winter, which ſo afflicted him, that his body ſwelled, and his limbs were much benumbed. Here we will leave him till he was brought again to his trial, which was not before the next year.

But before I part with him, I muſt mention, that ſome time before he had written ſeveral papers to the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and alſo to the pope. Theſe writings were by ſome body elſe turned into Latin, and ſo given out in print. In theſe he levelled chiefly againſt perſecution for religion's-ſake. He reproved the king of Spain more eſpecially, becauſe of the inquiſition, and the burning of people: and he did not ſpare the pope, as being the ſpring of theſe evils, ſaying, 'Innocent blood 'hath long cried for vengeance to the Lord: the earth almoſt 'ſwims with innocent blood; and the cry of it is heard. Your 'frozen profeſſion, and your cold winter images being ſet up in 'your ſtreets, the Lord God of power and dread, and of heaven 'and earth will be avenged on thee, and you all; his day is ap-'proaching. Ye great and rich cardinals and pope, ye have been 'fed like fat hogs; and ſeeing that thou wouldſt not receive the 'Lord's meſſengers, but threw them in priſon, and in your in-'quiſition, it may be the Lord may give you a viſit another way, 'for his dread is gone out, and his zeal is kindled againſt you.— 'The fields are ſprinkled with the blood of the innocent, and ye 'are the Aceldama, or the field of blood. But the Lord is coming 'to take vengeance upon you; his hand is ſtretched over your 'heads, and his power is gone over you; with that he will rule 'you, and ſmite you down, and bring you that are lofty from 'your ſeats, and abaſe your pride, and take the glory to himſelf. '——How much blood, which is unmeaſurable, and can't be 'meaſured here, have ye drank ſince the days of the apoſtles, and 'made yourſelves drunk with it! But now is the indignation and 'wrath of the Almighty come and coming upon you; and thou 'pope muſt feel it.——Tremble therefore, thou pope, tremble, 'fear, and quake, thou pope, tremble ye cardinals, tremble ye 'Jeſuits, tremble ye priors, tremble ye monks and friars, of what 'rank ſoever, for the army of the Lord God is coming over you, 'by whom ye ſhall be ſhaken and daſhed to pieces.' Theſe are but ſmall ſparkles of that flame which G. Fox blew againſt the pope, intermixing his writings with many demonſtrations, that the Romiſh church was the whore of Babel, and that ſhe it was that had defiled herſelf with idolatry and ſuperſtition, and had bathed herſelf in the blood of the ſaints, having furiouſly attacked them with ſword and fire. This he concluded with theſe words, 'The plagues of God will be thy portion, O pope, who 'hath deceived the nations: and all ye Jeſuits and cardinals, 'howl, for your miſery is coming, the mighty day of the Lord 'God upon you all; the Lord God, who will be worſhipped in 'ſpirit and in truth, and with none of your inventions.' Thus

G. Fox writes againſt perſecution, &c. to the emperor, kings of France and Spain, but moſt ſeverely to the pope as head of thoſe evils.

G. Fox

G. Fox wrote in that day to the pope and his counſellors; and no wonder that he paid dear for this ſharp language againſt the head of the church of Rome; for it may be believed, that a great many of the court-party, in thoſe days, were either concealed Papiſts, or favourers of them: and yet among the national clergy, and even thoſe of other perſuaſions, many branded the Quakers with the odious name of 'ſecret Papiſts,' thereby to make them incur the hatred of the people. 1664.

Court-party favour popery.

Now I return to Francis Howgil, whom in the foregoing year we left in priſon at Appleby. It was in the fore part of this year that he was brought to his trial. Being come into court before the judges ſat, he ſpoke to the clerk of the aſſizes, and told him, 'he did not know whether they expected his appearance then or 'not:' the clerk ſaid, 'You have done well,' and that 'he would 'acquaint the judge, and he ſhould only engage him to appear 'the next aſſizes, to anſwer the indictment againſt him,' and that 'he ſhould not appear in court.' Francis bid him do what he would. In the mean-time ſir Philip Muſgrave, (ſo called) a great adverſary to the truth, and the great and chief proſecutor of Francis, had informed the judges againſt him, 'that he was a dangerous per-'ſon, a ringleader and a keeper up of meetings of dangerous con-'ſequence, and deſtructive to the peace of the nation;' ſo then they concluded he ſhould appear in court; and the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he ſhould be called: ſo the court began: Judge Twiſden gave the charge to the grand-jury, in which he ſaid, 'there was a ſort of people, who under 'pretence of conſcience and religion, ſeemed to build upon the 'king's declaration from Breda, and under colour of this hatched 'treaſons and rebellions,' and gave the jury charge to inquire and preſent ſuch, that the peace of the nation might be preſerved; ſo they impannelled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar, and the judge ſpake as followeth:

F. Howgil's trial at Appleby and recommitment.

Judge, ſpeaking calmly to him ſaid, 'The face of things was 'much altered ſince the laſt aſſizes,' and made a large ſpeech to him and the country, telling him, 'That all ſects under pretence 'of conſcience did violate the laws and hatched rebellions, not,' ſaid he, 'that I have any thing to charge you with; but ſeeing 'the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the laſt aſſizes, and 'you refuſed to take it, it was looked upon that ſuch perſons were 'enemies to the king and government;' and ſaid, 'I will not 'trouble you now to anſwer to your indictment, but I muſt do 'that the next aſſizes; in the mean-time you muſt enter into 'recognizance for your good behaviour.'

To which F. H. anſwered, I deſire liberty to ſpeak, which he had without interruption, and ſaid as followeth:

F. H. Judge Twiſden, thou very well knoweſt upon how ſlender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the laſt aſſizes, where thou wert pleaſed to tender me the oath of allegiance, tho' I believe both thou and the reſt of the court, did know it was a received principle amongſt us not to ſwear at all; many reaſons I gave thee then, many more I have to add, if I may have audience; for it may appear to you an abſurd thing, and obſtinacy in me

1664. to refuſe it, if I ſhould not tender a reaſon; I am none of thoſe that make religion a cloak of maliciouſneſs, nor conſcience a cloak to carry on plots or conſpiracies: the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of ſuch things; and ſeeing I am engaged to appear at the next aſſizes, I deſire no further thing may be required of me.

Judge. You muſt enter into bond this dangerous time, and therefore conſider of it, and tell me now, or before the aſſizes end.

The ſecond day of the aſſizes he was called again.

Pleads again in his own defence.

F. H. Seeing thou art pleaſed to let me anſwer to the indictment, which I am willing to do,—I have been of good behaviour, and ſhall ſo continue; but it ſeems a hard thing to me, and full of ſeverity, that ſeeing I am obliged to appear to anſwer an indictment of ſo high a nature, (if proſecuted againſt me) which tends to the loſs of my liberty for life, and my eſtate for-ever, I hope the court will not envy my liberty for five months.

Judge Turner ſaid, We do not deſire your impriſonment, if you will be of good behaviour.

F. H. preſſed that they would not put him upon giving bond to be of good behaviour, knowing himſelf to be bound by the truth, that he could not miſbehave himſelf.

One Daniel Flemming, another perſecuting juſtice, had framed another indictment againſt him for meeting, and ſtood up, (fearing the ſnare of giving bond would not hold) and ſaid as followeth:

D. Flemming. My lord, he is a great ſpeaker, it may the Quakers cannot want him.

Judge. Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond.

F. H. ſaid he had nothing to accuſe himſelf of, for his conſcience bore him witneſs that he loved peace, and ſought it with all men.

Judges both ſpake. What do you tell of conſcience? We meddle not with it; but you contemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

F. H. We are fallen in a ſad age; if meeting together peaceably, without arms, or force, or intention of hurt to any man, only to worſhip God in ſpirit, and exhort one another to righteouſneſs, and to pray together in the Holy Ghoſt, as the primitive chriſtians of old, that this ſhould be reckoned breach of peace and miſbehaviour.

Judge Twiſden. Do you compare theſe times with them? They were heathens that perſecuted, but we are chriſtian magiſtrates.

F. H. It is a doctrine always held by us, and a received principle which we believe, that Chriſt's kingdom could not be ſet up with carnal weapons; nor the goſpel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built with violence; but the Prince of Peace was manifeſted amongſt us, and we could learn war no more, but could love enemies, and forgive them that did evil to us.

Philip Muſgrave ſtood up, and ſaid, My lord, we have been remiſs towards this people, and have ſtriven with them, and put them in priſon again and again, and fined them, and as ſoon as they are out, they meet again.

Then

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Then ſtood up John Lowther, called a juſtice, and ſaid, My lord, they grow inſolent, notwithſtanding all laws, and the execution of them, yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous.

Philip Muſgrave ſtood up, and produced a paper (and juſtice Flemming ſo called, ſeconded him) in great capital letters, and gave it the judge; he told the judge, That it happened ſome Quakers were ſent to priſon, and one of them died at Lancaſter, and they carried his corps through the country, and ſet that paper upon his coffin, 'This is the body of ſuch an one, who was 'perſecuted by Daniel Flemming till death.'

Judge. We have ſpent much time with you, I will diſcourſe no more.

F. H. I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to ſpeak, I ſhall not trouble you much longer; I ſhall be willing to appear to anſwer to the indictment at the aſſizes, and in the mean-time to live peaceably and quietly, as I have done, if that will ſatisfy.

Judge. You muſt enter into bond to come at no more meetings.

F. H. I cannot do that, if I ſhould, I were treacherous to God and my own conſcience, and the people and you would but judge me a hypocrite.

They were loth to commit him, yet at laſt they did.

At laſt committed again, and cloſely confined.

This was in the latter part of the month called March, and he was kept about five months as before in a bad room, and none ſuffered to ſpeak with him, but who got ſecretly to him without the gaoler's knowledge.

It was about this time that John Audland departed this life. He, and his boſom friend, John Camm, (whoſe deceaſe was ſome years before) had travelled much together in the miniſtry of the goſpel; therefore I will give an uninterrupted relation of their latter end, but firſt that of John Camm.

A ſhort account of the life and death of J. Camm,

He was of very good parentage, born at Camſgil, in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, which ſeat had been poſſeſſed by his anceſtors long before him. From his childhood he was inclined to be religious, and ſeeking after the beſt things, he joined with thoſe that were the moſt ſtrict in performing religious duties: and having afterwards heard G. Fox, he embraced as truth the doctrine he preached, and growing up in it, he himſelf became an eminent miniſter of the goſpel among thoſe called Quakers. He and his boſom friend John Audland, were the firſt of that ſociety who preached at Briſtol, where having been in the meetings of the Baptiſts and Independents, they alſo had meetings in ſeveral places without the city, where there was a great concourſe of people, and many received their doctrine. Since that time, theſe two miniſters travelled much together, and many were convinced by their miniſtry. But at length John Camm, who did not ſpare himſelf, began to fall under a kind of conſumption, inſomuch that through weakneſs he was fain to ſtay at home; and then he often called his children and family together, exhorting them to godlineſs, and praying to the Lord for them. Some weeks before his

1664. his death, he once expreſſed himſelf thus: 'How great a benefit 'do I enjoy above many, having ſuch a large time of preparation 'for death, being daily dying, that I may live for-ever with my 'God, in that kingdom that is unſpeakably full of glory. My 'outward man daily waſtes and moulders down, and draws to-'wards its place and center; but my inward man revives and 'mounts upwards towards its place and habitation in the hea-'vens.' The morning that he departed this life, he called his wife, children, and family to him, and exhorted them to fear the Lord, to love his truth, to walk in it, and to be loving and kind to one another, telling them, 'that his glaſs was run, the time of 'his departure was come; and he was to enter into everlaſting 'eaſe, joy, and reſt:' charging them all, 'to be patient and con-'tent with their parting with him.' And ſo fainting, he paſſed into a ſweet ſleep; but by the weeping and crying of thoſe about him, he awakened, and deſired to be helped up a little in his bed, and then ſpoke to this effect: 'My dear hearts, ye have wronged 'me and diſturbed me, for I was at ſweet reſt; ye ſhould not ſo paſ-'ſionately ſorrow for my departure; this houſe of earth and clay 'muſt go to its place; and this ſoul and ſpirit is to be gathered 'up to the Lord, to live with him for-ever, where we ſhall meet 'with everlaſting joy.' Then taking leave of his family, he charged them to be content with his departure; and lying down, within a little time deceaſed.

As alſo of J. Audland. His beloved friend John Audland (who often bemoaned the loſs of ſo dear a companion) died alſo of a kind of conſumption: for his ardent zeal made him ſtrain his voice beyond what his body was well able to bear. In a meeting which he once had with John Camm in a field without Briſtol, where Charles Marſhall was one of his auditors, after J. Camm had left off ſpeaking, he ſtood up, with an awful and ſhining countenance, and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he ſaid, 'I proclaim a ſpiritual war 'with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and ſepa-'ration from God, and I propheſy to the four winds of heaven.' Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to repentance? and ſpoke with ſuch a piercing authority, that ſome of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under the ſenſe of their tranſgreſſion. And when at Briſtol he many times preached in an orchard to a great multitude, he would lift up his voice exceedingly, in order to be heard by all. Thus he ſpent his natural ſtrength, though he was but a young man. About the twentieth year of his age he married with one Ann Newby of Kendal, a virtuous maid, not only of good family, but alſo excelling in piety, and therefore ſhe freely gave him up to travel in the ſervice of the goſpel, notwithſtanding his company was very dear to her; which made her ſay, 'that ſhe believed few ever enjoyed a greater bleſ-'ſing in a huſband ſo kind and affectionate.' And how heartily and tenderly ſhe loved him, may be ſeen by the following letter ſhe wrote to him.

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A letter to him from his wife.

DEAR HUSBAND,

THOU art dearer to me than ever; my love flows out to thee, even the ſame love that I am loved withal of my Father, in that love ſalute me to all my friends, for dear you are all unto me, my life is much refreſhed in hearing from you. I received thy letters, and all my ſoul deſireth, is, to hear from thee in the life; dear heart, in life dwell, there I am with thee out of all time, out of all words, in the pure power of the Lord, there is my joy and ſtrength. O! how am I refreſhed to hear from thee, to hear of thy faithfulneſs and boldneſs in the work of the Lord! O! dear heart, I cannot utter the joy I have concerning thee; thy preſence I have continually in ſpirit, therewith am I filled with joy; all glory and honour be to our God for-ever. O! bleſſed be the day in which thou waſt born, that thou art found worthy to labour in the work of the Lord; ſurely the Lord hath found thee faithful in a little, therefore he hath committed much unto thee: go on in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, from whence all ſtrength cometh, to whom be all glory, and honour for-ever. O! dear heart, go on, conquering and to conquer, knowing this, that thy crown is ſure. So, dear heart, now is the time of the Lord's work, and few are willing to go forth into it, all the world lieth in wickedneſs, doing their own work; but bleſſed be the Lord for-ever who hath called us from doing our own work, into his great work. O! marvellous are his works, and his ways paſt finding out. O! dear heart, thou knoweſt my heart, thou mayſt read daily how that I rejoice in nothing more than in thy proſperity in the work of the Lord: Oh! it is paſt my utterance to expreſs the joy I have for thee. I am full, I am full of love towards thee, never ſuch love as this. The mighty power of the Lord go along with thee, and keep thee faithful and valiant, and bold in his pure counſel, to ſtand ſingle out of all the world! Oh! dear heart, all my love to thee is purer than gold ſeven times purified in the fire: Oh! pure is he that hath loved us, therefore let purity and holineſs cover us for-ever. A joyful word it was to me, to hear that thou waſt moved to go to Briſtol: Oh my own heart, my own life! in that which now ſtands, act and obey, that thou mayſt ſtand upon thy alone guard; ſo dear heart, let thy prayers be for me, that I may be kept pure, out of all temptations, ſingly to dwell in the life: ſo farewell.

ANN AUDLAND.

By this letter it appears, that there was an endeared mutual love between this virtuous couple. He was a man of great knowledge, but when his underſtanding came to be opened by the preaching of G. Fox, he would ſay ſometimes, 'Ah, what have we been do-'ing! or what availeth our great profeſſion! All our building 'tumbles down; our profeſſion is high as the wind; the day of 'the Lord is upon it, and his word as a fire, conſumes it as dry 'ſtubble; and puts an end to all empty profeſſions and high no-'tions, without life or ſubſtance—to all the wiſdom of fallen 'man. We muſt forſake the world, and all its glory; it is all 'but vanity and vexation of ſpirit: it is a Saviour that I long for;

1664. 'it is him that my ſoul pants after. O that I may be gathered into 'his life, and overſhadowed with his glory, ſanctified throughout 'by his word, and raiſed up by his eternal power!' He continuing in this ſtate of daily ſupplication, and inward travail of ſoul, it pleaſed the Lord at length to furniſh him with an extraordinary qualification to proclaim his word, which he did ſome years faithfully, and with great zeal. And though his wife loved him dearly, and preferred his company above what the world could give, yet in regard of his goſpel-ſervice, ſhe gave him up freely to be much from home; whereby during a great part of the time of their marriage, ſhe had not his deſirable company.

In the mean-while he laboured diligently in the Lord's harveſt, till his bodily ſtrength failing, and meeting with hard impriſonments, he was ſeized with a moſt violent cough, which was followed by a fever, ſo that his ſleep was taken from him, which made him grow very weak; but he bore his ſickneſs with great patience, and ſaid once, 'that in thoſe great meetings in the or-'chard at Briſtol, he often forgot himſelf, not conſidering the in-'ability of his body, from a deſire to be heard by all: but that 'his reward was with him, and he content to be with the Lord, 'which his ſoul valued above all things.' Not long before his departure, being viſited by ſome of his friends, he ſpoke ſo comfortably, and with ſuch power, as one that was beyond the feeling of his weakneſs. To his wife, who was big with child, and nigh her delivery, and well knowing how tenderly ſhe loved him, he ſaid, 'My will is in true ſubjection, ſubmitting to the will of the 'Lord, whether for life or death; and therefore give me up freely 'to his diſpoſing.' And ſhe, how dear ſoever he was to her, did ſo; which gave him ſome eaſe, ſeeing her ſincere reſignedneſs; and being ſometimes overcome with joy, he praiſed God in his ſickneſs; nay ſo ardent was his zeal, that once, tho' very weak, he deſired to be helped up in bed upon his knees; and thus he fervently ſupplicated the Lord in the behalf of his churches, 'that 'they might be preſerved in the truth, out of the evil of the world, 'and that his goſpel might ſpread, and be publiſhed to the gather-'ing of all that pertain to Iſrael.' His ſtrength now diminiſhing daily, he ſweetly departed at the age of thirty-four years, about three weeks after the fever firſt ſeized him; and his widow, who ten days after his deceaſe was delivered of a ſon, behaved herſelf, diſcreetly, and ſaid afterwards in a paper concerning him, 'The 'eternal God, who by his providence joined us together in mar-'riage in our young days, in his bleſſed counſel alſo cauſed his 'day to ſpring from on high upon us; in the marvellous light, 'and bright ſhining whereof, he revealed his Son Chriſt in us, 'and gave us faith to believe in him, the eternal Word of Life, 'by which our ſouls came to be quickened and made alive in him; 'and alſo in and by the quickening of his holy power, we were 'made one in a ſpiritual and heavenly relation, our hearts being 'knit together in the unſpeakable love of truth, which was our 'life, joy, and delight, and made our days together exceeding 'comfortable, as being that whereby all our temporal enjoyments 'were ſanctified, and made a bleſſing to us. How hard it was,

and

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'and how great a loſs, to part with ſo dear and tender a huſ-
'band as he was to me, is far beyond what I can expreſs: the
'dolour of my heart, my tongue or pen is not able to declare.
'Yet in this I contented myſelf, that it was the will of the Lord
'that he was taken from the evil; and that my loſs, tho' great,
'was not to be compared to his eternal gain.' This widow, in proceſs of time, was married to Thomas Camm, ſon of John Camm, her former huſband's boſom friend. She was indeed a woman of great virtue: but now I part with her, with intention to ſay more of her when I ſhall come to the time of her deceaſe.

F. Howgil brought again to his trial.

I return to Francis Howgil, whom we left in priſon, and now appeared again at the aſſizes, which were holden at Appleby, in the month called Auguſt. And he having got liberty to ſpeak with the clerk of the aſſizes, who told him, 'that he muſt prepare 'himſelf to come to a trial;' anſwered, 'he was prepared, but 'thought that all he could ſay, would little avail, believing they 'purpoſed to proſecute him with all ſeverity,' which proved ſo, as will appear by what follows; for the country juſtices had incenſed the judges againſt him beforehand. Yet Howgil endeavoured all he could to convince them of his innocency; and to that end drew up the ſubſtance of the oath into ſeveral heads, which he could ſubſcribe to: to this he joined another paper to judge Turner, ſhewing the cauſe of his firſt commitment, and the former proceedings againſt him; and 'how unequal it was to 'proſecute him upon a ſtatute made againſt popiſh recuſants.' He alſo ſignified in that paper, 'that he was a man of a tender 'ſpirit, and feared the Lord from a child, and had never taken 'any oath but once in his life, which was twenty years ago; and 'that his refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, was not in any 'evil intent to the king's perſon or government, but merely upon 'a conſcientious account; and that he could not ſwear, being 'otherwiſe perſuaded of the Lord, ſeeing it was againſt the com-'mand of Chriſt, and the apoſtle James's doctrine. Beſides, that 'he was able to make it evident to be againſt the example of the 'primitive chriſtians for divers hundred years, and ſo no new opi-'nion. That he did neither in wilfulneſs nor obſtinacy refuſe it, 'being ſenſible of the damage that would come thereby, if they 'did proſecute him upon that ſtatute, he having a wife and chil-'dren, and ſome ſmall eſtate, which he knew lay at ſtake in the 'matter; but that though it were his life alſo, he could not re-'volt from, or deny that which he had moſt certainly believed in: 'but if any could convince him, either by ſcripture or reaſon, he 'had an ear to hear. And therefore all thoſe things conſidered, he 'deſired he might be diſmiſſed from his bonds, and from their 'perſecution of him upon that account.' Theſe papers were delivered to the judges and juſtices before he appeared in court; and were read by them. He then being called to the bar at the aſſizes holden at Appleby, judge Turner ſaid to him, 'Here is an 'indictment againſt you for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance; 'ſo you muſt plead to it either guilty or not guilty.'

The judge is preincenſed againſt him.

F. H. with a heart girded up with ſtrength and courage, ſaid, 'Judge Turner, may I have liberty to ſpeak, and make my defence, 'for I have none to plead my cauſe but the Lord.' Judge.

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F. H. gives a narrative of his caſe before the court.

Judge. You may.

F. H. I will lay the true ſtate of my caſe before thee, and of the proceedings againſt me from the firſt, ſeeing judge Twiſden is not here, who had knowledge of all the proceedings hitherto. I am a countryman, born and brought up in this country; my carriage and converſation is known, how I have walked peaceably towards all men, as I hope my countrymen can teſtify. About a year ago being at my neighbouring market-town about my reaſonable and lawful occaſions, I was ſent for by an high conſtable out of the market to the juſtices of the peace, before whom I went; and when I came there, they had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to aſk me queſtions to enſnare me about our meetings; and when they could find no occaſion, they ſeemed to tender the oath of allegiance to me, though they never read it to me, neither did I poſitively deny it, yet they committed me to priſon; and ſo I was brought hither to this aſſize, and then the mittimus by which I was committed, was called for, and the judge read it, and ſaid to the juſtices, it was inſufficient: nevertheleſs judge Twiſden tendered the oath of obedience to me; many things I did alledge then, and many more I have to ſay now, if time will permit. From that time I was under an engagement to appear at the next aſſize, and ſo was called and did appear at the laſt gaol-delivery, and a further obligation was required of me for good behaviour, which I could not give, leſt I ſhould be brought into a further ſnare; and ſince that time I have been committed priſoner theſe five months, ſome of which time I have been kept under great reſtraint, my friends not permitted to ſpeak to me; and thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto. As to the oath, the ſubſtance thereof, with the repreſentation of my caſe, is preſented to the court already, unto which I have ſet my hand, and alſo ſhall in thoſe words teſtify the ſame in open court, if required; and ſeeing it is the very ſubſtance that the law doth require, I deſire it may be accepted, and I cleared from my impriſonment.

His trial.

Judge. I am come to execute the law, and the law requires an oath, and I cannot alter it: do you think the law muſt be changed for you, or only for a few? If this be ſuffered, the adminiſtration of juſtice is hindered, no action can be tried, nor evidence given for the king, nor other particular caſes tried: and your principles are altogether inconſiſtent with the law and government. I pray you ſhew me which way we ſhall proceed, ſhew me ſome reaſon, and give me ſome ground.

F. H. ſaid, I ſhall. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes every truth is confirmed; and we never denied to give, and ſtill are ready to give evidence for the king wherein we are concerned; and in any other matter for the ending of ſtrife between man and man in truth and righteouſneſs—and this anſwers the ſubſtance of the law.

Judge. Is this a good anſwer, think you, whether to be given with or without oath? the law requires an oath.

F. H. Still evidence is and may be given in truth, according to the ſubſtance of the law, ſo that no detriment cometh unto any party,

party, ſeeing that true teſtimony may be born without an oath; and I did not ſpeak of changing the law: yet ſeeing we never refuſed giving teſtimony, which anſwereth the intent and ſubſtance of the law, I judged it was reaſonable to receive our teſtimony, and not to expoſe us to ſuch ſufferings, ſeeing we ſcrupled an oath only upon a conſcientious account, in tenderneſs of conſcience, for fear of breaking the command of Chriſt, the Saviour of the world, which if we do, there is none of you able to plead our cauſe for us with him. 1664.

Judge. But why do you not go to church, but meet in houſes and private conventicles, which the law forbids.

F. H. We meet together only for the worſhip of the true God in ſpirit and truth, having the primitive chriſtians for our example, and to no other end, but that we may be edified, and God glorified; and when two or three are met together in the name of Chriſt, and he in the midſt of them, there is a church.

Judge. That is true: but how long is it ſince you have been at church? Or will you go to the church the law doth allow of? Give me ſome reaſons why you do not go.

F. H. I have many to give thee, if thou haſt patience to hear me: 1ſt, God dwells not in temples made with mens hands: 2dly, the pariſh houſe hath been a temple for idols, to wit, for the maſs and the rood; and I dare have no fellowſhip with idols, nor worſhip in idols temples; for what have we to do with idols, their temples, and worſhip?

Judge. Were there not houſes called the houſes of God, and temples?

F. H. Yes, under the law; but the chriſtians, who believed in Chriſt, ſeparated from theſe (and the temple was made and left deſolate) and from the Gentiles temples too, and met together in houſes, and broke bread from houſe to houſe; and the church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now. Many more things I have to ſay—the judge interrupted.

Judge. Will you anſwer to your indictment?

F. H. I know not what it is, I never heard it, though I have often deſired a copy.

Judge. Clerk, read it.

So he read it: how that F. H. had wilfully, obſtinately, and contemptuouſly denied to ſwear when the oath was tendered.

F. H. I deny it. Denies the indictment.

Judge. What do you deny?

F. H. The indictment.

Judge. Did you not deny to ſwear? and the indictment convicts you that you did not ſwear.

F. H. I gave unto the court the ſubſtance of the oath, as you all know: 2dly, I told you I did not deny it out of obſtinacy or wilfulneſs, neither in contempt of the king's law or government; for my will would rather chooſe my liberty, than bonds; and I am ſenſible it is like to be a great damage to me; I have a wife and children, and ſome eſtate, which we might ſubſiſt upon, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at ſtake; but if it were my life alſo, I durſt not but do as I do, leſt I ſhould incur

1664. the diſpleaſure of God; and do you judge I would loſe my liberty wilfully, and ſuffer the ſpoiling of my eſtate, and the ruining of my wife and children in obſtinacy and wilfulneſs? Sure nay.

Judge. Jury, you ſee he denies the oath, and he will not plead to the indictment, only excepts againſt it becauſe of the form of words, but you ſee he will not ſwear, and yet he ſaith he denies the indictment, and you ſee upon what ground.

And then they called the gaoler to witneſs and ſwear, that the laſt aſſizes F. H. did refuſe, &c. which he did; and the jury, without going from the bar, gave in their verdict, Guilty, and then the court broke up that night.

The next day towards evening, when they had tried all the priſoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his ſentence.

Judge ſtood up and ſaid, Come, the indictment is proved againſt you, what have you to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be given?

F. H. I have many things to ſay, if you will hear them. 1ſt, As I have ſaid, I denied not out of obſtinacy or wilfulneſs, but was willing to teſtify the truth in this matter of obedience, or any other matter wherein I was concerned. 2dly, Becauſe ſwearing was directly againſt the command of Chriſt. 3dly, Againſt the doctrine of the apoſtle. 4thly, Even ſome of your principal pillars of the church of England; as biſhop Uſher, ſome time primate of Ireland, who ſaid in his works, 'The Waldenſes did deny 'all ſwearing in their age, from that command of Chriſt and the 'apoſtle James, and it was a ſufficient ground;' and Dr. Gauden, late biſhop of Exeter, in a book of his I lately read, cited very many ancient fathers, to ſhew, that the firſt three hundred years chriſtians did not ſwear, ſo that it is no new doctrine.

To which the court ſeemed to give a little ear, and ſaid nothing, but talked one to another, and Francis ſtood ſilent, and then the judge ſaid,

Judge. Sure you miſtake.

F. H. I have not the books here.

Judge. Will you ſay upon your honeſt word they denied all ſwearing?

F. H. What I have ſaid is true.

Judge. Why do you not come to church, and hear ſervice, and be ſubject to the law, and to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake?

F. H. We are ſubject, and for that cauſe we do pay taxes, tribute and cuſtom, *and give unto Cæſar the things that are his, and unto God the things that are his*, to wit, worſhip, honour and obedience; and if thou mean the pariſh aſſembly, I tell thee faithfully, I am perſuaded, and upon good ground, their teachers are not the miniſters of Chriſt, neither their worſhip the worſhip of God.

Judge. Why; it may be for ſome ſmall things in the ſervice you reject it all?

F. H. Firſt, it is manifeſt they are time ſervers, one while preaching up that for divine ſervice to people that another while they cry down, as popiſh, ſuperſtitious and idolatrous; and that which they have preached up twenty years together make ſhipwreck of all in a day, and now again call it divine, and would have all compelled to that themſelves once made void. Judge.

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Judge. Why; never ſince the king came in?

F. H. Yes, the ſame men that preached it down once, now cry it up; ſo they are ſo unſtable and wavering, that we cannot believe they are the miniſters of Chriſt. Secondly, They teach for hire, and live by forced maintenance, and would force a faith upon men, contrary to Chriſt and the apoſtle's rule, who would have every one perſuaded in their own minds, and ſaid, *Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin*, and yet they ſay, *Faith is the gift of God*, and we have no ſuch faith given; but yet they would force theirs upon us, and becauſe we cannot receive it, they cry, 'You are not 'ſubject to authority and the laws,' and nothing but confiſcations, impriſonment and baniſhment is threatened, and this is their greateſt plea: I could mention more particulars—then the judge interrupted.

Judge. Well, I ſee you will not ſwear, nor conform, nor be ſubject, and you think we deal ſeverely with you, but if you would be ſubject, we ſhould not need.

F. H. I do ſo judge indeed, that you deal ſeverely with us for obedience to the commands of Chriſt. I pray thee canſt thou ſhew me how that any of thoſe people, for whom the act was made, have been proceeded againſt by this ſtatute, though I envy no man's liberty.

Judge. O yes, I can inſtance you many up and down the country that are premunired; I have done it myſelf, pronounced ſentence againſt divers.

F. H. What, againſt Papiſts?

Judge. No.

F. H. What, againſt the Quakers? So I have heard indeed; tho' then that ſtatute was made againſt Papiſts, thou letteſt them alone, and executeſt it againſt the Quakers.

Judge. Well, you will meet in great numbers, and do increaſe, but there is a new ſtatute will make you fewer.

F. H. Well, if we muſt ſuffer, it is for Chriſt's ſake, and for well-doing.

Francis then being ſilent, the judge pronounced the ſentence, but ſpake ſo low, that the priſoner, though near to him, could ſcarce hear it.

His ſentence.

The ſentence was, 'You are put out of the king's protection 'and the benefit of the law, your lands are confiſcate to the king 'during your life; and your goods and chattels for-ever, and you 'to be priſoner during your life.'

F. H. A hard ſentence for my obedience to the commands of Chriſt; the Lord forgive you all.

So he turned from the bar; but the judge ſpeaking, he turned again, and many more words paſſed to the ſame purpoſe, as before; at laſt the judge roſe up and ſaid,

Judge. Well, if you will yet be ſubject to the laws, the king will ſhew you mercy.

F. H. The Lord hath ſhewed mercy unto me, and I have done nothing againſt the king, nor government, nor any man, bleſſed be the Lord! and therein ſtands my peace; for it is for Chriſt's ſake I ſuffer, and not for evil-doing; and ſo the court broke up.

The

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The people were generally moderate, and many were ſorry to ſee what was done againſt him; but Francis ſignified how contented and glad he was, that he had any thing to loſe for the Lord's precious truth, of which he had publickly borne teſtimony, and that he was now counted worthy to ſuffer for it.

He dies in bonds after four years impriſonment.

This he did cheerfully, and died in bonds, after above four years impriſonment, as may be related in its due time. He was a man of learning, and a great writer among his fellow believers; inſomuch that during his confinement he wrote not only ſeveral edifying epiſtles to exhort them to conſtancy and ſteadfaſtneſs in the doctrine of truth, but alſo ſome books to refute the oppoſers of it.

We have here ſeen how the judge ſaid, 'There is a new ſtatute 'which will make you fewer.' This ſtatute bore the title of 'An 'Act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles.' And though the act made two years before did extend to baniſhment, yet that puniſhment was renewed, and expreſſed more at large in this, which was as followeth.

An act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles by tranſportation, &c. 35 El. cap. 1. declared to be in force.

WHEREAS an act made in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of our late ſovereign lady queen Elizabeth, entitled, 'An Act to retain the queen's majeſty's ſubjects, in their 'due obedience,' hath not been put in due execution by reaſon of ſome doubt of late made, whether the ſaid act be ſtill in force; although it be very clear and evident, and it is hereby declared, that the ſaid act is ſtill in force, and ought to be put in due execution.

Further remedies againſt ſeditious ſectaries.

II. For providing therefore of further and more ſpeedy remedies againſt the growing and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries, and other diſloyal perſons, who, under pretence of tender conſciences, do at their meetings contrive inſurrections, as late experience hath ſhewed.

Unlawful conventicles and meetings under pretence of exerciſe of religion, forbidden.

III. Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by, and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that if any perſon of the age of ſixteen years or upwards, being a ſubject of this realm, at any time after the firſt day of July, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and four, ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed; at which conventicle, meeting, or aſſembly, there ſhall be five perſons or more aſſembled together, over and above thoſe of the ſame houſhold; then it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any two juſtices of the peace of the county, limit, diviſion or liberty wherein the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, or for the chief magiſtrate of the place where ſuch offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, (if it be within a corporation where there are not two juſtices of the peace) (2) and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to them or him reſpectively made of ſuch offence, either by confeſſion of the party,

or

or oath of witneſs, or notorious evidence of the fact (which oath the ſaid juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter) to make a record of every ſuch offence and offences under their hands and ſeals reſpectively; (3) which record ſo made, as aforeſaid, ſhall to all intents and purpoſes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every ſuch offender for ſuch offence: and thereupon the ſaid juſtices and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall commit every ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, to the gaol or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainpriſe, for any time not exceeding the ſpace of three months, unleſs ſuch offender ſhall pay down to the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate ſuch ſum of money not exceeding five pounds, as the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate (who are hereby thereunto authorized and required) ſhall fine the ſaid offender at, for his or her ſaid offence; which money, ſhall be paid to the church-wardens for the relief of the poor of the pariſh where ſuch offender did laſt inhabit. 1664. The puniſhment and manner of proceeding againſt them for the firſt offence.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforeſaid convicted, then ſuch offender ſo convict of ſuch ſecond offence, ſhall incur the penalty of impriſonment in the gaol, or houſe of correction, for any time not exceeding ſix months, without bail or mainpriſe, unleſs ſuch offender ſhall pay down to the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate, ſuch ſum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the ſaid juſtices or chief magiſtrate (who are thereunto authorized and required as aforeſaid) ſhall fine the ſaid offender at, for his or her ſaid ſecond offence, the ſaid fine to be diſpoſed in manner aforeſaid. The ſecond offence.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any ſuch offender ſo convict of a ſecond offence, contrary to this act, in manner aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence contrary to this act, then any two juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate, as aforeſaid, reſpectively, ſhall commit every ſuch offender to the gaol or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainpriſe until the next general quarter-ſeſſions, aſſizes, gaol-delivery, great ſeſſions, or ſitting of any commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer in the reſpective county, limit, diviſion or liberty which ſhall firſt happen; (2) when and where every ſuch offender ſhall be proceeded againſt by indictment for ſuch offence, and ſhall forthwith be arraigned upon ſuch indictment, and ſhall then plead the general iſſue of not guilty, and give any ſpecial matter in evidence, or confeſs the indictment: (3) And if ſuch offender proceeded againſt, ſhall be lawfully convict of ſuch offence, either by confeſſion or verdict, or if ſuch offender ſhall refuſe to plead the general iſſue, or to confeſs the indictment, then the reſpective juſtices of the peace at their general quarter-ſeſſions, judges of aſſize and gaol-delivery at the aſſizes and gaol-delivery, juſtices of the great ſeſſions at the great ſeſſions, and commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer at their ſitting, are hereby enabled and required to cauſe judgment to be entered againſt ſuch offender, The third offence.

1664. that ſuch offender ſhall be tranſported beyond the ſeas to any of his majeſty's foreign plantations (Virginia and New-England only excepted) there to remain ſeven years: (4) And ſhall forthwith under their hands and ſeals make out warrants to the ſheriff or ſheriffs of the ſame county where ſuch conviction or refuſal to plead or to confeſs, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, ſafely to convey ſuch offender to ſome port or haven neareſt or moſt commodious to be appointed by them reſpectively; and from thence to embark ſuch offender to be ſafely tranſported to any of his majeſty's plantations beyond the ſeas, as ſhall be alſo by them reſpectively appointed (Virginia and New-England only excepted:) (5) Whereupon the ſaid ſheriff ſhall ſafely convey and embark, or cauſe to be embarked ſuch offender, to be tranſported, as aforeſaid, under pain of forfeiting for default of ſo tranſporting every ſuch offender, the ſum of forty pounds of lawful money, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him or them that ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the king's courts of record, by bill, plaint, action of debt, or information; in any of which no wager of law, eſſoign or protection ſhall be admitted: (6) And the ſaid reſpective court ſhall then alſo make out warrants to the ſeveral conſtables, headboroughs or tithing-men of the reſpective places, where the eſtate real or perſonal of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported ſhall happen to be, commanding them thereby to ſequeſter into their hands the profits of the lands, and to diſtrain and ſell the goods of the offender ſo to be tranſported, for the reimburſing of the ſaid ſheriff all ſuch reaſonable charges as he ſhall be at, and ſhall be allowed him by the ſaid reſpective court for ſuch conveying, or embarking of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported, rendering to the party, or his or her aſſigns, the overplus of the ſame, if any be, unleſs ſuch offender, or ſome other on the behalf of ſuch offender ſo to be tranſported, ſhall give the ſheriff ſuch ſecurity as he ſhall approve of, for the paying all the ſaid charges unto him.

How ſeditious ſectaries convicted may be tranſported.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in default of defraying ſuch charges by the parties to be tranſported, or ſome other in their behalf; or in default of ſecurity given to the ſheriff, as aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful for every ſuch ſheriff to contract with any maſter of a ſhip, merchant or other perſon, for the tranſporting of ſuch offender at the beſt rate he can: (2) And that in every ſuch caſe it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch perſons ſo contracting with any ſheriff for tranſporting ſuch offender, as aforeſaid, to detain and employ every ſuch offender ſo by them tranſported, as a labourer to them or their aſſigns, for the ſpace of five years, to all intents and purpoſes, as if he or ſhe were bound by indentures to ſuch perſon for that purpoſe: (3) And that the reſpective ſheriffs ſhall be allowed or paid from the king, upon their reſpective accompt in the exchequer, all ſuch charges by them expended, for conveying, embarking and tranſporting of ſuch perſons, which ſhall be allowed by the ſaid reſpective courts from whence they received their reſpective warrants, and which ſhall not have been by any of the ways afore-mentioned paid, ſecured, or reimburſed unto them, as aforeſaid.

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VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that in caſe the offender ſo indicted and convicted for the ſaid third offence, ſhall pay into the hands of the regiſter or clerk of the court or ſeſſions where he ſhall be convicted (before the ſaid court or ſeſſions ſhall be ended) the ſum of one hundred pounds, that then the ſaid offender ſhall be diſcharged from impriſonment and tranſportation, and the judgment for the ſame.

How the offender may be diſcharged upon payment of 100l.

VIII. And be it further enacted, that the like impriſonment, indictment, arraignment and proceedings ſhall be againſt every ſuch offender, as often as he ſhall again offend after ſuch third offence; nevertheleſs is diſchargeable and diſcharged, by the payment of the like ſum as was paid by ſuch offender for his or her ſaid offence next before committed, together with the additional and increaſed ſum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed; (2) the ſaid reſpective ſums to be paid as aforeſaid, and to be diſpoſed as followeth, viz. the one moiety for the repair of the pariſh-church or churches, chapel or chapels of ſuch pariſh within which ſuch conventicle, aſſembly or meeting ſhall be held; and the other moiety to the repair of the highways of the ſaid pariſh or pariſhes (if need require) or otherwiſe for the amendment of ſuch highways as the juſtices of peace at their reſpective quarter-ſeſſions ſhall direct and appoint. (3) And if any conſtable, head-borough or tithing-man, ſhall neglect to execute any the ſaid warrants made unto them for ſequeſtring, diſtraining, and ſelling any of the goods and chattels of any offender againſt this act, for the levying ſuch ſums of money as ſhall be impoſed for the firſt or ſecond offence, he ſhall forfeit for every ſuch neglect, the ſum of five pounds of lawful money of England, the one moiety thereof to the king, and the other moiety to him that ſhall ſue for the ſame in any of the king's courts of record, as is aforeſaid. (4) And if any perſon be at any time ſued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, ſuch perſon ſhall and may plead the general iſſue, and give the ſpecial matter in evidence; (5) And if the plaintiff be nonſuit, or a verdict paſs for the defendant thereupon, or if the plaintiff diſcontinue his action, or if upon demurrer, judgment be given for the defendant, every ſuch defendant ſhall have his or their treble coſts.

Puniſhment of offenders after the third offence.

How the ſaid penalty of 100l. ſhall be diſpoſed.

Perſons ſued for executing this act, may plead the general iſſue, and recover treble coſts.

IX. And be it further enacted, that if any perſon againſt whom judgment of tranſportation ſhall be given in manner aforeſaid, ſhall make eſcape before tranſportation, or being tranſported, as aforeſaid, ſhall return unto this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, without the ſpecial licenſe of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in that behalf firſt had and obtained, that the party ſo eſcaping or returning, ſhall be adjudged a felon, and ſhall ſuffer death as in caſe of felony, without benefit of clergy; (2) and ſhall forfeit and loſe to his majeſty all his or her goods and chattels for-ever; and ſhall further loſe to his majeſty all his or her lands, tenements and hereditaments for and during the life only of ſuch offender, and no longer: and that the wife of any ſuch offender by force of this act, ſhall not loſe her dower, nor ſhall any corruption of blood grow, or be by reaſon of any ſuch offence mentioned in this act; but that the heir of

Felony to eſcape after convictions, or to return after tranſportation.

every

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every ſuch offender by force of this act, ſhall and may after the death of ſuch offender, have and enjoy the lands, tenements and hereditaments of ſuch offenders, as if this act had not been made.

Seditious and tumultuous meetings and conventicles.

X. And for better preventing of the miſchiefs which may grow by ſuch ſeditious and tumultuous meetings, under pretence of religious worſhip, (2) be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the lieutenants or deputy-lieutenants, or any commiſſioned officers of the militia, or any other of his majeſty's forces, with ſuch troops or companies of horſe or foot; and alſo the ſheriffs and juſtices of peace, and other magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, or any of them jointly or ſeverally, within any the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, with ſuch other aſſiſtance as they ſhall think meet, or can get in readineſs with the ſooneſt, on certificate made to them reſpectively under the hand and ſeal of any one juſtice of the peace, or chief magiſtrate, as aforeſaid, of his particular information or knowledge of ſuch unlawful meetings or conventicles held or to be held in their reſpective counties or places, and that he (with ſuch aſſiſtance as he can get together, is not able to ſuppreſs or diſſolve the ſame) ſhall and may, and is hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are ſo held, or to be held, and by the beſt means they can, to diſſolve and diſſipate, or prevent all ſuch unlawful meetings, and take into their cuſtody ſuch of thoſe perſons ſo unlawfully aſſembled as they ſhall judge to be the leaders and ſeducers of the reſt, and ſuch others as they ſhall think fit to be proceeded againſt according to law for ſuch their offences.

The penalty of ſuffering conventicles in private houſes.

XI. And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall wittingly and willingly ſuffer any ſuch conventicle, unlawful aſſembly, or meeting aforeſaid, to be held in his or her houſe, out-houſe, barn or room, yard or back-ſide, woods or grounds, ſhall incur the ſame penalties and forfeitures as any other offender againſt this act ought to incur, and be proceeded againſt in all points, in ſuch manner as any other offender againſt this act ought to be proceeded againſt.

Gaolers may not let priſoners, committed upon this act, go at large.

XII. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any keeper of any gaol or houſe of correction, ſhall ſuffer any perſon committed to his cuſtody for any offence againſt this act, to go at large, contrary to the warrant of his commitment according to this act, or ſhall permit any perſon who is at large, to join with any perſon committed to his cuſtody by virtue of this act, in the exerciſe of religion, differing from the rites of the church of England, then every ſuch keeper of a gaol, or houſe of correction, ſhall for every ſuch offence forfeit the ſum of ten pounds, to be levied, raiſed, and diſpoſed by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner as the penalties for the firſt and ſecond offences againſt this act are to be levied, raiſed and diſpoſed.

The penalty.

Within what time offenders muſt be proſecuted.

XIII. Provided always, that no perſon ſhall be puniſhed for any offence againſt this act, unleſs ſuch offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the offence committed: (2) And that no perſon who ſhall be puniſhed for any offence by virtue of this act, ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame offence by virtue of any other act or law whatſoever.

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Married women how to be puniſhed.

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted, that judgment of tranſportation ſhall not be given againſt any feme covert, unleſs her huſband be at the ſame time under the like judgment, and not diſcharged by the payment of money as aforeſaid; but that inſtead thereof, ſhe ſhall by the reſpective court be committed to the gaol or houſe of correction, there to remain without bail or mainpriſe, for any time not exceeding twelve months, unleſs her huſband ſhall pay down ſuch ſum, not exceeding forty pounds, to redeem her from impriſonment, as ſhall be impoſed by the ſaid court, the ſaid ſum to be diſpoſed by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner, as the penalties for the firſt and ſecond offence againſt this act are to be diſpoſed.

How juſtices of the peace may enter into houſes ſuſpected for conventicles.

XV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively impowered as aforeſaid to put this act in execution, ſhall and may, with what aid, force and aſſiſtance they ſhall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refuſal or denial, enter into any houſe, or other place, where they ſhall be informed any ſuch conventicle as aforeſaid, is or ſhall be held.

The houſes of peers.

XVI. Provided, that no dwelling-houſe of any peer of this realm, whilſt he or his wife ſhall be there reſident, ſhall be ſearched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majeſty under his ſign manual, or in the preſence of the lieutenant, or one of the deputy-lieutenants, or two juſtices of the peace, whereof one to be of the Quorum of the ſame county or riding: (2) nor ſhall any other dwelling-houſe of any peer or other perſon whatſoever, be entered into with force by virtue of this act, but in the preſence of one juſtice of the peace, or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, except within the city of London, where it ſhall be lawful for any ſuch other dwelling-houſe to be entered into as aforeſaid, in the preſence of one juſtice of the peace, alderman, deputy-alderman, or any one commiſſioner for the lieutenancy for the city of London.

What perſons may not be committed to the houſe of correction.

XVII. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon ſhall by virtue of this act be committed to the houſe of correction, that ſhall ſatisfy the ſaid juſtices of the peace, or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, that he or ſhe (and in caſe of a feme covert, that her huſband) hath an eſtate of free-hold, or copy-hold, to the value of five pounds per annum, or perſonal eſtate to the value of fifty pounds; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Perſons ſerved with proceſs refuſing to take an oath. 14 Car. 2. c. 1.

XVIII. And in regard a certain ſect called Quakers, and other ſectaries, are found not only to offend in the matters provided againſt by this act, but alſo obſtruct the proceedings of juſtice by their obſtinate refuſal to take oaths lawfully tendered unto them in the ordinary courſe of law; (2) therefore be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons being duly and legally ſerved with proceſs or other ſummons to appear in any court of record, except court-leets, as a witneſs, or returned to ſerve of any jury, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, or being preſent in court, ſhall refuſe to take any judicial oath, legally tendered to him by the judge or judges of the ſame

1664. court, having no legal plea to juſtify or excuſe the refuſal of the ſame oath; (3) or if any perſon or perſons being duly ſerved with proceſs, to anſwer any bill exhibited againſt him or them in any court of equity, or any ſuit in any court eccleſiaſtical, ſhall refuſe to anſwer ſuch bill or ſuit upon his or their corporal oath, in caſes where the law requires ſuch anſwer to be put in upon oath; or being ſummoned to be a witneſs in any ſuch court, or ordered to be examined upon interrogatories, ſhall, for any cauſe or reaſon, not allowed by law, refuſe to take ſuch oath, as in ſuch caſes is required by law; (4) that then, and in ſuch caſe, the ſeveral and reſpective courts wherein ſuch refuſal ſhall be made, ſhall be, and are hereby enabled to record, enter, or regiſter ſuch refuſal, which record or entry ſhall be, and is hereby made a conviction of ſuch offence; (5) and all and every perſon and perſons ſo as aforeſaid offending, ſhall for every ſuch offence incur the judgment and puniſhment of tranſportation in ſuch manner as is appointed by this act for other offences.

How ſuch perſons may be acquitted.

XIX. Provided always, that if any the perſon or perſons aforeſaid ſhall come into ſuch court, and take his or their oath in theſe words:

'I do ſwear, that I do not hold the taking of an oath to be un-
'lawful, nor refuſe to take an oath on that account.'

XX. Which oath the reſpective court or courts aforeſaid, are hereby authorized and required forthwith to tender, adminiſter, and regiſter before the entry of the conviction aforeſaid, (2) or ſhall take ſuch oath before ſome juſtice of the peace, who is hereby authorized and required to adminiſter the ſame, to be returned into ſuch court, (3) ſuch oath ſo made ſhall acquit him or them from ſuch puniſhment; any thing herein to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XXI. Provided always, that every perſon convicted as aforeſaid in any courts aforeſaid, (other than his majeſty's court of king's bench, or before the juſtices of aſſize, or general gaol-delivery) ſhall, by warrant containing a certificate of ſuch conviction under the hand and ſeal of the reſpective judge or judges before whom ſuch conviction ſhall be had, be ſent to ſome one of his majeſty's gaols in the ſame county where ſuch conviction was had, there to remain without bail or mainpriſe until the next aſſizes, or general gaol-delivery, (2) where, if ſuch perſon ſo convicted ſhall refuſe to take the oath aforeſaid, being tendered unto him by the juſtice or juſtices of aſſize or gaol-delivery; then ſuch juſtice or juſtices ſhall cauſe judgment of tranſportation to be executed in ſuch manner as judgment of tranſportation by this act is to be executed: but in caſe ſuch perſon ſhall take the ſaid oath, then he ſhall thereupon be diſcharged.

Peers offending how to be proceeded againſt.

XXII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any peer of this realm ſhall offend againſt this act, he ſhall pay ten pounds for the firſt offence, and twenty pounds for the ſecond offence, to be levied upon his goods and chattels by warrant from any two juſtices of the peace, or chief magiſtrate of the place or diviſion where ſuch peer ſhall dwell; (2) and that every peer for the third, and every further offence againſt the tenor of this act, ſhall be tried by his peers, and not otherwiſe.

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XXIII. Provided alſo, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act ſhall continue in force for three years after the end of this preſent ſeſſion of parliament; and from thence forward to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament after the ſaid three years, and no longer.

The continuance of this act.

A learned man at London, of what perſuaſion I know not, publiſhed a little book in relation to this act, wherein he ſhewed from the laws of England, the abſurdity of it, ſince all religious acts, exerciſed by ſix perſons, not according to the formality of the church of England, were forbidden; and that at this rate it might be reckoned a tranſgreſſion, if a woman being in travail, and in danger of life, one of the company ſaid a prayer; or if any one ſpoke ſomething to comfort the near relations of a deceaſed perſon; or prayed for the health or happineſs of a young married couple, &c. by which it might happen, that ſome by the malice of their enemies, might not only incur impriſonment for three months, but alſo, by virtue of the act of baniſhment, might be condemned to tranſportation. That this was not without danger, did appear ſufficiently by what judge Orlando Bridgman ſaid at Hertford to the jury, viz. 'You are not to expect a plain punctual evidence 'againſt them for any thing they ſaid or did at their meeting; for 'they may ſpeak to one another, though not with or by auricular 'ſound, but by a caſt of the eye, or a motion of the head or foot, 'or geſture of the body. So that if you find or believe in your 'hearts that they were in the meeting under colour of religion in 'their way, though they ſat ſtill only and looked upon each other, 'it was an unlawful meeting.' At this rate the jurymen, who ought to be impartial judges, or mediators, were ſwayed, ſo that without fear they might find the Quakers that were met together guilty of tranſgreſſing the law.

Some reflections on the ſaid act publiſhed.

Sir Orlando Bridgman's ſtrange advice to a jury on the ſaid act.

Now ſince at that time they were reſolved to baniſh the Quakers, ſo called, George Whitehead publiſhed a little book, in which he ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs of the perſecutors, and alſo ſtrengthened his friends with ſolid arguments againſt the charge of ſtiffneckedneſs, anſwering ſome ſpecious objections; amongſt the reſt, 'That the Quakers might keep ſmall meetings, and ſo not fall 'under the laſh of the law; for if they did not meet above five 'in number, they kept without the reach of the law; and by 'keeping private meetings they might alſo acquit their conſciences 'before God.' But to this G. Whitehead anſwered, 'that it might 'have been objected to the prophet Daniel, that he might have 'prayed ſecretly, and not with open windows and thrice a day, 'after king Darius had ſigned the decree, *That whoſoever ſhould 'aſk a petition of any God or man for thirty days, ſave of the 'king, he ſhould be caſt into the den of lions;* but that Daniel, not-'withſtanding this decree, had continued to pray to God as before. 'Since then,' ſaid G. Whitehead, 'our meetings are kept in obe-'dience to the Lord God, and according to the freedom he hath 'given us, we may not leave off our teſtimony for God in that 'caſe; but we muſt be faithful to him, whatever we ſuffer on that 'account. For neither the threatenings of men, nor their ſeverity

G. Whitehead writes againſt perſecution.

'or

1664. ‘ or cruelty acted againſt us, how far ſoever it may be extended, ‘ can make us to forſake the Lord in not keeping our aſſemblies, or ‘ to be aſhamed of Chriſt before men, leſt hereafter he be aſhamed of ‘ us before his Father which is in heaven.’ Beſides he ſhewed, ‘how ‘ unreaſonable it was to incite the jury on an ill grounded ſuſpicion, ‘ without leaving them the liberty of their own judgment.’ And the judges he ſhewed ‘ their duty from the law, and Magna Char- ‘ ta.’ He alſo ſhewed ‘ how unequal it was, that ſoldiers, who ‘ abuſed his friends in their meetings, ſhould be called as witneſſes ‘ againſt them ; and that they ſhould be locked up with thieves ‘ and felons, ſince this was contrary to the right of a free-born ‘ Engliſhman.’ But this repreſentation of G. Whitehead was ſlighted, ſince they were reſolved to go on with baniſhing of the Quakers, and to tranſport them to the Weſt-Indies ; which however, according to the ancient laws, might not be done to a free-born Engliſhman againſt his mind. Joſiah Coale about this time gave forth alſo a paper, being a warning to the king and both houſes of parliament, to diſſuade them from perſecution. But this did not avail, for perſecution went on.

As doth alſo J. Coale.

The trial of eight friends at Hertford.

In the month called Auguſt, eight of thoſe called Quakers, viz. Francis Prior, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feaſt, Henry Marſhal, Jeremiah Hern, Thomas Wood, John Blendale, and Samuel Trahern, were tried at Hertford before judge Orlando Bridgman, already mentioned. The indictment contained, ‘ that they had been ‘ at an unlawful meeting, under colour and pretence of religion :’ and the witneſſes declared, ‘ that they had met together above the ‘ number of five, and were taken at ſuch times, and ſuch places ;’ for they muſt have tranſgreſſed thrice before they could be condemned to baniſhment : but the witneſſes declared alſo, ‘ that ‘ they neither heard them ſpeak any words, nor ſaw them do any ‘ thing at their meeting, but ſit ſtill.’ The indictment having been delivered to the grand jury, they could not agree in their verdict ; for there were ſome amongſt them whoſe conſciences would not give them leave to be acceſſary to this work of perſecution ; and therefore they brought in their verdict, ‘ Ignoramus.’ Now though ſuch a verdict as this ought not to be rejected, yet judge Bridgman ſtanding up, and ſeeming to be angry, ſpoke to the jury after this manner, ‘ My maſters, what do you mean to ‘ do ? Will you make a noſe of wax of the law, and ſuffer the ‘ law to be baffled ? Thoſe that think to deceive the law, the law ‘ will deceive them. Why don’t ye find the bill ?’ To which one of the jury ſaid, ‘ that it concerned them to be wary, and well ‘ ſatisfied in what they did, for they were upon mens lives for ‘ ought they knew.’ ‘ No,’ ſaid the judge, ‘ I deſire not their lives, ‘ but their reformation :’ and then he gave the jury ſome directions, and he ſo coloured the matter, that they going out again ſoon returned, and found the bill.

The judge’s partial ſpeeches and behaviour.

Then four of the priſoners were called to the bar, their indictment read, and they aſked, ‘ Guilty, or not guilty ?’ To which they anſwered, ‘ Not guilty, and that they had tranſgreſſed ‘ no juſt law.’ ‘ But,’ ſaid the judge, ‘ ye have tranſgreſſed this ‘ law,’ having the act in his hand, ‘ and ye have been twice convicted

'convicted already upon record, and if ye are found guilty by 1664.
'the jury this time, I must pass the sentence of transportation up-
'on you. Now therefore ye shall see that we do not desire to strain
'the law to the highest severity; neither do I believe that it was
'the aim of the law-makers to be severe, but for conforming.
'If ye will promise that ye will not go, or be at any more such
'meetings, I will shew you this favour, as to acquit you for
'what is past: this favour ye may receive before the jury is
'charged with you; but afterwards I cannot do it. And know al-
'so, if the jury, for want of punctual evidence, should not find you
'guilty, yet if ye are taken again, ye will be in the same case ye
'now are in. What say you? Will ye promise to meet no more?'
To this the prisoners answered, 'they could promise no such thing.'
Then a jury was called, and the indictment read a second time,
containing, 'that the prisoners had been at an unlawful meeting
'at such a time and place, the first, second, and third time.'---
The witnesses being called, gave the same evidence as before; and
then the judge said thus to the jury: 'My masters, the jury, ye
'hear what evidence the witnesses give; how they took them at
'such times, at such places, which are places they use to meet in;
'and that they were above the number of five, besides the per-
'sons of the family where they met; and that they are twice con-
'victed already upon record: and this is the third offence, which
'incurs the sentence of transportation, if ye find them guilty.'—
Then he spoke those words which have been mentioned already,
viz. 'Ye are not to expect a plain punctual evidence against them
'for any thing they said or did at their meeting, &c. for dumb
'men may speak to one another, so as they may understand each
'other by signs: and they themselves say, that the worship of God
'is inward, in the spirit, and that they can discern spirits, and
'know one another in spirit. So that if ye find or believe in your
'hearts that they were in the meeting, under colour of religion in
'their way, tho' they sat still only, it was an unlawful meeting,
'and their use and practice not according to the liturgy of the
'church of England; for it allows and commands when people
'meet together in the church, that divine service shall be read,
'&c. And ye must find the bill; for ye must have respect to the
'meaning and intent of the law, which the king and parliament
'have in wisdom and policy made, not only against conventi-
'cles, but the words Assembly and Meeting were added: for we
'have had late experience of the danger of such meetings under co-
'lour of religion; and it is an easy matter at such meetings to con-
'spire and consult mischief. Therefore the wisdom and policy of
'the king and parliament, lest they should be undermined, have
'made this law, which is not a law against conscience, for it doth
'not touch conscience at all, as I confess some other laws do, which Four of them are found guilty,
'enjoin coming to church, and some other things.' This and
more judge Bridgman spoke to the jury, to persuade them to bring
the prisoners in guilty. And the jury being gone out, within the
space of an hour returned, and their foreman said 'that Nicholas
'Lucas, and the other three, were guilty.'

What the judge had said, 'that they had had late experience of

1664. 'the danger of ſuch meetings under colour of religion,' was of no force at all; for it never had appeared that the Quakers in religious meetings did any thing elſe than the performing of their worſhip, tho' there were other evidences concerning the Fifth-monarchy-men; but it was univerſally known that the Quakers had no part therein, nor joined with them in the leaſt degree. It was alſo a very abſurd ſaying of the judge, that 'this law did not touch 'conſcience;' for it was merely for conſcience-ſake that the Quakers frequented not the publick ſervice and liturgy of the church of England, and kept religious meetings by themſelves. But the jury ſeemed well ſatisfied with what the judge had told them; and he having thus obtained his aim, read the priſoners names, and ſaid to them, 'What can ye ſay for yourſelves, that judgment of 'tranſportation ſhould not paſs, or be given againſt you?' To which they ſaid, 'We are innocent, and have tranſgreſſed no juſt 'law; if we muſt have that ſentence, we give up our bodies freely into the hands of the Lord; the will of the Lord be done!' 'Have ye nothing more to ſay?' ſaid the judge. 'Nothing, but 'that we are innocent,' replied the priſoners, 'we have wronged 'no man.' 'Then hearken to your ſentence,' ſaid the judge: 'Ye 'ſhall be tranſported beyond the ſeas, to the iſland of Barbados, 'there to remain ſeven years.'

And ſentenced to be tranſported to Barbados.

Then Jeremiah Hern and Thomas Wood were called to the bar, and their indictment read, to which they pleaded 'not guilty,' but 'innocent;' and Jeremiah ſaid, 'he was no ſuch perſon as the 'act mentioned, for plotting and contriving inſurrections.' Then the judge interrupting him ſaid, 'You are a forward man, you 'have an eſtate;' and ſo he cauſed him to be ſet by: and to Thomas Wood he ſaid, 'I hear a good report of you; conſider what 'you do; I am ſorry, ſeeing you have a good report among your 'neighbours, that you ſhould be found guilty, which I fear you 'will if you put yourſelf upon trial: I am willing to ſhew you fa-'vour; and it may be one man may fare the better for another.'--- This reflected on Jeremiah, who, by the malice of one John King, had been falſely repreſented to the judge. Yet Jeremiah having ſhewn how he had been wronged, the judge ſaid, 'they ſhould 'both partake of his favour, if they would but deſire it:' and this favour conſiſted in this, as he himſelf ſaid, 'that he would wave 'the proceedings of the court, and give them time till the next aſ-'ſizes, to conſider better with themſelves. What ſay you,' (thus he continued) 'will ye have it deferred till the next aſſizes? For 'if the jury find the bill, you will be ſent to Jamaica; ye muſt not 'all go to one place.' To this the priſoners returned, 'We have 'tranſgreſſed no law of God, nor wronged any man: we leave it to 'the court; we deſire it not.' 'If you will not deſire it,' replied the judge, 'I cannot, nor will do it.'

J. Hern and T. Wood called to the bar, and offered the delay of their trial till next aſſizes, if they would deſire it, which they did not.

Then three other priſoners were brought to the bar, among whom was one John Reynolds, who, according to the depoſition of the witneſſes, had been within a yard of the door of the meeting-place, with his face from it. The judge then ſaid, 'God for-'bid that I ſhould do any thing that is not right and juſt againſt 'my conſcience; there is that which is written upon the wall be-

'fore

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'fore me, which puts me in mind that I ſhould not judge for man, 'but for God.' Then turning to the jury, he ſpoke to them almoſt after the ſame manner, as he did concerning the other four priſoners; and to induce them to declare Reynolds (who was taken but not in the meeting) guilty, he ſpoke thus, 'Suppoſe a 'man be killed in a houſe, and no body ſaw him killed, but a 'man is met coming out of the houſe with a bloody knife in his 'hand, it is a very probable evidence that he is guilty of the mur-'der. So though the witneſſes do not ſay that they ſaw and took 'him in the meeting, yet they ſwore he was within a yard of the 'door with his face from the place where they uſually met; 'and he hath been taken twice already, and convicted upon re-'cord. My maſters, I leave it to you, go forth.' Then a bailiff was called, and charged to provide the jury a room, and to let none ſpeak with them, nor to let them have either bread, drink, or candle, till they brought in their verdict. The jury being gone out, ſoon agreed, and after they were returned, ſaid, 'that four 'of the five priſoners were guilty, and that the other who ſtood 'without the door was not guilty.' So he was acquitted; but the other four being brought to the bar, the judge aſked them, 'What 'they could ſay why judgment of tranſportation ſhould not be gi-'ven againſt them?' Their anſwer was, 'We are innocent, and 'have not offended any juſt law of God or man, to deſerve that 'ſentence; we leave it to the witneſs of God in thy or your con-'ſciences.' Then the judge ſaid, 'Ye have offended againſt this 'law' (having the act before him) 'which is made by the king 'and parliament; and executed by us their ſubordinate miniſters, 'if it be not righteous and juſt, we muſt anſwer for that.' One of the priſoners had ſaid before, 'If I have tranſgreſſed any juſt 'law, let me ſuffer; and if not, he that judgeth for God will not 'condemn me.' To which the judge returned, 'You do well to 'put me in mind of my duty; pray think of your own.' And now he aſked the priſoners, 'Have you any more to ſay?' To which they anſwered, 'Nothing, but that we are innocent.' Then he ſaid, 'Hear your ſentence: you ſhall be tranſported beyond 'the ſeas, to the iſland of Jamaica, being one of his majeſty's fo-'reign plantations, there to remain ſeven years. Now I have 'this one thing to acquaint you with, that if you, and either of 'you, will pay down here to the court, an hundred pounds be-'fore the court riſeth, you and every one of you ſhall be diſcharg-'ed, and clearly acquitted for what is paſt. And I will ſhew you 'this favour, not to diſcharge the court at this preſent, but ſhall 'adjourn it till afternoon.' This was done; and the court being met again, the judge ſent to the condemned priſoners to know if they would pay down the hundred pounds; but they anſwering 'No,' the court was then ſoon diſcharged.

Four more found guilty, and ſentenced to be tranſported to Jamaica, and one acquitted.

Seven of theſe priſoners not long after were carried on ſhip-board to be tranſported to the Weſt-Indies; but (which was remarkable) the ſhip by contrary winds and ſtormy weather was hindered going to ſea. Not only the maſter, whoſe name was Thomas May, but alſo his men grew very uneaſy at this: for they believed that heaven was againſt them: nay, the ſailors threatened to leave the ſhip,

Seven of theſe perſons put on board to be tranſported,

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ſhip, if the maſter would not ſet thoſe priſoners aſhore. And he himſelf conſidering how after having lain long in the Downs, and more than once ſet ſail, they were hindered to go on by contrary winds, reſolved at length, after having lingered about two months, to ſet the baniſhed aſhore; and ſo he did, giving them a certificate, of which I have a copy in my cuſtody, that they were not run away, but freely put aſhore by him, for which among others he gave theſe reaſons, 'that ſeeing the great adverſities they had 'met with, he concluded from thence, that the hand of God was 'againſt him, and that therefore he durſt not go off with theſe pri-'ſoners, becauſe he found them to be honeſt men, who had not de-'ſerved baniſhment. And alſo that there was a law extant, that no 'Engliſhman might be tranſported againſt his mind. And that 'his men refuſed to proceed on the voyage if he would carry 'away theſe people.' This certificate he gave under his hand, and ſo let them go away free; and not long after the ſhip ſet ſail with a fair wind. I do not find that the baniſhed, who returned home again, were proſecuted on this account: for the ſentence againſt them was executed as far as it could be at that time, and they had made no oppoſition, but had been ſufferers.

And detained two months by contrary winds,

Are ſet aſhore again, and return home.

Perſecution continues, and friends are firm in their profeſſion.

Perſecution in the mean-while did not ceaſe: but this did not diſcourage thoſe called Quakers; they continued valiant, as I have ſeen in many letters ſent about that time to ſome of my acquaintance. One ſaid in the court of juſtice, 'We are in the ſervice of 'the Lord, and may not leave it;' and another who was offered to be freed of baniſhment, if he would pay down an hundred pounds, ſaid, 'Tho' I had an hundred lives to loſe, and could re-'deem them all for an hundred pence, yet I would not do it.' But this could not ſtop the violence of the perſecutors; till an heavier hand reached them, as may be related hereafter.

More condemned to be tranſported, ſome of them being women.

In the months October and December many were condemned to tranſportation, and among theſe ſeveral women, whoſe trials I ſhall but curſorily ſpeak of: for if I ſhould relate all particulars, the deſcription would far exceed my limits; and therefore I will but touch upon ſome few things.

Sixteen more tried at Hicks's Hall, before juſtice Proctor, &c.

On the 13th of October ſixteen of thoſe called Quakers were tried at Hicks's Hall, in Middleſex, for the third offence, as they called it. The grand-jury conſulting together about finding the bill of indictment, could not well agree. And the juſtices giving them a check, one of the jurymen deſired to know, 'by what law they 'ought to find a bill againſt any perſons, without witneſſes to teſ-'tify the fact committed.' To which anſwer was made by the court, 'that their records teſtified the crime or fact, and that ſuch their 'record was a ſufficient witneſs without the teſtimony of any man.' And for proof of this it was further ſaid, 'The records in Chance-'ry ſerve as a ſufficient teſtimony; and if it be ſo in Chancery, why 'not here?' The jury having been twice upon this buſineſs, was ſent up the third time; and Edward Shelton, the clerk, ſaid he would go up alſo to help them, and ſo he did; it having been threatened, 'that if the jurymen did not find the bill, they ſhould 'be fined.' Nevertheleſs, at their return they anſwered, 'No ver-'dict.' Whereupon the juſtices finding the jurymen not to anſwer

The Grand-Jury not readily finding a bill, E. Shelton the clerk goes up to help them.

their

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their ends, took them apart, and examined them one by one, telling them that 'the only thing they were to look upon was, that 'they did aſſemble together above the number of five in company;' which, according to what they ſaid, their records ſhewed. This made ſome of the jury comply; but others ſtood it out, and ſignified that in conſcience they could not conſent to what was required of them. But the major part complying with the juſtices, upon their threatening them, and the others being ſtrongly preſſed, the bill was by a kind of force accepted at length. But how hard a caſe this was to ſome, appeared by the mournful confeſſion of one of the jury *, who, to eaſe his conſcience, publiſhed in print a ſmall book, with the title of, 'The wounded Heart, or, The Jury-'man's Offences,' &c. in which he openly diſapproved the fact, to which he had been induced by human fear. The pains had been ſo great to perſuade the jury to bring in a verdict according to the mind of the court, that the clerk as was reported, ſaid, 'he 'had rather have given twenty pounds, than have been ſo troubled.'

They are threatened.

* Tho. Leader.

The next day the priſoners were brought to the bar, and William Proctor of Gray's-Inn ſat as judge in the court. The queſtions and anſwers I paſs by for brevity ſake. One Hannah Trigg pleading ſhe was innocent, was aſked, 'how old ſhe was?' To which ſhe ſaying, 'ſhe was not ſixteen years old;' one of the juſtices did not ſtick to ſay, 'ſhe told a lie; and that he thought the Quakers would 'not lie.' In the mean-while it appeared, that he only ſaid ſo by gueſs to baffle her; for by a certificate of ſome that were preſent at her birth (which was divulged in print) it was proved that ſhe, being the daughter of Timothy Trigg, was born at London on the 20th of the month called Auguſt 1649, and ſo was but fifteen years of age, and dealt with againſt the law: which was the harder, becauſe this maid falling ſick, died in priſon, after the ſentence of baniſhment had been paſſed upon her; which ſentence was now pronounced againſt twelve perſons, among whom were four maids; and four married women were condemned to a confinement of eleven months in Bridewell. The judge in the pronouncing the ſentences was ſo diſturbed in his mind, that ordering ſome to be tranſported to Virginia, and others to Barbados, he condemned ſome alſo to be ſent to Hiſpaniola; at which the people were not a little ſurpriſed, for he made it plainly appear, that he did not conſider what he ſaid; ſince Hiſpaniola was no place in the dominions of the king of England: but he was ſo confounded, that he alſo accuſed the priſoners of 'having tranſgreſſed the laws of 'the commonwealth,' forgetting that England was no more a commonwealth, as it was before the reſtoration of king Charles II.

Hannah Trigg a maid of fifteen, after ſentence of baniſhment dies in priſon.

The judge pronounces ſentence in great confuſion.

On the 15th of October above forty of the priſoners called Quakers were tried before the judges Hide and Keeling. To mention all the exorbitances of this trial, which were not few, I count needleſs: for as to the queſtions and anſwers, and the paſſing of ſentence, the reader may form to himſelf an idea of it from what hath been ſaid already of the trial at Hertford, &c. A maid being aſked 'Guilty or not guilty,' anſwered, 'I never was taken at 'any ſeditious meeting or conventicle in my life.' To which the judge ſaid, 'But, woman, were not you taken at the Bull and

Above forty tried before the judges Hide and Keeling, whoſe proceedings are very arbitrary and their opinions in law unaccountable.

1664. 'Mouth the 21ſt of Auguſt?' She anſwered, 'I am innocent in 'the ſight of God and all good people.' That this was true the judge did not deny, but ſaid, 'I believe that, woman, but you have 'tranſgreſſed a law.' She replied, 'As for the Bull and Mouth, I 'believe I have been there an hundred times, and if the Lord per-'mit me life and liberty, I do not know, but I may go there an 'hundred times more.' The judge then ſaying, 'Woman, will 'you plead, or no, guilty, or, not guilty, or elſe I muſt paſs ſen-'tence upon you.' She anſwered, 'The will of the Lord be done, 'I am innocent.' Yet this could not avail her, though judge Hide had ſaid a little before concerning the priſoners, 'if they are in-'nocent, then they are not guilty.' But ſhe was ſet by as mute, or pro confeſſo, as to the fact charged againſt her in the indict-ment. Others who complained of the unreaſonableneſs of the pro-ceedings, were hectored as impudent; and the jury ſhewing them-ſelves diſſatisfied concerning the witneſſes, judge Hide ſaid to them, 'It was no untruth if a man did miſtake in the time, and that his 'evidence was good, though he did not ſee one in the houſe: for,' ſaid he, 'if forty men be in a room, and one is brought out of 'the room to me, ſtanding at the door, cannot I ſwear that he was 'in that room, if I ſee him come out? You muſt not make ſuch 'ſcruples.'

In the mean-while there were ſome among the witneſſes who did not know the priſoners by face; ſo that there was reaſon enough to diſprove their teſtimony. But whatever was objected, the buſi-neſs muſt go on: for though one of the witneſſes declared that 'the 'meeting,' from which the priſoners had been taken, 'was peace-'able;' and though one of the priſoners ſaid, that 'the law was 'made againſt ſeditious meetings, and that nothing of ſedition had 'been proved againſt them:' yet judge Keeling ſaid, 'The act was 'made to prevent ſuch meetings, becauſe under colour and pre-'tence of religion, plots and conſpiracies might be carried on.'—And when a priſoner ſaid, 'that he was at a peaceable godly meet-'ing, and received much comfort there;' the judge returned, 'That is as much as we deſire. You confeſs you were there; and 'though it was a peaceable meeting, yet it was an unlawful one.' Another of the priſoners who pleaded that 'the law the court act-'ed by was contrary to Magna Charta, and the ancient funda-'mental laws of the land,' was anſwered by judge Hide, 'if the 'king and parliament ſhould make a law that two juſtices without a 'jury ſhould adjudge a man to death for the third offence as a fe-'lon, without benefit of clergy, it would be a good law, and ac-'cording to Magna Charta, and the law of the land; and we 'ſhould be bound to execute it.' It ſeems this judge (who not long after was ſuddenly ſummoned hence to appear before the Divine Aſ-ſizes) was of opinion, that ſince the legiſlative power reſided in the king and parliament, all that they reſolved and enacted, muſt paſs for good law. But if I ſhould mention all the abſurdities I meet with in theſe proceedings, when ſhould I come to an end? True it is, that ſometimes a ſhew was made of pity: for judge Keeling ſaid to two maids, 'We are ſorry that ſuch young maids ſhould be 'thus deluded.' But becauſe they would not promiſe to go to the

publick

publick church, though they declared themſelves ready to aſſiſt at divine ſervice, they were deemed as guilty. Another priſoner being aſked by judge Hide, 'whether he would go to church,' anſwered, 'If I have my liberty, I ſhall go to church.' But when it appeared that he did not mean the eſtabliſhed or publick church, this promiſe could not ſave him. One Richard Poulton, a lad of fifteen years of age, who by a certificate ſhewed, that he was not yet ſixteen years old, and therefore no tranſgreſſor of the law, was aſked, 'if he would ſwear he was not ſixteen?' juſt as if he could have remembered the time of his birth, to which he anſwered, 'that he was not brought up to ſwearing;' and being aſked, 'whether he would promiſe to go to church?' he anſwered, 'he ſhould 'promiſe no ſuch thing.' Then he was returned to the reſt that were to be ſentenced. 1664.

R. Poulton aſked to ſwear to his age.

This was on the ſeventeenth of the aforeſaid month, when nineteen perſons, among which ſome women, were condemned to baniſhment, and four married women to twelve months impriſonment in Bridewell. None of the judges it ſeems had a mind to pronounce ſentence, and therefore they left this buſineſs to the city-recorder*. He then bidding the priſoners to hearken to the judgment of the court, ſpoke ſo ſoftly, that he could not well be heard, which made one of the priſoners ſay, 'that he ought to 'ſpeak louder, for they could not hear him.' But he continuing to ſpeak ſoftly as before, two or three others of the priſoners told him, 'they could not tell what he ſaid.' To which he anſwered, 'he cared not whether they did or no;' and then ſaid, 'Hearken 'to your ſentence—you and every of you, ſhall be tranſported be-'yond the ſeas, the men to Barbados, and the women to Jamaica, 'being two of his majeſty's plantations, there to remain ſeven 'years.' Thus the perſecutors endeavoured to be rid of the Quakers: but though perſecution now was very hot, yet they fainted not, neither were they in want of ſuch vigilant aſſiſtants, as both by example and words continually encouraged them to faithfulneſs, who yet (which was remarkable) were not condemned to baniſhment, as many others.

Nineteen ſentenced to baniſhment, and four to Bridewell, for twelve months.

* Wild.

Publick miniſters not condemned to baniſhment.

Among theſe was Joſiah Coale alſo, who, about this time, as I have been told, was in priſon at London, and both by writing, and by word of mouth, did exhort his fellow-believers to conſtancy: for, when under confinement, he betook himſelf to his pen, and recommended to his friends, 'that they would not forſake 'their meetings, though they were to undergo great ſufferings, 'ſince is was God's good pleaſure to let their patience be tried. 'And,' ſaid he, 'that theſe afflictions come upon us is by God's 'permiſſion: who then ſhall gainſay him, or endeavour to reaſon 'with him about matters of ſo great a concern, ſince his way is 'hid from man.' He alſo ſignified to them, 'that this was done 'to try their faith, and that therefore they ought to continue bold, 'and perſevere valiantly. And though,' ſaid he, 'great ſufferings 'and afflictions attend us, yet my heart, praiſed be the Lord, is not 'troubled, neither hath fear ſeized me, becauſe I ſee the intent of 'the Lord in it.' And in one letter he ſpoke thus: 'Friends, this 'know, that for the ſake of the reſidue of the ſeed which is yet un-

J. Coale's exhortation to conſtancy under ſufferings, &c.

'gathered,

1664. 'gathered, is my life freely ſacrificed up into the hand of the Lord; 'and ready and willing am I to lay it down for the teſtimony of 'God's bleſſed truth, which he hath given me to bear, if thereun-'to I am called: for bonds and afflictions attend me daily, and I 'may ſay, we are in jeopardy of our lives daily: ſo let your prayer 'to God be for me, that I may be kept unto the end, to finiſh 'my teſtimony with joy, and, in all things, to bring glory and 'honour to the name of the Lord, who is over all, bleſſed for 'ever?' This his chriſtian deſire he obtained, as will be ſaid in due place. It was a time of ſuffering; and thoſe to whoſe ſhare it fell, continued valiant; whilſt others did not neglect to exhort the king and parliament to leave off perſecution. Among theſe was William Bayly, who gave forth a very ſerious exhortation and warning againſt perſecution to the king and parliament, &c. beginning thus:

For the KING and PARLIAMENT, &c.

FRIENDS,

Wm. Bayly's exhortation to king and parliament.

THE God of heaven hath put it into my heart to write a few words unto you, in the fear and dread of his name, and in the council of his own will, concerning the work which ye have taken in hand againſt him and his people; this is not the end and work for which the Lord God hath permitted you into the places of government and rule, in theſe nations, nor the way for you to proſper, nor to prolong your days in the earth, thus to perſecute and afflict an innocent and harmleſs people, who are peaceable, and walk uprightly towards God and man therein, endeavouring in all things to keep their conſciences void of offence, and who have no helper in the earth but the Lord alone; neither is their kingdom of this world, but they are verily the children and ſervants of the moſt high God, whom he hath gathered from amongſt men, and from the kindreds of the earth, to be the firſt fruits unto him, and to the Lamb in this age; and we are his, and not our own, he hath bought us and redeemed us unto himſelf, and to him alone have we committed our innocent cauſe, and he hath undertaken to plead it for us, with all our adverſaries; and no weapon formed againſt us ſhall ever proſper, but be broken to pieces.

Therefore friends be awakened and open your eyes, and ſee what a ſtir and ado here is in this nation, to hale and drag up and down a company of tender, innocent and harmleſs people, men and women, and children from their peaceable meetings, who meet together in the fear and tender love of God, without any evil or bad intent toward any, but have good-will and compaſſion toward all men, even to the worſt of our enemies, as the Lord bears us witneſs; and theſe are they that are driven as ſheep to the ſlaughter, and thrown into your noiſome gaols, and priſons, and houſes of correction, by rude and brutiſh people (your ſervants) whom you have ſet on work by your authority, till many of them have patiently ſuffered till death, whoſe innocent blood will aſſuredly be required at your hands, though they ſhall not go

free

free of the guilt, who have had the leaſt hand in it, without ſpeedy repentance. And thus ye may ſee and read, how the diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus, are as ſheep and lambs in the midſt of wolves in this age, and as *a lily among thorns*, and all this is only for obeying his commands, and for worſhipping the everlaſting inviſible God, in the ſpirit, and in the truth, according to the ſcriptures, the which if ye knew and underſtood, you would tremble to think what you have done againſt them, to cauſe ſo many of the little ones, which believe in Chriſt, ſo grievouſly to ſuffer, who ſaid, It were better a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and he drowned in the depth of the ſea, that ſhould offend one of theſe little ones that believe in me; and as true as Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered, and roſe again, and as God liveth, who raiſed him from the dead, we are ſome of thoſe his little ones that believe in him, who, in deriſion and ſcorn, in this age, are called Quakers, as ye might call Moſes, the prophets and apoſtles, in days paſt, who did quake and tremble at the preſence of the Lord, who is the ſame now as ever he was, tho' the ungodly know him not, nor his power: and we are of that poor and afflicted people, mentioned, Zeph. iii. 12, 19. Whoſe truſt is in the name of the Lord, who will undo all that afflict them. 1664.

But what ſhall I ſay unto you; if ye will not, or cannot believe our faithful teſtimony (or the teſtimony of God through us) and the innocency of our cauſe and ſufferings, neither will ye believe, if one ſhould riſe from the dead and declare it unto you; for many tender viſitations, and timely warnings, and gentle reprehenſions have you had from the pure ſpirit of the Lord God, both from his witneſs in your own conſciences, and from his faithful ſervants and meſſengers, who have written and declared unto you in his name and power in this your day. And as for my part, who am one of the leaſt of the thouſands of Iſrael, I could willingly have been ſilent as towards you at this time, but the Lord, whom I ſerve in my ſpirit, hath laid it upon me to warn you once more (for whoſe ſakes I have borne a burden) in the true ſight and ſenſe of your ſad eſtate, and of the day of thick darkneſs, wrath and diſtreſs, which is haſtening upon you from the Almighty.

Wherefore be not proud nor rebellious, but hear, and obey the word of the Lord; for thus ſaith the Lord God that made heaven and earth, Let my innocent people alone, and touch them not any more, as ye have done; for they are mine, and I have called them, and choſen them, and redeemed them, they are my jewels which I am making up, they ſhall ſhew forth my glory before men to the whole world; I have anointed them, and I will preſerve them and deliver them, and crown them with an everlaſting ſalvation. I will rebuke kings and rulers for their ſakes, and diſtreſs nations, and dethrone the mighty from their ſeats that riſe up againſt them, as I have done; and let my everlaſting goſpel have a free paſſage in theſe nations; and do not reproach and afflict my ſervants and meſſengers ſo any more, whom I have choſen and ſent to preach and declare the way of life and ſalvation to the ends of the earth, but bow your ear and your heart unto them and their teſtimony, that it may be well with you, and prolong your days; for he that bleſſeth them ſhall

1664. be bleſſed, and he that curſeth them ſhall be curſed, and every hand ſhall wither that oppoſeth them, as hath been, and ſhall be, henceforth for-ever: I the Lord have ſpoken it.

But if you will not hear, but will ſtill perſiſt, and go on, as ye have done, to oppreſs my heritage, and harmleſs people, and make war and oppoſition againſt my power and truth, and thus ſet yourſelves and your power againſt me, the living God, I will bring you down ſuddenly, to the aſtoniſhment of nations, and I'll cut your day ſhort, and turn your pleaſures into howling and lamentation, and ſhame and contempt ſhall cover your memorial as a garment: thus will I work for the deliverance of my ſeed, and none ſhall let it; for the year of my redeemed is come, and the day of vengeance is in my heart, to plead its cauſe with all fleſh.

Therefore conſider your ways, and ſee what ye are doing, and what the effect of this your work will be; ye are but men, and the children of men, who were but as yeſterday; your breath alſo is in your noſtrils, and your life is but a vapour, which will ſoon vaniſh away: you labour in the very fire, and bring forth wind, which blows up the flame of that which will conſume you, and deprive you of all happineſs for-ever: O that ye had but hearts to conſider it! for the more you ſtrive with the Lord, and oppreſs his people, the more will they multiply, and grow ſtronger and ſtronger, and you ſhall wax weaker and weaker, and your works ſhall be your heavy burden; for life and immortality is riſen, and the power of God is ſtirring in the hearts of thouſands, and light and underſtanding (the excellent ſpirit which was in Daniel) is breaking forth like the lightning, which ſhines out of the eaſt into the weſt, in the ſight of many people, whereby they know, it is the day of the coming of the Son of Man, with power and great glory, that every eye may ſee him, and they that have pierced him ſhall mourn bitterly: ſo, your labour is in vain, and your works for the fire, and your ſtriving with your Maker to no purpoſe, as to effect your end and aim. And of theſe things you have been often forewarned, and the Lord hath been very long-ſuffering towards you, in ſparing you thus long, and ſuffering you thus far to act againſt him and his dear people; and his mercy and forbearance hath been evidently ſhewed in a large meaſure unto you, in deferring his heavy judgments thus long, which muſt have been confeſt to be juſt upon you. And will you thus requite the Lord, by increaſing your taſks of oppreſſion upon his tender innocent people? O unwiſe and ungrateful generation! hath not

Micah. vi. 8. God yet ſhewed you, *that you ſhould do juſtly, and love mercy, and walk humbly?* But are theſe your fruits and practices, fruits of mercy or juſtice? Or if there be any tincture or ſpark of love, or humility in them, let God's witneſs (the light) in all your conſciences, and in people, anſwer. I tell you plainly, that ſuch fruits and doing among you, that profeſs yourſelves Chriſtians, have made the very name of Chriſt and chriſtianity, a proverb of reproach through nations, and have cauſed the God of heaven to be blaſphemed: and how could it be otherwiſe, ſeeing you who profeſs the moſt knowledge of God, and have talked of converting the Heathen, as ſome of your leaders have done, are found

found the leaſt in the life and fruits thereof: but to what would they convert them? to pride and ſwearing and drunkenneſs, and oppreſſion, and all manner of exceſs, and to perſecute people for their good conſciences: they have no need of that; for ſome of them have ſaid, 'they did not uſe to ſwear and be drunk, '&c. till they came among the Chriſtians, and learned of them, they 'did not do ſo in their own country:' ye are ſo far from converting them, being out of the life of what ye profeſs and talk of yourſelves, that the very Heathen or Infidels (as ye call them) do judge and condemn you, who are making inquiry, concerning theſe your proceedings againſt this harmleſs people, among whom ſome of them have been kindly entreated, who viſited them at the Lord's requiring, tho' contrary in opinion and religion; and this doth riſe up in judgment againſt you. 1664.

But, friends, have not you yourſelves been under ſuffering, and ſome of you been driven into ſtrange countries, or lands, for your cauſe, as it was called? Nay, did not the king himſelf once flee for refuge to a tree, to ſave himſelf from his enemies hands? If not, why are there ſuch repreſentations made of it, in ſo many places in the nation? And was not this as great a mercy and deliverance from God, ſo to obſcure and preſerve him, from them who purſued him, and many of you alſo? And are theſe things forgotten? Can mercy be loved, except it be remembered? And do you remember and love his mercies, by doing juſtly and walking humbly with him, as he doth require? Or do you boaſt in a vain glory, as if your own arm had done it, or your own ſtrength or deſerts had delivered you? If ſo, then God muſt needs be forgotten, and his mercies trod under foot, and his viſitations and counſels caſt behind your back; and ſo, *all that forget God, ſhall be torn in pieces, and there ſhall be none to deliver them*, as it is written. Pſal. 1.

And were theſe your ſufferings, which you ſuſtained by them ye oppoſed, unjuſt and unequal? And if you ſhould ſay, they were; then I ſay, it is much more unjuſt and very unequal in the ſight of God, and all ſober people that fear him, for you thus to inflict ſuch cruel ſufferings, as impriſoning, and ſtifling up to death in your noiſome gaols and holes among thieves and murderers, and to pronounce ſentence of baniſhment upon an innocent, harmleſs, peaceable people, that do not oppoſe you in the leaſt, with any outward force, neither do ſo much as the thoughts of it lodge within our breaſts, as the Lord God knoweth, who hath called us to peace, but on the contrary, have ſought and do ſeek your welfare and happineſs, both in this world, and in the world to come, which in time ſhall be manifeſt to the whole earth.

And if you ſay, your ſufferings were unjuſt and unequal, tho' you did oppoſe them, and make war againſt them ſo long as you could, becauſe they deprived you of your rights and privileges, and juſt liberties, and natural birth-rights, &c. which were your due to enjoy, as being free-born of the nation: then how much more is it unjuſt, and unequal, and unrighteous, thus to inflict ſufferings upon your friends, and oppreſs your peaceable neighbours, who are free-born people of the ſame nation, and do not oppoſe you, but are tender towards you, as aforeſaid, and ſubject

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1664. to all wholeſome juſt laws, and tributary to you, for which cauſes we ought to have our juſt liberty, and enjoy the privilege of our birth-right, which is our due ſo long as we live peaceably and harmleſsly, but if it be not a privilege to be pleaded for, then are all your own grounds and reaſons, and cauſe, without a foundation, and you and the whole nation may be ſwept away by any that are able to do it, without being charged with injuſtice or oppreſſion, which is contrary to the juſt balance, the light of Chriſt in all people's conſciences. And as we are the dearly beloved people of the Moſt High God, who doth bleſs us with his preſence, and manifeſt his everlaſting love and good-will towards us daily, and overſhadow us with his power and tender mercies, whom he hath gathered out of the evil ways and ſpirit of this world, and all the vanities thereof, unto himſelf, to walk with him who is inviſible, in the upright, blameleſs, undefiled life, in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe generation; I ſay, conſidering theſe things, how greatly and unrighteouſly do our ſufferings appear to all ſober people, whoſe eyes are open, and will be more open to diſcern and ſavour the bitterneſs of that proud, envious, wrathful ſpirit, which thus hath acted and deceived you; and its end is numbered by them that have wiſdom from above.

For friends, ſet aſide the reproachful name of Quakers, and the other titles of deriſion and ſcorn which the envious and bloodthirſty ſpirit hath invented to render the people of God odious in all ages, and tell me what ye have juſtly to charge againſt this people, whom you ſo furiouſly purſue to the dens and caves of the earth, to the loſs of the lives of ſo many of them; by which children are made fatherleſs, and tender-hearted women mournful widows, and let it come forth to open view, and declare it abroad as your articles againſt them to the whole world, and ſpeak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as you uſe to tell one another that all people may rightly know and underſtand the very ground and moſt ſecret cauſe who do inquire of theſe your preſent proceedings againſt them; for notice is taken by many, and ere long it muſt be manifeſt to all men, as the folly and madneſs of Jannes and Jambres was, that withſtood Moſes; for you withſtand no leſs than him of whom Moſes wrote, who ſaid, *I am the light of the world*, againſt whom Saul was once exceedingly mad, and had thoughts to do very much againſt that way, which was then as well as now called Hereſy, till the light of JESUS, whom he perſecuted, met with him, with his letters or warrants, To hale men and women to priſon, as your ſervants do, and ſmote him to the ground, and made him tremble, who from that time became ſuch a Quaker as you now perſecute and impriſon till death: but the light of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the living God, will meet with all perſecutors, and oppreſſors about religion, let them be never ſo mad, or think they ought to do much againſt that way they call Hereſy, as ſome of you have ſaid, who have made a mock at the light, even publickly, which many took notice of, and even marvelled at ſuch blaſphemy in an open court againſt the Saviour of the world: and there is no other name under heaven by which men ſhall be ſaved, but him who ſaid, John vii. 7, 12, and 16. *I am*

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the light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

1664.

And this is he in whom we have believed, and of whom we have declared, and muſt declare and bear teſtimony as long as we have a being; and the world ſhall know that our teſtimony is true; and for his name and truth only, do we thus patiently ſuffer the contradictions of ſinners, as our brethren did by the zealous Jews in ages paſt; but you are not ſo zealous for Chriſt's law and commandments, as they were of Moſes and the prophets, which Chriſt ends and fulfils, who thought it was not lawful to do good on the ſabbath-day, as to heal the ſick, for then would you *do to all men, as ye would they ſhould do to you;* for his law runs thus, *And be ye merciful*, &c. And *love you your enemies;* and *ſwear not at all*, &c. as ye may read.

Luke vi. 35, 36. Mat. v. 34, &c.

But behold, how both Jews and Gentiles take notice, and are aſhamed and grieved, to hear and ſee what a deal of bad works you do, even on your ſabbath-day, as ſome of you call it, and how you profane the day of your worſhip, with your cattle, and ſervants, which are within your gates, what riding and running, and toiling, in rage and fury, like madmen, ſweating, and ſwearing, and curſing, and dragging, and haling the innocent members of Chriſt's body, out of their peaceable meetings, into your gaols and holes, on your day of worſhip. But are your ſacrifices ye offer at that time accepted? Have ye peace whilſt theſe things are acting in your name, and by your authority? If you have peace and pleaſure therein, let me tell you from the righteous God, you are hardened in your ſins againſt him, and he will break your peace ſpeedily, and turn your pleaſure into bitterneſs and lamentation; and his innocent peoples meetings ſhall ſtand, and be increaſed; and their way ſhall proſper, and the TRUTH ſhall ſpread and prevail, and have dominion over all nations; and their enemies ſhall fall and be confounded, let them ſtrive what they can againſt them; for they are of God (and not of man, or the will of man) and they ſeek his glory, and not their own; and ſuch as abide faithful to him, ſhall triumph over all the principalities and powers of the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, and make a ſhew openly of the victory over all that do or may oppoſe them; for their life is immortal, and the Lord of heaven and earth is their ſtrength, who is with them as a mighty terrible one; therefore ſhall their perſecutors fall before them.

And let me tell you again, that by theſe your unreaſonable, and unjuſt dealings, the underſtandings of thouſands are the more opened, and the tender ſober part, or principle in them, doth feel the weight and burden of this grievouſneſs, which you have preſcribed, and do ſo eagerly purſue, to the impriſoning to death ſo many innocent perſons and free-born people of this nation, beſides hundreds are liable to the ſame, which yet remain in your priſons. And your unnatural, cruel ſentence of baniſhment, to ſeparate dear and tender huſbands from their dear and tender wives, and tender children, and little innocent babes; oh! how do you rend the bowels of the meek of the earth, whom God hath bleſſed? What is become of all your promiſes of liberty for tender conſci-

1664. ences? God's CURSE and VENGEANCE will come upon you, and his PLAGUES will purſue you to deſtruction if ye proceed in this work; and your wives ſhall be widows, and your children fatherleſs; the Lord hath ſpoken it. If you had the hearts of men, or of fleſh, ye would be afraid, and bluſh at the very thoughts hereof; my heart and ſoul melts within me, and I am even bowed down (with cries to God) in my ſpirit, to think of the hardneſs of your hearts.

GOD Almighty cut ſhort thy work in righteouſneſs, and ſhorten the days of oppreſſion and cruelty for thine elect's ſake; which cry night and day unto thee; and make known thy name and power to the ends of the earth; and let the Heathen hear, and fear, and bow to thy righteous ſceptre; and let the kings of the earth lay down their crowns at the feet of the Lamb, that through thy righteous judgments they may partake of thy tender mercies, which endure for-ever, that their eyes may be no longer withholden, nor blinded by the god of this world, the power and prince of darkneſs, but that they may come to ſee thee, who art inviſible, and enjoy the ſame precious life of pure unfeigned love, which abounds in the hearts of thy hidden ones, and receive thy peaceable wiſdom, to be governed, and to govern therein; then would they ſurely know that we are thine, and confeſs to thy glorious truth, and ſpeak good of thy name, and magnify thy power, and no longer count the blood of thy everlaſting covenant (wherewith we are ſanctified) as an unholy thing.

But O thou righteous, holy, pure, eternal God, art unknown unto all them that ſit in darkneſs, and dwell in the ſpirit of enmity againſt thee and thy people, tho' thou art come near to judgment, according to the promiſe, Mal. iii. 5. And thy way of life and ſalvation is hid from them, therefore they hate us without a cauſe, and thus evilly entreat us in the darkneſs of their minds, and in the ignorance and hardneſs of their hearts, for which my ſoul doth pity them, and even entreat thee for them, that if poſſible their eyes may be yet opened, and their hearts yet ſoftned, and their ſpirit humbled, that they may ſee what they are doing in the dark, and conſider the effect of their work, which will aſſuredly follow: and if thy warnings and gentle viſitations will not humble them, then let thy judgments awaken them, and bring them down and humble them, that they may perceive ſomething of what thou art doing (in theſe latter days) and art reſolved to do to the ends of the earth, tho' the whole world ſhould gather and band together to oppoſe thy work and people; for thou haſt begun, and thou wilt go through and perfect, thy work; thou wilt raiſe thy ſeed, and gather thine elect from the four winds, and bring them from the ends of the earth, and ſcatter the proud in the vain imaginations of their hearts; and thou wilt break thy way through all that oppoſe thee in this the day of thy mighty power, in which thou art ariſen (as a giant to run his race) to finiſh tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſin, and bring in and eſtabliſh everlaſting righteouſneſs, that the kingdoms of this world may become thy kingdom, and of thy Chriſt, as thou haſt promiſed, and art now fulfilling;

filling; glory, and honour, and thanks, and everlaſting praiſes, be to thy glorious name, world without end, Amen. 1664.

So friends, ye are and have been warned again and again by the faithful meſſengers and ſervants of the Lord, in love to your ſouls; and you are left without excuſe, if never words more ſhould be mentioned unto you; by which ye might perceive, how the Lord doth ſtrive with you, that ye might repent, and be ſaved from the wrath to come, tho' ſome of you feel little of it in your own conſciences; but *his ſpirit will not always ſtrive with you:* for, if you will not believe them, but ſlight and reject them, and neither make conſcience of what hath proceeded out of your own mouths, nor regard to perform your own words and publick engagements, in that which is juſt, which the Lord requireth of you, nor remember his by-paſt and preſent mercies, and long-ſuffering towards you, but trample all under foot: I ſay, if it be thus with you, and you are reſolved to go on, you will wholly be given up, and be exceedingly hardened, and grow deſperate in cruelty and oppreſſion againſt God, and his truth and people, till your whole earth is filled with violence; and then (as true as God liveth) will the flood come upon you, and ye ſhall fall after the manner of Egypt, and the weight of the dreadful judgments, due for all your abominations and cruelties, ſhall ſink you down into the pit that's bottomleſs, and that ſuddenly, as the Lord hath ſpoken,

By his ſervant, who is a lover of the welfare of all your ſouls, and I am thus far clear of all your blood,

Written in the Tenth Month, 1664, at Hartford.

WILLIAM BAYLY.

Again in December, twelve of thoſe called Quakers, were condemned to baniſhment; for it was reſolved to go on, not regarding what George Biſhop gave forth in print, and cauſed to be delivered to the king and the members of parliament, being as followeth: Twelve more condemned to baniſhment.

To the King and both Houſes of Parliament, thus ſaith the Lord:

MEDDLE not with my people, becauſe of their conſcience to me, and baniſh them not out of the nation becauſe of their conſcience; for if ye do, I will ſend my plagues upon you, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord. G. Biſhop's prophetick caution to the king and parliament.

Briſtol, the 25th of the Ninth Month, 1664.

Written in obedience to the Lord, by his ſervant,

GEORGE BISHOP.

The fulfilling of this prediction we ſhall ſee; for within a ſhort time a war enſued with the Dutch, and the peſtilence appeared at London, but before it broke out, yet more of the impriſoned Quakers were condemned to baniſhment, viz. two and thirty perſons, both men and women, who were ſentenced by the court on the 6th, 14th, and 15th of December; for whatever they ſaid in defence of themſelves, proved ineffectual. One aſked, 'If we meet really to Thirty-two more Quakers condemned to baniſhment,

'worſhip

1664. with somewhat remarkable of the judges opinions.

'worſhip God, muſt we ſuffer for that?' And judge Hide anſwered, 'Yes, that you muſt.' But judge Keeling, to mend the matter a little, ſaid, 'You ſhall not ſuffer for worſhipping God, 'but for being at an unlawful aſſembly, contrary to the law.' Another ſaid, 'I meet to worſhip the eternal God in ſpirit, as he 'perſuades my heart and conſcience; and muſt I be condemned 'to baniſhment for that?' 'Yes, yes,' ſaid judge Keeling, 'for the 'law is againſt it.' To which judge Twiſden added, 'he hath 'confeſſed that he was there to worſhip God; and their worſhip is 'contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' Thus we ſee, if there was but evidence that the priſoners had been at a meeting, this was counted ſufficient to condemn them. A woman being aſked what ſhe had to ſay to the evidence given, anſwered, 'Be it 'known unto you all, if I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, 'I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of the liv-'ing God.' After all the priſoners had been called to the bar, they were at length ſentenced to be tranſported to Jamaica, and to remain there ſeven years.

The author's mother dies.

This year, in September, died my mother Judith Zinſpenning at Amſterdam in Holland, where ſhe was born of religious parents among the Baptiſts, into whoſe ſociety her father Conrad Zinſpenning was entered in a ſingular manner; of which, tho' it may ſeem ſomewhat out of my road, yet becauſe of the remarkable ſteps of Providence appearing therein, I'll give a ſhort account. He being of Cologn, in Germany, was bred a Papiſt; and after he had paſſed the Latin ſchools, his father thruſt him into a cloiſter; (for Papiſts uſed to think it meritorious to offer up one of their children to the clergy.) But he found the monaſtical life ſo much againſt his inclination, that his father dying before the probation-year was expired, he begged his mother to aſſiſt him in his intention to leave the fraternity, ſince he was not yet bound by vow. She complied with his deſire, and ſo he got out, and then was put to a trade. After he had ſerved his time, he reſolved to travel, and firſt took a turn to Holland, from thence to France, and then to Italy, and the metropolis Rome, and ſo back again. Having been a lay-friar, he got letters of recommendation to ſuch monaſteries as were of the order of thoſe monks he had lived with; that ſo he might freely find lodging there for ſome time. And becauſe in Holland there are no cloiſters, he was recommended to ſome eminent Papiſts at Amſterdam; whither being come, he liked the place ſo well, that he reſolved to ſtay there ſome time; which he did, after having found employment. And thus getting into acquaintance, he came in time to live with a Baptiſt, who employed him as a journeyman. He never till now met with the New-Teſtament, in which he began to read ſo eagerly, that the Lord, co-operating by his good ſpirit, his underſtanding came to be opened, ſo that he got a clear ſight of the ſuperſtition and errors of the Popiſh religion, in which he was trained up; and then entering into diſcourſe with his maſter, was perſuaded to renounce Popery, and to enter into the communion of the Baptiſts. This broke all his meaſures concerning his intended travels; and then reſolving to ſettle where he was, he took to wife one Catharine de Mol, a virtuous maid, whoſe father was

Some account of her father.

one

one of the primitive Baptiſts that aroſe under the perſecution in Flanders, from whence he, with many more, came to ſettle in Holland. 1664.

From theſe parents my mother deſcended, who was religiouſly inclined even from her youth, and became ſo well verſed in the holy ſcriptures, and was ſo diligent in writing down ſo much of the ſermons ſhe heard, as ſhe could retain by memory, that her father ſaid ſometimes, 'It is pity that this girl is not a boy, who 'then in time might become an eminent inſtrument in the church.' After ſhe was come to age, though much inclined to lead a ſingle life, yet at length ſhe was married to my father Jacob Williamſon Sewel, a very religious young man, whoſe father William Sewel from Kidderminſter in Worceſterſhire, having been one of thoſe Browniſts that left England, and ſettled in Holland, married a Dutch wife at Utrecht, where my father was born, who being come to age, endeavoured to walk in the narrow way, and converſed moſtly with the ſtricteſt profeſſors of thoſe days. And both he and my mother came in time to grow diſſatisfied with that worſhip to which they were joined; yet in clearneſs of underſtanding my mother exceeded my father, nevertheleſs ſhe continued diſſatisfied as well as he, with the common way of worſhip ſhe belonged to; ſo that oftentimes, when ſhe came from the meeting-houſe, ſhe reſolved not to go there any more, becauſe ſhe reaped no real and ſubſtantial benefit by it. But then the firſt-day of the week being come again, ſhe was in a ſtrait, thinking that however it was, yet by the apoſtle we were exhorted not to forſake the aſſemblies. In this irreſolute condition ſhe continued a long time; and being incumbered with the cares of the family, ſhe was not ſo much at liberty for performing religious duties, (viz. prayers, reading of, and meditating on the holy ſcriptures, viſiting the ſick, and ſuch like pious exerciſes) as ſhe was before ſhe was married; which made her wiſh ſometimes ſhe had never entered into matrimony, and that ſhe might live to enjoy again that peace and quiet which once ſhe had. But ſhe knew not yet that it was the love of the Lord thus working upon her, to draw her off from tranſitory things. In this ſtate ſhe was often ſeized with grief and ſorrow, ſo that ſhe counted herſelf the moſt miſerable of women; for neither huſband, nor children, nor any outward enjoyments, could afford her any pleaſure; but all her deſire was to attain to an undefiled ſtate, in which ſhe might live an unblameable life, not only before men, but, alſo, before God: for feeling there was yet ſomething in her which was evil and polluting, ſhe ſtruggled to overcome it; but all her labour proved in vain. This made her cry earneſtly to the Lord as one in great danger; and her doubts whether it was poſſible to attain to perfection increaſed. But, in this forlorn ſtate it pleaſed the Lord to manifeſt himſelf to her in ſome meaſure, tho' ſhe knew not then it was he. And often ſhe cried out, 'Lord! 'what will it avail me to know that thou haſt ſent thy Son into the 'world, and that he was crucified and died for the ſins of the 'world, if I am not ſaved by it! Lord forgive my ſins, and have 'mercy upon me!' And once, when ſhe was alone, pouring out her heart before the Lord, he made himſelf known to her, and

And of herſelf.

1664. ſpoke to her ſoul, That if ſhe would be perfect, ſhe muſt follow the light in every reſpect. Having heard this, ſhe deſired to know what this light was; and the Lord ſhewed her, That the light was the life of men. This ſhe underſtood in ſome degree, and ſo ſeparated herſelf as much as ever ſhe could conveniently from converſation, endeavouring to live retiredly. And having about this time heard Dr. Galenus Abrahams, an eminent Baptiſt teacher, preach upon the parable of the ſeedſman, that which he ſpoke concerning the good ground, and how the ground muſt be fitted by the Lord's working, ſo affected her, that ſhe reſolved to reſt from all her own labour; and ſo ſhe left frequenting the Baptiſt aſſemblies any more.

In this retired ſtate ſhe continued a good while, and at length came to hear William Ames preach; and he declaring the light of Chriſt as the true teacher, this agreed with what had already been told her inwardly by the immediate manifeſtations of the Lord to her. And thus ſhe came fully to be convinced that this was the truth ſhe had ſo long deſired to know. Now ſhe ſaw that it was her duty to give up all, and to keep nothing back: for ſhe had already ſeen, that if ſhe would be Chriſt's diſciple, ſhe muſt forſake all, even her ownſelf. But a fear of the croſs was no ſmall impediment to her; yet now ſhe gave up to obedience; and ſaw that her former performances had been defective; and now all came into remembrance. This cauſed ſorrow; but ſhe prayed to the Lord both night and day, and then he manifeſted his power by which ſhe was led out of the darkneſs and bondage wherein ſhe had been held captive; and her ſupplication was to the Lord, that it might not be with her as formerly, to wit, ſometimes great zeal, and then coldneſs again; but that ſhe might continue in fervency of ſpirit. After a long time of mourning the Lord manifeſted his kindneſs to her, by which ſhe came to be quickened and refreſhed; and by the judgments of the Lord all was narrowly ſearched out; ſo that nothing could be hid; and a ſeparation was made between the precious and the vile, and death paſſed over all. But thus to part with all her own wiſdom, and forſake her great attainments, was no ſmall croſs; yet ſhe became willing to bear it, altho' many violent tempeſts roſe to draw her off, if poſſible, from cloſe adhering to the beloved of her ſoul; yet ſhe was not forward in imitation: for my father, who, when he was convinced of the truth preached by W. Ames and W. Caton, ſoon left off the common way of ſalutation, would ſometimes perſuade her by arguments to do ſo too: but ſhe told him, if the leaving off of that cuſtom was a thing the Lord required, ſhe believed he would ſhew it her in his own time, becauſe ſhe was given up to follow his requirings. And ſo the Lord did in due time; and ſhe continuing zealouſly faithful, he was pleaſed after my father's death to give her publick teſtimony, and ſhe became eminently gifted: for her natural abilities ſurpaſſing the ordinary qualifications of her ſex, and becoming ſanctified by the ſpirit of the Lord, could not but produce good effects; and ſhe came to be much viſited, and ſought to, by profeſſors; and the Fifth-monarchy-men applauded her, becauſe of her pathetical admonitions. But ſhe was above flattery,

Convinced by W. Ames.

and

and trampled upon it. Nay, ſhe was ſo well eſteemed, that I remember, having ſome movings to viſit the collegians in their meeting, after one of them had left off ſpeaking, ſhe ſtood up and ſaid, 'that ſhe had ſomething upon her mind to ſpeak to them by way 'of exhortation. But knowing that they ſuffered not women to 'ſpeak amongſt them, ſhe was not willing bluntly to intrude her-'ſelf; but deſired their leave,' which they readily granted, and one of their chief ſpeakers ſaid to her, 'It is true, friend, we don't 'allow women to ſpeak in the church; yet we bear that reſpect to 'you, that we give you the liberty of ſpeaking.' And then ſhe cleared herſelf, having formerly been a frequenter of that aſſembly. And when ſhe had done ſpeaking, I don't remember ſhe was contradicted by any; but one of their ſpeakers concluded the meeting with a prayer. 1664.

Before that time ſhe wrote and publiſhed a ſmall book to thoſe of her former ſociety, which ſhe called, 'A Serious Reproof of the Fle-'miſh Baptiſts;' in which ſhe dealt very plainly with them; and ſhewed how they were apoſtatized. She wrote alſo ſome other treatiſes, extant in print; and was much beloved and well eſteemed by Engliſh friends, as appears by ſeveral letters written to her from England, and yet extant. Thoſe of her own nation often reſorted to her for inſtruction, ſhe being ſo well exerciſed in the way of the Lord, that ſhe was able to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon to various conditions. Many times ſhe viſited the meetings at Alkmaar, Harlem, and Rotterdam, and was often invited by her friends to come and edify them with her gift. She wrote alſo many letters for edification and admonition to particular perſons, and ſome epiſtles alſo to the church. But it pleaſed the Lord to take her early to himſelf. When ſhe fell ſick, ſhe ſoon had a ſenſe that ſhe was not like to recover, and therefore ſpoke much to me in private, and acquainted me with ſeveral things touching myſelf, and relating to her outward eſtate. And the night before ſhe departed, ſhe called me to her bed-ſide, and exhorted me very fervently to depart from evil, and to fear the Lord; which by the mercy of God in time made very deep impreſſion on my mind; ſo that ſtill I find reaſon to bleſs the name of the Lord for having been pleaſed that I was the ſon of ſuch an excellent mother, who, early in the morning when ſhe felt death approaching, called me up out of my bed, and ſent me to her brother, and to W. Caton, to come and ſee her, and I had hardly been returned a quarter of an hour before ſhe departed this life, and ſlept in peace, to my great grief then; tho' afterwards, when I came to years of diſcerning, I ſaw reaſon to believe that it was not without a ſingular providence that the Lord had taken her away: for one had long continued to be an importunate ſuitor to her, who in time loſt his integrity. To give a ſmall inſtance of her true zeal for God, I'll inſert here the following epiſtle ſhe wrote to her friends, to ſtir up the pure mind in them.

Writes ſeveral treatiſes.

Her death.

An Epiſtle to the Friends of TRUTH:

J. Zinſpenning's epiſtle to her friends.

GRACE and peace be multiplied among you, my dearly and much beloved friends, you that have received a bleſſing from God the heavenly Father in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord of glory, who by his

1664. his unſpeakable love, and his unchangeable light, hath drawn you off from the imaginary worſhips, and brought you, in meaſure, to know him who was from the beginning. Dear friends, keep in the light by which ye are enlightened, and in the knowledge of God which every one hath received for himſelf; watching againſt the ſeducings of Satan, that your eyes may be kept open, leſt deceit ſhould prevail in any of you, by which truth might loſe its ſplendor, and the brightneſs of the Lord become darkened.

I write theſe things to you in true love, and tho' but young, yet as one that takes care for you; for the Lord knows how often ye are in my remembrance; deſiring for you, that ye may not only know the truth, but that ye may be found to be living witneſſes of it: for I knowing the preciouſneſs of it, cannot but deſire that others may alſo participate of the ſame: labour therefore for it, my friends, that ſo, when the Lord comes, and calls to an account, every one may be found faithful according to what he hath received: for this is the talent which the Lord hath given, viz. the knowledge of him who is true, and who rewardeth every one according to his deeds: but the negligent and ſlothful ſervant ſaid that his Lord was an hard man, and that he *gathered where he had not ſtrewed*, and this was his condemnation: for the Lord ſaid, *Thou kneweſt that I was an auſtere man: wherefore then gaveſt not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have received mine own with uſury?* Mind theſe things, my beloved friends, ye that have an ear to hear, and dig after this parable in yourſelves; for we all have received talents, ſome more, and others leſs. Let therefore every one be faithful to the Lord, according to what he hath received; for truly ſome of you, I believe, have received five talents. Let it but be duly conſidered and ſeen in the light of the Lord, what knowledge ye have had of the eternal God beyond many, even when ye were yet in darkneſs. How often hath the Lord appeared, and clearly made manifeſt himſelf? And how abundantly hath he made it known in the heart, that he it was who was worthy to be feared and ſerved? Certainly this is a great and weighty talent; and therefore the Lord may ſay juſtly, *What could I have done more to my vineyard?* O my friends, beſides all this, he hath cauſed his eternal light to ſhine into our hearts, whereby we have ſeen the corrupted ways of the world, and the paths leading to death. This, I ſay, the Lord hath ſhewed us by his eternal light, glory and praiſes be given to our God for-ever.

Dear friends, go on in that in which ye have begun; for I can bear witneſs for the Lord, that his love hath been abundantly ſhed abroad upon us, without reſpect of perſons, becauſe thoſe that fear him, and work righteouſneſs, are acceptable to him: and he makes his truth manifeſt among us, and cauſeth his peace and mercy to reſt upon us. It is true, that Satan doth not reſt to ſcatter this, and to ſow doubts and unbelief in our hearts; but we keeping cloſe to the Lord, are preſerved from his ſnares; and happy is he who hath found a place where he is freed from tempeſts: but before this place be found, there are many hidden rocks that may be ſtruck on, not unknown to me. And therefore

1664.

I have true compaſſion on thoſe who are not paſt them all yet; for ſhipwreck may eaſily be ſuffered on any of theſe.

Yet in all this danger there is ſomething on which we may rely ſafely, and to which we may truſt, being as a beacon, viz. the light ſhining into our hearts, though it be ſometimes but as a ſpark, and ſo ſmall, in regard of the manifold ſeducings, that it can hardly be diſcerned. Here then is no ſmall grief and anguiſh; here all the mercies of the Lord, which formerly we enjoyed abundantly, are called in queſtion or doubted of; here is danger, and yet certainty; for by not ſinning the beacon is minded, and by relying on a true hope to be ſaved, we are preſerved in the tempeſt. I write theſe things for the information of thoſe that are travelling towards a city that hath a foundation, and whoſe builder and maker is God; for to ſuch my love is extended, and my deſire to the Lord for them, is, that they may be kept by his power, to remain ſtanding at his coming.

Dear friends, keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and have a care that your minds are not drawn out to hear words outwardly, but ſtand in the croſs to that which deſireth refreſhment from without: and when at any time ye feel but little refreſhment, let it not enter into your hearts that the Lord is not mindful of you, but centre down into yourſelves, in the pure light, and ſtand ſtill therein, then it may be, ye will find the cauſe why the preſence of the Lord is departed from you for ſome time; and ye putting away the cauſe, ſhall enjoy the Lord again to your comfort.

May God Almighty preſerve you all by his power, leſt any ſtrife or diſcord be found among you; and may you grow up in love, and thereby be obliged to bear each others burdens; and let no tranſitory things cumber your hearts, but be reſigned to the Lord; for that to which we are called, is not to be compared to that which is tranſitory, or periſhing; ſince it is a treaſure that is everlaſting, and to which the world, and all that is in it, is but as dung, becauſe the moſt glorious part of it is but vanity of vanities. O, my friends, let none be ſtopped by that which is an impediment to entering into the kingdom of heaven; but ſtrive all to enter the narrow gate; and ſearch every one of you your own hearts, with the light ye are enlightened with, which ſhall manifeſt your own ſtates to you; and keeping there it ſhall multiply your peace, and every one ſhall find therein his own teacher, as thoſe have experienced, who ſought the Lord with all their hearts. Now the God of all mercies, who alone is immortal, keep you and us altogether unto the end, that ſo in theſe dangerous times we may remain ſtanding, to the glory of his great name. O friends, keep out craftineſs, and enter not readily into diſcourſe with thoſe that are out of the truth; for they ſpeak in their own wills, and are crafty, and knowing no bridle to the mind, it produceth that by which the ſimple and innocent are caught: but ſtand ye rather, and keep in that wherein ye ſee their ſubtilty; for then, though ye may not have a word to apologize for yourſelves, yet ye ſhall be above them.

This is written from me, a young plant, in love to you, according to the gift received from the Lord. My ſalutation is to you all in the light of truth. JUDITH ZINSPENNING.

1664. A printed account of more than ſix hundred of thoſe called Quakers in priſon.

In the year 1664 came forth a ſmall book in print, to the king and both houſes of parliament, wherein were ſet forth, not only the violent perſecution almoſt over all England, with the names of perſons, places and caſes, which indeed were woful, and ſome bloody; but it was alſo repreſented, that there were at that time in priſon above ſix hundred of thoſe called Quakers, merely for religion's-ſake.

$166\frac{4}{5}$, Thirty-ſix condemned to be ſent to Jamaica by judges Keeling and Wild, and R. Brown.

In the month called January, in the year $166\frac{4}{5}$, thirty-ſix of that perſuaſion, among which were eight women, were condemned to be tranſported to Jamaica. The jury not being ſo forward to declare the priſoners guilty as the court deſired, were perſuaded however by the threatenings of judge Keeling, the recorder Wild, and the boiſterous Richard Brown, to do what was demanded of them.

Thirty more ſentenced to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell by judge Wharton and judge Windham.

On the 18th and 22d of the next month, thirty-four of the ſaid people were ſentenced to be carried to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell. The manner of their trial I paſs by with ſilence, to avoid prolixity. Thoſe that were tried on the 18th were ſentenced by judge Wharton, and thoſe on the 22d by judge Windham, who ſaid to Ann Blow, who declared that the fear of the Lord being upon her heart, ſhe durſt not conform to any thing that was unrighteous, 'Ann Blow, I would ſhew you as much favour as the court 'will allow you, if you will ſay that you will go no more to that ſe-'ditious meeting,' meaning the Bull and Mouth. To which ſhe anſwered, 'Wouldſt thou have me to ſin againſt that of God in 'my own conſcience? If I were ſet at liberty to-day, if the Lord 'required it of me, I ſhould go to the Bull and Mouth to-morrow.'

A. Blow's anſwer to judge Windham.

J. Gibſon's offence is only for being at a meeting.

Concerning one John Gibſon the ſaid judge ſpoke to the jury in this manner: 'Gentlemen, although it is true, as this Gibſon 'ſaith, that it cannot be proved that they were doing any evil at 'the Bull and Mouth; yet it was an offence for them to be met 'there, becauſe in proceſs of time there might be evil done in ſuch 'meetings; therefore this law was made to prevent them.' By this we may ſee with what ſpecious colours the perſecutors cloaked their actions. I find among my papers, a letter of John Furly, and Walter Miers, (both of whom I knew well) mentioning that ſome of the jury, for refuſing to give ſuch a verdict as was required of them, were fined in great ſums, and put into priſon, there to remain till they ſhould pay the fine.

Jurymen fined.

Having now ſaid thus much of ſentencing, it grows time to ſpeak of the execution thereof.

Some of the perſons ordered for baniſhment, fell ſick, and died in priſon; ſome became apoſtates, and ſome were redeemed by their relations that were not Quakers: but yet a conſiderable number was, though with great pains, brought on ſhip-board, to be tranſported to the Weſt-Indies. We have ſeen already how thoſe that were ſentenced at Hartford by judge Orlando Bridgman, having been put aſhore by the maſter of the ſhip, returned. And it was not long after that three of their friends, being on board the ſhip the Many-fortune of Briſtol, were alſo ſet on ſhore with a certificate from the maſter of the ſhip, ſigned by him and ſeven of his men, wherein they complained of their adverſity, and ſaid,

Three friends ſet on ſhore with a certificate from the maſter, &c.

'that

'that God had ſaid as it were in their hearts, Accurſed be the 'man that ſeparates huſband and wife; and he who oppreſſeth the 'people of God, many plagues will come upon him.' 1665.

But the firſt of thoſe called Quakers, who really taſted baniſhment, were Edward Bruſh, and James Harding, who were baniſhed, not only out of London, where they as citizens had as much right to live as the chiefeſt magiſtrates, but alſo out of their native country, contrary to the right of a freeborn Engliſhman: theſe, with one Robert Hays, were, on the 24th of the month called March, early in the morning fetched from Newgate in London, and brought to Black-Fryars ſtairs, where they were put into a boat, and ſo carried down to Graveſend, and there had on board a ſhip. Hardly any warning had been given to theſe priſoners; and Robert Hays being ſickly, had taken ſome phyſick, which had not done working; and ſince it was very cold that morning, and he had got nothing to eat before he came to Graveſend, he was ſeized in the ſhip with ſo ſevere ſickneſs, that he died of it, and then his corps was carried to London, and there buried. The other two were carried to Jamaica, where, by the Providence of God, in time it fared well with them, and Edward Bruſh lived to return into England. It was remarkable, that not long after theſe perſons were baniſhed, the peſtilence broke out at London, firſt of all in the houſe of a mealman in Bearbinderlane, next door to the houſe where the ſaid Edward lived, which by ſome was thought worthy being taken notice of; ſince that houſe was the firſt which was ſhut becauſe of the ſickneſs.

E. Bruſh and J. Harding the firſt that were baniſhed.

R. Hay's put ſick on ſhipboard, dies at Graveſend, and his body brought back and buried at London.

E. Bruſh lived to return.

The peſtilence firſt breaks out at the next houſe to that where Edw. had lived.

With the other priſoners they had more trouble and pains, becauſe no ſhip-maſters could be found that would carry them: wherefore an embargo was laid on all merchantmen, with order that none ſhould go down the river without having a paſs from the admiral; and this they would give to no maſter going to the Weſt-Indies, unleſs he made promiſe to carry ſome Quakers along with him to the place to which they were baniſhed. Whatever any maſters ſpoke againſt this, intimating that there was a law, according to which no Engliſhman might be carried out of his native country againſt his mind was in vain. At length by force they got one to ſerve their turn; and then ſeven perſons that were ſentenced to baniſhment, were, on the 18th of the month called April, carried from Newgate to Black-Fryars ſtairs, and ſo in a boat to Graveſend. But in the mean-time the peſtilence increaſed, and not long after judge Hide, who had been very active in perſecuting, was with many others ſuddenly taken away out of this life; for he having been ſeen in the morning at Weſtminſter in health, as to outward appearance, it was told in the afternoon that he was found dead in his chamber: being thus ſummoned to appear and give account of his deeds before a higher court than ever he preſided in.

No paſs to be given to a Weſt-India Man without promiſe to carry ſome Quakers to baniſhment.

Seven of them put on ſhip-board.

Peſtilence increaſes, and judge Hide, an active perſecutor, dies ſuddenly.

Yet tranſportation was not come to a ſtand; firſt, as hath been ſaid, three perſons, next ſeven, and on the 16th of the month called May, eight were carried down the river to Graveſend, and put on ſhip-board; but as the number of thoſe that were thus carried away was heightened, ſo alſo the number of thoſe that died of the peſtilence much more increaſed. But notwithſtanding this ſcourge

Eight more put on board.

from

1665. from heaven, tranſportation continued; for a maſter of a ſhip was found at length, who had ſaid, as was reported, 'that he would 'not ſtick to tranſport even his neareſt relations.' And ſo an agreement was made with him, that he ſhould take between fifty and ſixty Quakers into his ſhip, and carry them to the Weſt-Indies. Of theſe eight or ten at a time were brought to the water-ſide, and ſo with boats or barges carried to the ſhip, which lay at anchor in the Thames, in Bugbey's Hole, a little beyond Greenwich. Many of theſe priſoners, among which ſeveral women, not ſhewing themſelves ready to climb into the ſhip, leſt it ſhould ſeem as if they were inſtrumental to their tranſportation, were hoiſted up with the tackle; and the ſailors being unwilling to do this work, and ſaying, 'that if they were merchants goods, they ſhould not 'be unwilling to hoiſt them in,' the officers took hold of the tackle, and ſaid, 'They are the king's goods.' This was on the 20th of the month called July, and on the 4th of the next month, when, according to the bill of mortality, three thouſand and forty died in one week, the reſt of the baniſhed priſoners were carried with ſoldiers to the ſaid ſhip, in which now were fifty-five of the baniſhed Quakers, and among theſe eighteen women. But ſomething adverſly hindered this ſhip from going away, and the peſtilence alſo entered into it, which took away many of the priſoners, and ſo freed them from baniſhment. But though the peſtilence grew more hot at London, and that a war was riſen between England and Holland, yet the fire of perſecution continued hot, and great rejoicings were made when the Dutch were beaten at ſea, and their admiral Opdam was blown up with his ſhip. Neither did the perſecutors leave off to diſturb the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, and impriſon many of them; nay, ſo hardened and unrelenting were ſome, that when at London, more than four thouſand people died in one week, they ſaid, that 'the only means to ſtop the peſtilence, was to ſend 'the Quakers out of the land.' But theſe fainted not, but grew emboldened againſt violence. In September, ſome meetings were ſtill diſturbed at London, though the number of the dead in one week was heightened to above ſeven thouſand, being increaſed in that time nigh two thouſand. Now ſuch as intended to have met at the Bull and Mouth, were kept out from performing worſhip there; but yet meeting in the ſtreet they were not diſturbed; for there ſeemed to be ſome fear of the common people, who grew diſcontented becauſe there was little to be earned by tradeſmen; and the city came to be ſo emptied, that graſs grew in the ſtreets that uſed to be the moſt populous, few people being ſeen by the way. Thus the city became as a deſert, and the miſery was ſo great, that it was believed ſome died for want of attendance.

Fifty-five Quakers put on board one ſhip where many die of the peſtilence.

A daring and wicked ſaying when more than four thouſand died in a week.

Meetings ſtill diſturbed tho' above ſeven thouſand die in a week, and graſs grew in the ſtreets.

S. Fiſher dieth.

It was about this time that Samuel Fiſher, who firſt had been a priſoner in Newgate at London, and afterwards in Southwark, ſince the beginning of the year 1663, till now, being about a year and half, died piouſly.

Becauſe ſome Quakers died of the plague, the king concluded it was no judgment.

It is reported, that the king in the time of this great mortality once aſked, 'whether any Quakers died of the plague?' And having been told, 'Yes,' he ſeemed to ſlight that ſickneſs, and to conclude, that then it could not be looked upon as a judgment or

plague

1665.

plague upon their perſecutors. But certainly his chaplains might well have put him in mind of what Solomon ſaith, *There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked:* and of this ſaying of Job, HE *deſtroyeth the perfect and the wicked:* as alſo that of the prophet, that *the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.*

Step. Criſp comes to York, and A. Parker and G. Whitehead to London.

Now travelling in the country was ſtopped, which made ſome people go with boats along the coaſt, and ſo went aſhore where they had a mind. Thus did Stephen Criſp, who came about this time to York, where the duke of York was then, with many of the great ones. About this time Alexander Parker, and George Whitehead, came to London, where they had good ſervice in preaching the truth.

Fires kindled to purify the air, in vain. The ſhip with the condemned Quakers could not go off, the maſter impriſoned for debt.

Great fires were now kindled in the ſtreets to purify the contagious air; but no relief was found by it; for in the latter end of September, there died at London above eight thouſand people in one week, as I remember to have ſeen in one of the bills of mortality of that time. In the mean-while the ſhip in which the baniſhed priſoners were, could not go off, but continued to lie as a gazingſtock for thoſe ſhips that paſſed by; for the maſter was impriſoned for debt.

G. Biſhop priſoner at Briſtol, writes to comfort friends under apprehenſion of baniſhment.

Now the prediction of George Biſhop was fulfilled, and the plagues of the Lord fell ſo heavily on the perſecutors, that the eagerneſs to baniſh the Quakers, and ſend them away, began to abate. This ſame G. Biſhop, about midſummer, wrote from the priſon at Briſtol (where he made account that he alſo ſhould have been baniſhed) a letter to his friends to exhort them to ſteadfaſtneſs, foretelling them, that if they happened to be baniſhed, 'God would 'give them grace in the eyes of thoſe among whom they ſhould 'be ſent, if they continued to adhere to him; and that when he 'ſhould have tried them, he would bring them again into their 'native country; and that none ſhould root them out; but they 'ſhould be planted and built up there; and that the Lord ſhould 'viſit their enemies with the ſword and peſtilence, and ſtrike them 'with terror.' This is but a ſhort hint of what he wrote at large.

G. F. jun. laments the approaching judgments.

G. Fox the younger had alſo in the year 1661 given forth a little book, of which ſome ſmall mention hath been made before, in which he lamented England, becauſe of the judgments that were coming upon her inhabitants for their wickedneſs and perſecution; ſaying among the reſt, that the Lord had ſpoken in him concerning the inhabitants: 'The people are too many, the people are 'too many, I will thin them, I will thin them:' beſides that the ſpirit of the Lord had ſignified unto him, 'that an overflowing 'ſcourge, yea, even an exceeding great and terrible judgment was 'to come upon the land, and that many in it ſhould fall, and be 'taken away: and that this decree of the Lord was ſo firm, that 'though ſome of the Lord's children and prophets ſhould appear 'ſo as to ſtand in the gap, yet ſhould not that alter his decree.' This with much more he wrote very plainly: and though he was deceaſed long ago, yet this paper was reprinted, to ſhew the inhabitants how faithfully they had been warned.

I. Penington writes to the king and par-

What Iſaac Penington, being a priſoner, wrote about this time to the king and parliament, and publiſhed in print, was

1665. liament, on perſecution.

alſo very remarkable, being deſigned with chriſtian meekneſs to diſſuade them, if poſſible, from going on with the miſchievous work of perſecution. In this paper, containing ſome queries, among many weighty expreſſions, I find theſe alſo,

See his works p. 405, 406.

AFTER ye have done all ye can, even made laws as ſtrong as ye can, and put them in the ſtricteſt courſe of execution ye can, one night from the Lord may end the controverſy, and ſhew whether we pleaſe the Lord in obeying him, or ye in making laws againſt us for our fidelity and obedience to him.

And as the Lord is able to overturn you, ſo if ye miſtake your work, miſinterpreting the paſſages of his providence, and erring in heart concerning the ground of his former diſpleaſure; and ſo, through the error of judgment, ſet yourſelves in oppoſition againſt him, replanting the plants which he will not have grow, and plucking up the plants of his planting; do ye not in this caſe provoke the Lord, even to put forth the ſtrength which is in him againſt you? We are poor worms! Alas, if ye had only us to deal with, we ſhould be nothing in your hands! but if his ſtrength ſtand behind us, we ſhall prove a very burdenſome ſtone, and ye will hardly be able to remove us out of the place wherein God hath ſet us, and where he pleaſeth to have us diſpoſed of. And happy were it for you, if, inſtead of perſecuting us, ye yourſelves were drawn to wait for the ſame begettings of God (which we have felt) out of the earthly nature into his life and nature, and did learn of him to govern in that; then might ye be eſtabliſhed indeed, and be freed from the danger of thoſe ſhakings and overturnings, which God is haſtening upon the earth.

Now becauſe ye may be apt to think, that I write theſe things for my own ſake, and the ſake of my friends and companions in the truth of God, that we might eſcape the ſufferings and ſeverity which we are like to undergo from you, and not ſo mainly and chiefly for your ſakes, leſt ye ſhould bring the wrath of God and miſery upon your ſouls and bodies: to prevent this miſtake in you, I ſhall add what followeth. Indeed this is not the intent of my heart: for I have long expected, and do ſtill expect this cup of outward affliction and perſecution from you, and my heart is quieted and ſatisfied therein, knowing that the Lord will bring glory to his name, and good to us out of it: but I am ſure it is not good for you to afflict us for that which the Lord requireth of us, and wherein he accepteth us; and ye will find it the bittereſt work that ever ye went about, and in the end will wiſh that the Lord had rather never given you this day of proſperity, than that he ſhould ſuffer you thus to make uſe of it. Now that ye may the more clearly ſee the temper of my ſpirit, and how my heart ſtands in this thing, I ſhall a little open unto you my faith and hope about it, in theſe enſuing particulars:

Firſt, I am aſſured in my heart and ſoul, that this deſpiſed people, called Quakers, is of the Lord's begetting in his own life and nature. Indeed, had I not ſeen the power of God in them, and received from the Lord an unqueſtionable teſtimony concerning them, I had never looked towards them: for they were otherwiſe

wiſe very deſpiſable in my eyes. And this I cannot but teſtify concerning them, that I have found the life of God in me owning them, and that which God hath begotten in my heart, refreſhed by the power of life in them: and none but the Lord knows the beauty and excellency of glory, which he hath hid under this appearance. 1665.

Secondly, The Lord hath hitherto preſerved them againſt great oppoſitions, and is ſtill able to preſerve them. Every power hitherto hath made nothing of over-running them; yet they have hitherto ſtood, by the care and tender mercy of the Lord; and the ſeveral powers which have perſecuted them, have fallen one after another.

Thirdly, I have had experience myſelf of the Lord's goodneſs and preſervation of me, in my ſuffering with them for the teſtimony of his truth, who made my bonds pleaſant to me, and my noiſome priſon (enough to have deſtroyed my weakly and tenderly-educated nature) a place of pleaſure and delight, where I was comforted by my God night and day, and filled with prayers for his people, as alſo with love to and prayers for thoſe who had been the means of outwardly afflicting me and others upon the Lord's account.

Fourthly, I have no doubt in my heart that the Lord will deliver us. The ſtrength of man, the reſolution of man is nothing in my eye in compare with the Lord. Whom the Lord loveth, he can ſave at his pleaſure. Hath he begun to break our bonds and deliver us, and ſhall we now diſtruſt him? Are we in a worſe condition than Iſrael was, when the ſea was before them, the mountains on each ſide, and the Egyptians behind purſuing them? He indeed that looketh with man's eye, can ſee no ground of hope, nor hardly a poſſibility of deliverance; but, to the eye of faith, it is now nearer than when God began at firſt to deliver.

Fifthly, It is the delight of the Lord, and his glory, to deliver his people, when to the eye of ſenſe it ſeemeth impoſſible. Then doth the Lord delight to ſtretch forth his arm, when none elſe can help: and then doth it pleaſe him to deal with the enemies of his truth and people, when they are lifted up above the fear of him, and are ready to ſay in their hearts concerning them, *They are now in our hands, who can deliver them?*

Well, were it not in love to you, and in pity, (in relation to what will certainly befal you, if ye go on in this courſe) I could ſay in the joy of my heart, and in the ſenſe of the good will of my God to us, who ſuffereth theſe things to come to paſs, 'Go on, try it 'out with the ſpirit of the Lord, come forth with your laws, and 'priſon, and ſpoiling of our goods, and baniſhment, and death, 'if the Lord pleaſe, and ſee if ye can carry it;' for we come not forth againſt you in our own wills, or in any enmity againſt your perſons or government, or in any ſtubbornneſs or refractorineſs of ſpirit; but with the lamb-like nature which the Lord our God hath begotten in us, which is taught and enabled by him, both to do his will, and to ſuffer for his name-ſake. And if we cannot thus overcome you, (even in patience of ſpirit, and in love to you) and if the Lord our God pleaſe not to appear for us, we are content

1665. tent to be overcome by you. So the will of the Lord be done ſaith my ſoul!

This the author concludes with a poſtſcript, containing a ſerious exhortation to forſake evil. Beſides this he gave forth another paper, wherein he propoſed this queſtion to the king and both houſes of parliament:

See his works p. 410.

'WHETHER laws made by man, in equity, ought to extend any further than there is power in man to obey? And 'if it was not cruel to require obedience in ſuch caſes, wherein the 'party hath not a capacity in him of obeying?' And to explain this a little further, he ſaid, 'In things concerning the worſhip of God, 'wherein a man is limited by God, both what worſhip he ſhall perform, and what worſhip he ſhall abſtain from, here he is not left 'at liberty to obey what laws ſhall be made by man contrary here-'unto?'—Thus Penington ſtrove by writing to ſhew the perſecutors the evil of their doings: but a fierce party prevailed then; and the clergy continually blew the fire of perſecution; nay, many preſumed the time was now come totally to deſtroy the Quakers; and in December twelve more were condemned to tranſportation.

Twelve more condemned to be tranſported.

Concerning thoſe baniſhed that were now in the ſhip which lay in the Thames, I'll yet leave them there, and take again a view of George Fox, whom, in the foregoing year, we left in a hard priſon at Lancaſter. In the month called March this year he was brought again to his trial before Judge Twiſden; and though judge Turner had given charge at the aſſize before, to ſee no ſuch groſs errors were in the indictment as before, yet in that reſpect this was not much better than the former, though the judge examined it himſelf. The jury then being called to be ſworn, and three officers of the court having depoſed, 'that the oath had been tendered to 'him at the laſt aſſizes, according to the indictment,' the judge ſaid, 'It was not done in a corner,' and then aſked him, 'what 'he had to ſay to it?' and, 'whether he had taken the oath at the 'laſt aſſizes?' G. Fox thereupon gave an account of what had been done then, and that he had ſaid, 'that the book they gave 'him to ſwear on, ſaith, *ſwear not at all.*' And repeating more of what he ſpoke then, the judge ſaid, 'I will not diſpute with 'you, but in point of law.' G. Fox offering to ſpeak ſomething to the jury concerning the indictment, he was ſtopped by the judge; and then G. Fox aſked him, 'whether the oath was to be 'tendered to the king's ſubjects only, or to the ſubjects of foreign 'princes?' The judge replied, 'To the ſubjects of this realm.' 'Well,' ſaid he, 'look to the indictment, and thou mayſt ſee that 'the word ſubject is left out of this indictment alſo.' Several other great errors as to time, &c. he had obſerved in the indictment, but no ſooner had he ſpoke concerning the errors, but the judge cried, 'Take him away, gaoler, take him away.' Then he was hurried away; yet the people thought he ſhould have been called again; but that was not done. After he was gone, the judge aſked the jury, 'whether they were agreed?' They ſaid, 'Yes,' and found for the king againſt him. The reaſon why G. Fox

G. F. brought again to his trial before judge Twiſden, where he ſhews juſt exceptions, as before, againſt the indictment, yet is recorded as premunired, without paſſing ſentence againſt him, and continued priſoner in Lancaſter-caſtle

1665.

Fox was led away ſo ſuddenly, ſeemed to be that they expected he would have proved the officers of the court to have ſworn falſely, ſeeing the day on which the oath had been tendered to him at the aſſizes before, was wrong in the indictment; and yet they had ſworn, that on that day he had refuſed to take the oath. Before G. Fox was brought before the judge, he had paſſed ſentence of premunire againſt Margaret Fell, for having refuſed to take the oath. And though this ſentence had not been paſſed againſt G. Fox, yet he was recorded as a premunired perſon; though it had not been aſked him, 'what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be pro-'nounced againſt him.' And thus he continued priſoner in Lancaſter-caſtle.

Whilſt he was there, though weak of body, he wrote ſeveral papers; but the neighbouring juſtices laboured much to get him removed from thence to ſome remote place; for it was pretty well known among the people, how the court at the aſſizes had dealt with him. So about ſix weeks after, they got an order from the king and council to remove him from Lancaſter; and they received alſo a letter from the earl of Angleſey, wherein it was written, 'that if theſe things which he was charged with, were 'found true againſt him, he deſerved no clemency or mercy:' and yet the greateſt matter they had againſt him, was his refuſal of the oath. His perſecutors now having prepared for his removal, the under ſheriff, and the head-ſheriff's men, with ſome bailiffs, came and fetched him out of the caſtle, when he was ſo weak, by lying in that cold, wet, and ſmoky priſon, that he could hardly go or ſtand. So they brought him down into the gaoler's houſe, where juſtice William Kirby, and ſeveral others were. They called for wine to give him, but he well knowing their malice againſt him, told them, 'he would have none of their wine.' Then they cried, 'Bring out the horſes.' G. Fox therefore deſired, 'that if they intended to remove him, they would firſt ſhew him 'their order, or a copy of it.' But they would not ſhew him any but their ſwords. He then told them, 'there was no ſentence paſſ-'ed upon him, neither was he premunired, that he knew of; and 'therefore he was not made the king's priſoner, but was the ſhe-'riff's: for they and all the country knew that he was not fully 'heard at the laſt aſſizes, nor ſuffered to ſhew the errors that were 'in the indictment, which were ſufficient to quaſh it; and that 'they all knew there was no ſentence of premunire paſſed upon 'him; and therefore he not being the king's priſoner, but the 'ſheriff's, deſired to ſee their order.' But inſtead of ſhewing him their order, they haled him out, and lifted him upon one of the ſheriff's horſes; for he was ſo very weak, that he was hardly able to ſit on horſeback. Riding thus along the ſtreet, he was much gazed upon by the people, and had great reaſon to ſay, that he received neither chriſtianity, civility, nor humanity; for how ill and weak ſoever he was, yet they hurried him away about fourteen miles to Bentham in Yorkſhire; and ſo wicked was the gaoler, one Hunter, a young fellow, that he laſhed the horſe on which G. Fox rode, with his whip, to make him ſkip and leap, inſomuch that he had much ado to ſit him; and then would this wanton

Juſtice Kirby and others contrive G. Fox's removal, though weak, and ſend him to Bentham in Yorkſhire, but refuſe to ſhew their order.

Abuſive behaviour of one Hunter a gaoler, who died ſoon after.

1665. fellow come, and looking him in the face, ſay, 'How do you Mr. 'Fox?' To which he anſwered, 'it was not civil in him to do ſo.' Yet this malicious fellow ſeemed little to regard it; but he had not long time to delight in this kind of inſolence; for ſoon after he was cut off by death.

G. Fox being come down to Bentham, was met by a marſhal and ſeveral troopers, and many of the gentry, beſides abundance of people, came thither to ſtare at him. Being entered the houſe, and very much tired, he deſired they would let him lie down on a bed, which the ſoldiers permitted; and the marſhal, to whom he was delivered, ſet a guard upon him. After having ſtaid there a while, they preſſed horſes, and ſending for the bailiff and the conſtables, they had him to Giggleſwick that night; and there they raiſed the conſtables, who ſat drinking all night in the room by him, ſo that he could get but little reſt. The next day coming to a market-town, ſeveral of his friends came to ſee him, and at night he aſked the ſoldiers, 'whither they intended to carry him?' To which ſome ſaid 'Beyond ſea,' and others 'to Tinmouth-caſtle.' And there was a fear amongſt them, leſt ſome ſhould reſcue him; but there was not the leaſt reaſon for it. The next night he was brought to York, where the marſhal put him into a great chamber, where many of the troopers then came to him. He then ſpeaking ſomething by way of exhortation to the ſoldiers, many of them were very loving to him. A while after the lord Frecheville, who commanded thoſe horſe, came to him, and was civil and loving, and G. Fox gave him an account of his impriſonment.

G. Fox removed to Giggleſwick,

Thence to York,

And thence to Scarborough-caſtle, where he is ill uſed by the governor, Sir J. Croſland, a Papiſt.

After a ſtay of two days at York, the marſhal and five ſoldiers were ſent to convey him to Scarborough-caſtle: theſe behaved themſelves civilly to him. On the way they baited at Malton, and permitted his friends to ſee him. Afterwards being come to Scarborough, they brought him to an inn, and gave notice of it to the governor, who ſent ſix ſoldiers to guard him that night. The next day they had him into the caſtle, and there put him into a room, with a centinel to watch him. Out of this room they ſoon brought him into another, which was ſo open that the rain came in, and it ſmoked exceedingly, which was very offenſive to him. One day the governor, Sir John Croſland, came into the caſtle with one Sir Francis Cob, G. Fox deſired the governor to come into his room, and ſee how it was, and ſo they did: and G. Fox having got a little fire made in the room, it was ſo filled with ſmoke, that they could hardly find the way out again. And he being a Papiſt, G. Fox told him, 'that was his purgatory which they had put him 'into;' for it plainly appeared that there was an intent to vex and diſtreſs him: for after he had been at the charge of laying out about fifty ſhillings, to keep out the rain, and ſomewhat to eaſe the ſmoke, they put him into a worſe room, which had neither chimney nor fire-hearth; and lying much open toward the ſea ſide, the wind ſo drove in the rain, that the water not only ran about the room, but alſo came upon his bed: and he having no fire to dry his clothes when they were wet, his body was ſo benumbed with cold, and his fingers ſwelled to that degree, that one grew as big as two. And ſo malicious were his perſecutors, that they

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they would hardly ſuffer any of his friends to come at him, nay, not ſo much as to bring him a little food; ſo that he was forced to hire ſome body to bring him neceſſaries. Thus he ſpent about a quarter of a year, and afterwards being put into a room where a fire could be made, he hired a ſoldier to fetch him what he wanted. He then eat almoſt nothing but bread, and of this ſo little, that a three-penny loaf commonly ſerved him three weeks; and moſt of his drink was water, that had wormwood ſteeped in it; and once, when the weather was very ſharp, and he had taken great cold, he got ſome elecampane beer.

His friends, tho' deſired, not permitted to come to him, while many Papiſts and others, have liberty, with whom he converſes freely.

Now though he deſired his friends and acquaintance might be ſuffered to come to him, yet this was refuſed; but ſome others were admitted to come and gaze upon him, eſpecially Papiſts, of whom a great company once being come, they affirmed 'that the 'pope was infallible, and had been ſo ever ſince St. Peter's time.' But G. Fox denied this, and alledged from hiſtory, 'that Marcel-'linus, one of the biſhops of Rome, denied the faith, and ſacri-'ficed to idols; and therefore was not infallible.' And he ſaid alſo, 'If the Papiſts were in the infallible ſpirit, they would not 'maintain their religion by gaols, ſwords, gallows, fires, racks, 'and tortures, &c. nor want ſuch means to hold it up by: for 'if they were in the infallible ſpirit, they would preſerve mens 'lives, and uſe none but ſpiritual weapons about religion.'—He alſo told them how a certain woman that had been a Papiſt, but afterwards entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, having a taylor at work at her houſe, and ſpeaking to him concerning the falſeneſs of the Popiſh religion, was threatened to have been ſtabbed by him, for which end he drew his knife at her: ſince it was as the woman ſaid, 'the principle of the Papiſts, if any turn from 'their religion, to kill them if they can.' This ſtory he told the Papiſts, and they did not deny this to be their principle, but aſked, 'if he would declare this abroad?' And he ſaid, 'Yes, ſuch 'things ought to be declared abroad, that it may be known how 'contrary your religion is to true chriſtianity.' Whereupon they went away in a rage. Some time after another Papiſt came to diſcourſe with him, and ſaid, 'that all the patriarchs were in hell, 'from the creation till Chriſt came; and that when he ſuffered, he 'went into hell, and the Devil ſaid to him, What comeſt thou hi-'ther for; to break open our ſtrong holds? and Chriſt ſaid, To 'fetch them all out: and ſo,' he ſaid, 'Chriſt was three days 'and three nights in hell, to bring them all out.' On which G. Fox ſaid to him, 'that was falſe; for Chriſt ſaid to the thief, '*This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe.*' He alſo ſaid, 'that 'Enoch and Elijah were tranſlated into heaven; and that Abraham 'alſo was in heaven, ſince the ſcripture ſaith, that Lazarus was in 'his boſom. And Moſes and Elias were with Chriſt upon the 'Mount, before he ſuffered.' With theſe inſtances he ſtopped his adverſary's mouth, and put him to a nonplus.

Dr. Witty, with the lord Falconbridge, &c. diſcourſe with him.

Another time there came to him a great phyſician, called Dr. Witty, being accompanied with the Lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinmouth-caſtle, and ſeveral knights; G. Fox being called to them, this doctor undertook to diſcourſe with him, and aſked him 'what

what he was in priſon for?' G. Fox told him, 'becauſe he would 'not diſobey the command of Chriſt, and ſwear.' To which the doctor ſaid, 'he ought to ſwear his allegiance to the king.' Now G. Fox knowing him to be a great Preſbyterian, aſked him 'whether 'he had not ſworn againſt the king and the houſe of lords, and 'taken the Scotch covenant? and, whether he had not ſince ſworn 'to the king?' The doctor having no ready anſwer to this, G. Fox aſked him, 'what then was his ſwearing good for?' telling him further, 'My allegiance doth not conſiſt in ſwearing, but in 'truth and faithfulneſs.'—After ſome further diſcourſe, G. Fox was led away to his priſon again; and afterwards the doctor boaſted, 'that he had conquered G. Fox,' which he having heard, told the governor, 'it was a ſmall boaſt in him to ſay he had conquered a bondman.

A while after this doctor came again, having many great perſons with him, and he affirmed before them all, 'that Chriſt had 'not enlightened every man that cometh into the world; that the 'grace of God which brought ſalvation, had not appeared unto all 'men; and that Chriſt had not died for all men.' G. Fox aſked him 'what ſort of men thoſe were, which Chriſt had not enlighten'ed? and whom his grace had not appeared unto?' To which the doctor anſwered, 'Chriſt did not die for adulterers, and ido'laters, and wicked men.' Then G. Fox aſked him, 'whether 'adulterers and wicked men were not ſinners?' and he ſaid, 'Yes.' Which made G. Fox ſay, 'And did not Chriſt die for ſinners? Did 'he not come to call ſinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' ſaid the doctor. 'Then' replied G. Fox, 'thou haſt ſtopped thy own mouth.' And ſo he proved, 'that the grace of God had appeared to all 'men, though ſome turned it into wantonneſs, and walked deſpite'fully againſt it; and that Chriſt had enlightened all men, though 'ſome hated the light.' Several of thoſe that were preſent confeſſed it was true; but the doctor went away in a rage, and came no more to him.

The governor with ſome parliament-men talk with him.

Another time the governor came to him, with two or three parliament-men, and they aſked him, 'whether he owned miniſters and 'biſhops?' to which he ſaid, 'Yes, ſuch as Chriſt ſent forth; ſuch 'as had freely received, and would freely give; and ſuch as were 'qualified, and were in the ſame power and ſpirit that they were 'in, in the apoſtles days. But ſuch biſhops and teachers as yours 'are, that will go no further than they have a great benefice, I do 'not own, for they are not like the apoſtles: for Chriſt ſaith to 'his miniſters, *Go ye into all nations, and preach the goſpel.* But ye 'parliament-men, that keep your prieſts and biſhops in ſuch great 'fat benefices, ye have ſpoiled them all: for do you think they 'will go into all nations to preach, or will go any further than 'they have great fat benefices? Judge yourſelves whether they 'will or no.' To this they could ſay little, and whatever was objected to G. Fox, he always had an anſwer in readineſs; and becauſe ſometimes it was ſimple and plain, his enemies from thence took occaſion to ſay, that he was a fool. But whatever ſuch ſaid, it is certain that he had a good underſtanding, though he was not

educated

educated in human learning. This I know by my own experience, for I have had familiar converſation with him. 1665.

In this his priſon, he was much viſited, even by people of note. General Fairfax's widow came once to him with a great company, one of which was a prieſt, who began to quarrel with him, becauſe, ſpeaking to one perſon, he ſaid, Thou and Thee, and not You; and thoſe that ſpoke ſo, the prieſt ſaid, 'he counted but 'fools.' Which made G. Fox aſk him, 'whether they that tranſ-'lated the ſcriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, 'were fools? ſeeing they tranſlated the ſcriptures ſo, and made 'the grammar ſo, Thou to one and You to more than one?' With theſe and other reaſons he ſoon ſilenced the prieſt; and ſeveral of the company acknowledged the truth he declared to them, and were loving to him; and ſome of them would have given him money, but he would not receive it. Is much viſited by people of note.

Whilſt I leave him yet priſoner, I'll go to other matters, and relate the remarkable caſe of one William Dundas, who being a man of ſome repute in Scotland, came over to the communion of thoſe called Quakers, in a ſingular manner. He was a man of a ſtrict life, and obſerved the eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions there as diligently as any of the moſt preciſe: but in time he ſaw, that bodily exerciſe profited little, and that it was true godlineſs which the Lord required from man. In this ſtate becoming more circumſpect than he was accuſtomed to be, he did not frequent the publick aſſemblies ſo much as formerly. But this was ſoon taken notice of, and being aſked the reaſon why, he ſaid, 'that there was 'a thing beyond that, which he looked for.' But it was told him, 'this was a dangerous principle.' To which Dundas replied, 'that 'he was not to receive the law from the mouth of man.' Then the miniſter, ſo called, ſaid to him, 'that he tempted God.' To which Dundas returned, 'that God could not be tempted to evil.' An account of W. Dundas, his convincement, &c.

Now what made him more averſe to the prieſts of that nation, was to ſee their domineering pride, and how they forced ſome that were not one with them, in their principles, to comply with their inſtitutions, ſprinkling the children of parents even without their conſent. Add to this their going from one benefice to another, being always ready to go over from a ſmall church to a great one, under pretence of more ſervice for the church; whereas it plainly appeared, that ſelfiſh intereſt generally was the main cauſe. This behaviour of the clergy, and their rigid perſecution, if any deviated a little from the church ceremonies, and the common form, turned Dundas's affection from them. An inſtance of this rigidneſs, was, that one —— Wood, who had ſome charge in the cuſtom-houſe of Leith, and approved in ſome reſpect the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers, had ſaid, 'that Chriſt was the word, 'and that the letter was not the word.' For this he was cited before the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly of Lothian, where Dundas was preſent; and Wood ſo well defended his ſaying, that none were able to overthrow his arguments, chiefly drawn from theſe words of John, *that the word was made fleſh, and dwelt among us.* Wood continuing to maintain his aſſertion, they began to threaten him with excommunication, and would not allow him ſo much time Pride, covetouſneſs, and cruelty, the bane of the clergy. The hard caſe of one Wood, a cuſtom-houſe officer.

1665. as to give his anſwer to the next aſſembly. Excommunication there was ſuch a penalty, that people under it were very much deprived of converſation with men. The fear of this made Wood comply in a little Time; and meeting Dundas about three months after in the ſtreet at Edinburgh, he told him, 'that he had been forced to 'bow to the aſſembly againſt his light; for if he had been excom-'municated, he had loſt his livelihood.' Thus Wood bowed thro' human fear, but he hardly outlived this two years.

The prieſts jealous of Dundas, open his letters at the poſt-houſe, and find he correſponds with G. Lawry.

In the mean-while the prieſts became more and more jealous of Dundas; for he not having been in ſuch an eſteem as they wiſhed, they ſaid, 'that he would infect the whole nation.' And they did not ſtick here; but to know with whom he correſponded in England, they opened (ſo great was their power) his letters at the poſt-houſe, and ſometimes kept them: but if they found nothing in them, by which they could prejudice him, they cauſed them to be ſealed up again, and delivered to him. By this baſe practice they came to know that one Gawen Lawry, merchant of London, ſent him a box, with about three pounds ſterling worth of books.

Prieſt Oſwald ſeizes his books.

This box Dundas found afterwards that the prieſt, John Oſwald, had taken away: and whatever he did, he could not get them again, till the Engliſh came into Scotland, but then many of them were wanting. Dundas in the mean-while unwilling to comply with

At length he is excommunicated.

the Kirk, was at length excommunicated; but he was generally ſo well eſteemed, that none ſeemed to regard that ſentence, ſo as to keep at a diſtance from him; which made this act the more contemptible. Now though Dundas favoured the doctrine of the Quakers, yet they were ſuch a deſpiſed people, that he, who was a man of ſome account in the world, could not as yet give up to join with them.

Defends a Quaker aſſaulted on the road.

It happened once that he was riding from Edinburgh to his houſe, in a winter evening, and hearing a noiſe of ſome men as if fighting, he bad his man ride up in haſte to ſee what it was, which he did, and calling out, ſaid, 'that there were two men on horſe-'back, beating of another on foot.' Dundas riding up to them, ſaw the two beating the other man, who ſaid to them, 'what did 'I ſay to you, but bid you fear God?' By this Dundas preſently perceived that the man thus beaten was a Quaker; and aſking his name, which the other telling, he knew it, though he did not know the man by ſight; and then he fell a beating the two with his rod, and ordered thoſe that were with him, to carry them to the next priſon: but the ſaid Quaker entreated him to let them go, which he did, after having aſked their names, and dwelling-places. About a week after, the ſaid Quaker told a relation of Dundas what kindneſs he ſhewed him, and how he had in ſome manner been ſaved by him: 'yet,' ſaid he, 'I found the ſame ſpirit in him 'that was in the other two men who beat me.' Such a ſaying as this would have offended ſome men, but with Dundas it had a contrary effect; for theſe words ſo reached him, that ſome time after meeting the ſaid Quaker again, he deſired, 'that as he paſſed that 'way, he would make his houſe his lodging-place:' which kind invitation he ſeemed not unwilling to accept of. Dundas had now attained to ſo much experience, that he could diſcern between the

ſpirits

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ſpirits of meekneſs and raſhneſs, and ſufficiently perceive that the ſaid Quaker, by that which he ſpoke concerning him, had not made himſelf guilty of the latter: but yet he could not bow ſo low as to join in ſociety with the Quakers, though, ſecretly, he endeavoured more and more to live up to their doctrine; and therein he enjoyed more peace in his heart than formerly.

Goes into France, and ſettles at Diepe.

But his outward condition in the world not being very forward, he went into France, and ſettled at Diepe. Whilſt he dwelt there, a certain woman out of England, came thither with her maid, and ſpread in the town ſome books of G. Fox and William Dewſbury, tranſlated into French; and ſhe herſelf having written ſome papers, got them turned into French by Dundas, and ſo diſtributed them. But the meſſage ſhe chiefly came for, ſhe hid from him, and that not without reaſon; for what ſhe acted there was ſo ſingular, that if it had been known before, it is probable ſhe would not have been able to perform it. Though I do not find what her intent was in the thing, yet it ſeems likely to me, that ſhe, not knowing the language there ſpoken, would by a ſign teſtify againſt their pride in apparel and dreſs, and that on this wiſe: on the firſt-day of the week ſhe came to the meeting-houſe of the Proteſtants there, where ſome thouſands of people were met, and having ſet herſelf in the moſt conſpicuous place, juſt over againſt him that preached, before the ſervice was finiſhed, ſhe ſtood up, with the maid that was with her, who taking off a mantle and hood ſhe was covered with, ſhe appeared clothed in ſackcloth, and her hair hanging down, ſprinkled with aſhes: thus ſhe turned herſelf round ſeveral times, that all the people might ſee her. This ſight ſtruck both preacher and auditory with no ſmall conſternation; and the preacher's wife afterwards telling ſome body how this ſight had affected her, ſaid, 'This is of deeper reach than I can comprehend.' The ſaid women having ſtood thus a while, fell both down upon their knees, and prayed, and then went out of the meeting, many following them, and diſtributed ſome books. Then they came to their lodging, which was in a Scotchman's houſe; but he refuſing them entrance, they came to Dundas's lodging, who knew nothing of all this. They therefore told him, 'that the work they came 'for in that nation, was now done;' and he aſking what they had done, they told him, and ſignified that they wanted lodging till they went away. Then he went abroad to ſee if he could find lodging for them, but in vain: he then offered them his bed, being willing to ſhift for himſelf ſomewhere elſe, but they refuſed to accept of his offer; and his landlady not being willing to let them ſit up that night in any of her rooms, they were fain to ſtay that night in an outhouſe.

Strange action of an Engliſh woman at the Proteſtants place of worſhip there.

Now this buſineſs had made ſuch a ſtir in the town, that one of the king's officers coming the next day to Dundas, told him, 'that he had tranſgreſſed the laws of the nation, by receiving 'perſons of another religion to his lodging; for the king tolerat-'ed only two religions, viz. Papiſts and Proteſtants.' To this Dundas ſaid, 'that he had not tranſgreſſed the law of hoſpitality, 'and he had been forced to do ſo, ſince he could not let them lie 'in the ſtreet, where they would have been in danger of their

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1665. 'lives by the rude multitude.' Then the women were taken away, and ſent to priſon; and they not being provided with food, Dundas took care of that. Some time after, an order being come from the parliament at Rouen, it was read to them, viz. 'That they 'ſhould be tranſported forthwith back to England, with the firſt 'paſſage-boat, and all their papers and books to be burnt in the 'market, and themſelves alſo, if ever they ſhould come to that 'nation again.' In purſuance of this, they were put into a paſſage-boat in the night time, and ſo ſent to England. Afterwards the people at Diepe intended to purſue Dundas, as one of their judgment; but he was unwilling to be looked upon as ſuch, tho' the Proteſtants had informed againſt him, 'that he did not come 'to their meetings:' but of this no crime could be made, and Dundas told them, 'if they perſecuted him, being a merchant, 'and trafficking there, they might expect the like to be done to 'their merchants in England.' And when the judge affirmed, 'that Dundas was of the judgment of thoſe women,' he told him, 'that they were better than he; but that their way was too 'ſtrait for him to walk in.' There fell out two things which Dundas took ſingular notice of; the one was, that the Scotchman who ſhut out the women, died within twelve months after; and the other, that the houſe of his landlady, who refuſed them a chamber to ſit in, was burnt within the ſaid time, without its being known whence the fire came, no houſes being burnt beſides, though it was in the middle of the town.

In the mean-while Dundas continued in an unquiet condition; for, by reaſon of human fear, he found himſelf too weak to profeſs publickly before men, what he believed to be truth.

Dundas comes to Rouen, and thence ſpreads many books, written by friends.

Then he went to Rouen, but could get no reſt there, being ſomewhat indiſpoſed in body, and having from England got a great many books, treating of the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers, he ſent ſome of them to the judge criminal at Diepe, and ſome to the Jeſuits college there, and at Paris. Afterwards he ſpread ſome books alſo at Caen, where many Proteſtants lived. But ſince thoſe books ſpoke againſt the Papiſts, and the Calviniſts were in fear that thereby they might be brought to ſufferings, they complained to the lieutenant-general of the town, of Dundas, as one that did not come to their meeting. By this he was forced to leave that place, and went to Alenzon, where ſtaying a while, the judge criminal ſent for him; and after a long diſcourſe, he and Dundas agreed ſo well, that he invited him to come and ſee him oftener, and that if he would, he might have an opportunity to diſcourſe with ſome of the Jeſuits. But Dundas told him, 'that he was not 'willing to diſpute with any; yet he ſhould not be afraid to 'maintain his principles againſt all the Jeſuits of the nation.' This being told the Jeſuits, it ſo exaſperated them againſt him, that, being once out of town, they cauſed his chamber-door to be broken up, to ſearch his lodging. He complaining of this to the judge criminal, the judge told him, 'he knew nothing of it, 'and if there was any thing, it did proceed from the Jeſuits, be-'cauſe of his confidence againſt them.' This ſeemed not improbable, for he found his letters opened at the poſthouſe ſeveral

Then goes to Alenzon, where the judge criminal is kind to him, but the Jeſuits much offended.

times

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times, and when he challenged the poſtmaſter, he received for an anſwer, 'that they came ſo to him.'

Some time after he returned to Caen, where he was not long, but his correſpondent at Alenzon ſent him word, that the day after he went from thence, the governor of the town had been at his lodging to ſeek for him.

Returns to Caen and Diepe, and ſo goes to England, where he frequents friends meetings, and at laſt becomes one with them.

In the next year, when a war aroſe between England and France, he came again to Diepe, in order to return to England, having got paſſage in company with the lord Hollis, ambaſſador from England, where being arrived, he frequented the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, yet was not bold enough to own the name of Quaker, but continued in the common way of ſalutations, &c. Yet at length the truth they profeſſed had ſuch power over him, that not being able to enjoy peace without yielding obedience to the inward convictions upon his mind, he at length gave up, and ſo entered into their ſociety, and obtained true peace with the Lord, which he had long reaſoned himſelf out of. In proceſs of time he publiſhed a book in print, from which I have drawn this relation, which he concluded with a poem, in which he thanked God for his ſingular dealings and mercies beſtowed upon him, wiſhing that others might reap benefit by it.

The death of W. Caton, with a ſhort character of him.

Thus parting with William Dundas, I am now to ſay, that in this year, 1665, in December, William Caton died at Amſterdam. He was a man not only of literature, and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and converſation, by which he was in good eſteem among thoſe he was acquainted with: and as to the reſpect he had there, this may ſerve as an inſtance: Holland at this time being in war with England, there were ſeveral Engliſh priſoners of war in the priſon of the court of admiralty at Amſterdam, who now and then were viſited by Caton, and ſupplied with ſome ſuſtenance: but in this he was hindered by an officer of that court, who ſeemed offended becauſe Caton did not give him hat-honour. This gave occaſion to Caton to complain of it to a burgo-maſter of the city, I think the lord Cornelius Van Vlooſwyh, who at that time was one of the lords of the admiralty; he bid Caton come to his houſe at ſuch a time as he was to go to the court, which he did, and went with the ſaid burgo-maſter towards the court, where being come, and entrance denied him by the ſaid officer, the burgo-maſter charged him, not to hinder Caton from viſiting the priſoners. About this time a law was made in England, called

An ACT *for reſtraining Nonconformiſts from inhabiting in corporations.*

An act for reſtraining nonconformiſts from inhabiting in corporations.

WHEREAS divers parſons, vicars, curates, lecturers, and other perſons in holy orders, have not declared their unfeigned aſſent and conſent in the uſe of all things contained and preſcribed in the book of common-prayer, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the uſe of the church of England, or have not ſubſcribed to the declaration or acknowledgment contained in a certain act of parliament, made in the fourteenth year of his majeſty's reign, and entitled, 'An Act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and ad-

1665. 'miniſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for 'the eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining and conſecrating 'of biſhops, prieſts and deacons in the church of England,' according to the ſaid act, or any other ſubſequent act. And whereas they, or ſome of them, and divers other perſon and perſons not ordained according to the form of the church of England, and as have ſince the act of oblivion taken upon them to preach in unlawful aſſemblies, conventicles or meetings, under colour or pretence of exerciſe of religion, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom, have ſettled themſelves in divers corporations in England, ſometimes three or more of them in a place, thereby taking an opportunity to diſtil the poiſonous principles of ſchiſm and rebellion into the hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom.

II. Be it therefore enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid parſons, vicars, curates, lecturers and other perſons in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, and all ſtipendiaries, and other perſons who have been poſſeſſed of any eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual promotion, and every of them, who have not declared their unfeigned aſſent and conſent, as aforeſaid, and ſubſcribed the declaration as aforeſaid, and ſhall not take and ſubſcribe the oath following:

(2). I A. B. do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or ſtate—ſhall not come within five miles of any city, &c. nor teach ſchool, on pain to forfeit forty pounds——

And though this act was chiefly made againſt the Preſbyterians and Independents, who formerly had been employed in the publick church, yet they ſuffered but little by it; but it was cunningly made uſe of to vex the Quakers, who, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not ſwear, were on this law proſecuted, impriſoned, &c.

The riſe of womens monthly meetings.

Now ſince the peſtilence had been ſo fierce this year at London, that about an hundred thouſand people were ſwept away by it and otherwiſe, and alſo many of thoſe called Quakers, there muſt be conſequently many poor widows and fatherleſs children among thoſe of that ſociety. And becauſe the men, who at times kept meetings to take care for the poor, found that this burden grew too heavy for them, they offered part of this ſervice and care to the moſt grave and ſolid women of their church, who for this ſervice met once a week at London, and this in time gave riſe to the womens monthly meetings in other places in England.

I return now to the ſhip with the baniſhed priſoners, which I left lying in the Thames: but the owners having put in another maſter, whoſe name was Peter Love, the ſhip after long lingering

left

left the river, and came into the Downs. In the month called January of the year enſuing, Luke Howard wrote from Dover, that of fifty-four baniſhed perſons, who almoſt half a year ago had been brought on ſhipboard, but twenty-ſeven remained, the reſt being dead. By this long ſtay the ſhip ſeveral times wanted a freſh ſupply of proviſion, and the ſhip's crew grew ſo uneaſy, that two of them having gone aſhore with the boat, ran away, leaving the boat floating, by which it was ſtaved to pieces. At length the maſter, though he had but few, and thoſe moſtly raw ſailors, and was ill provided with victuals, yet reſolved to ſet ſail. And ſo they weighed anchor, and went down the channel as far as Plymouth, where, after ſome ſtay, they ſet ſail again, which was on the 23d of the month called February: but the next day, being advanced as far as the land's-end, a Dutch privateer came and took the ſhip; and, to avoid being retaken, went about the backſide of Ireland and Scotland, and ſo after three weeks came with ſome of the baniſhed to Horn, in North-Holland; and ſome days after, the prize, with the reſt of them entered alſo into that port. Here they were kept ſome time in priſon; but the commiſſioners of the admiralty having underſtood, that there was no likelihood to get the baniſhed Quakers exchanged for Dutch priſoners of war in England, reſolved to ſet them at liberty, and gave them a letter of paſſport, and a certificate, 'that they had not made an eſcape, but were ſent 'back by them.' They coming to Amſterdam, were by their friends there provided with lodging and clothes; for their own had been taken from them by the privateer's crew; and in proceſs of time they all returned to England, except one, who not being an Engliſhman, ſtayed in Holland. Thus the baniſhed were delivered, and the deſign of their perſecutors was brought to nought by an Almighty hand.

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The ſhip with the baniſhed priſoners comes into the Downs, one half of them being dead.

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The reſt ill provided reach the land's-end where the ſhip is taken by a Dutch privateer, and carried to Horn in N. Holland, and the baniſhed ſet at liberty, who in time return to England, except one.

In the mean-while G. Fox continued priſoner in Scarborough-caſtle, where the acceſs of his friends was denied him, though people of other perſuaſions were admitted. Once came to him one doctor Cradock with three prieſts, accompanied by the governor, and his wife, and many beſides. Cradock aſked him, 'what 'he was in priſon for?' He anſwered, 'for obeying the command 'of Chriſt and the apoſtle in not ſwearing: but if he, being both 'a doctor and a juſtice of peace, could convince him that after 'Chriſt and the apoſtle had forbidden ſwearing, they commanded 'chriſtians to ſwear, then he would ſwear. Here's a bible,' continued he, 'ſhew me any ſuch command if thou canſt.' To this Cradock ſaid, 'It is written, *Ye ſhall ſwear in truth and righte-* '*ouſneſs.*' 'Ay,' ſaid G. Fox, 'it was written ſo in Jeremiah's 'time, but that was many ages before Chriſt commanded *not to* '*ſwear at all:* but where is it written ſo ſince Chriſt forbad all 'ſwearing? I could bring as many inſtances out of the Old 'Teſtament for ſwearing as thou, and it may be more too, but 'of what force are they to prove ſwearing lawful in the New 'Teſtament, ſince Chriſt and the apoſtle forbad it? Beſides, where 'it is written, *Ye ſhall ſwear*, was this ſaid to the Gentiles, or to 'the Jews?' To this Cradock would not anſwer; but one of the prieſts ſaid, 'it was to the Jews,' 'Very well,' ſaid G. Fox, 'but

G. Fox in Scarborough caſtle has a conference with Dr. Cradock, &c.

'where

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'where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to ſwear? 'for thou knoweſt that we are Gentiles by nature.' 'Indeed,' ſaid Cradock, 'in the goſpel-time every thing was to be eſtabliſhed out 'of the mouths of two or three witneſſes, and there was to be 'no ſwearing then.' 'Why then,' returned G. Fox, 'doſt thou 'force oaths upon chriſtians, contrary to thine own knowledge in 'the goſpel-times? and why doſt thou excommunicate my friends?' Cradock anſwered, 'For not coming to church?' 'Why,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young, 'to the Preſbyterians, Independents, and Baptiſts, many of whom 'made ſpoil of our goods, and perſecuted us becauſe we would not 'follow them: now we being but young, knew little then of your 'principles, and thoſe that knew them ſhould not have fled from 'us, but ye ſhould have ſent us your epiſtles or homilies; for 'Paul wrote epiſtles to the ſaints, tho' he was in priſon: but we 'might have turned Turks or Jews for ought we had from you for 'inſtruction. And now ye have excommunicated us, that is, ye 'have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it, and 'before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this 'madneſs in you to put us out, before we were brought in? But 'what doſt thou call the church?' continued he. 'That which 'you,' replied Cradock, 'call the ſteeple-houſe.' Then G. Fox aſk-'ed him, 'whether Chriſt's blood was ſhed for the ſteeple-houſe, 'and it purified and ſanctified with his blood? and ſeeing,' thus continued he, 'the church is Chriſt's bride and wife, and that he 'is the head of the church, doſt thou think the ſteeple-houſe is 'Chriſt's wife and bride? and that he is the head of that old houſe, 'or of his people?' 'No,' ſaid Cradock, 'Chriſt is the head of 'the people, and they are the church.' 'But,' replied G. Fox, 'ye 'have given that title to an old houſe, which belongs to the peo-'ple, and ye have taught people to believe ſo.' He aſked him al-ſo, 'why he perſecuted his friends for not paying tithes? and whe-'ther God did ever give a command to the Gentiles, that they 'ſhould pay tithes? and whether Chriſt had not ended tithes, 'when he ended the Levitical prieſthood that took tithes? and 'whether Chriſt, when he ſent forth his diſciples to preach, had 'not commanded them to *preach freely, as he had given them free-'ly?* and whether all the miniſters of Chriſt were not bound 'to obſerve this command of Chriſt?' Cradock ſaid, 'he 'would not diſpute that:' and being unwilling to ſtay on this ſubject, he turned to another matter; but finding G. Fox never to be at a loſs for anſwer, and that he could get no advantage on him, he at length went away with his company.

With ſuch kind of people G. Fox was often troubled while he was priſoner there; for moſt that came to the caſtle would ſpeak with him, and many diſputes he had with them. But as to his friends, he was as a man buried alive, for very few of them were ſuffered to come to him. Joſiah Coale once deſiring admittance, the gover-nor told him, 'You are an underſtanding man, but G. Fox is a 'mere fool.' Now though the governor dealt hardly with him, yet in time he altered; for having ſent out a privateer to ſea, they took ſome ſhips that were not their enemies, which brought him

into

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into ſome trouble; after that he grew ſomewhat more friendly to G. Fox, to whom the deputy-governor ſaid once, 'that the king, 'knowing that he had a great intereſt in the people, had ſent him 'thither, that if there ſhould be any ſtirring in the nation, they 'ſhould hang him over the wall.' And among the Papiſts, who were numerous in thoſe parts, there was much talk then of hanging G. Fox. But he told them, 'if that was it they deſired, and 'it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death 'nor ſufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent 'peaceable man, free from all ſtirrings and plottings, and one 'that ſought the good of all men.' But the governor now growing kinder, G. Fox ſpoke to him, when he was to go to the parliament at London, and deſired him to ſpeak with 'ſquire Marſh, ſir Francis Cob, and ſome others, and to tell them, how long he had lain in priſon, and for what. This the governor did, and at his coming back told him, that 'ſquire Marſh ſaid, 'he knew G. Fox 'ſo well, that he would go an hundred miles barefoot for his li-'berty;' and that ſeveral others at court had ſpoken well of him.

Eſq. Marſh's extraordinary reſpect for G. Fox.

After he had been priſoner in the caſtle there above a year, he ſent a letter to the king, in which he gave an account of his impriſonment, and the bad uſage he had met with, and alſo that he was informed, that no man could deliver him but the king.—'Squire Marſh, who was a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, did whatever he could to procure his liberty, and at length obtained an order from the king for his releaſe; the ſubſtance of which order was, 'that the king being certainly informed that G. Fox 'was a man principled againſt plotting and fighting, and had been 'ready at all times to diſcover plots, rather than to make any, &c. 'that therefore his royal pleaſure was, that he ſhould be diſcharg-'ed from his impriſonment,' &c. This order being obtained, was not long after brought to Scarborough, and delivered to the governor, who, upon the receipt thereof, diſcharged him, and gave him the following paſſport:

G. F. writes to the king for his liberty.

The king's order for his releaſe.

PERMIT the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a priſoner here, and now diſcharged by his majeſty's order, quietly to paſs about his lawful occaſions, without any moleſtation. Given under my hand at Scarborough caſtle, this firſt day of September, 1666.

JORDAN CROSLANDS,
Governor of Scarborough caſtle.

The governor's paſſport to him.

G. Fox being thus releaſed, would have given the governor ſomething for the civility and kindneſs he had of late ſhewed him; but he would not receive any thing; and ſaid, 'whatever good he 'could do for him and his friends, he would do it, and never do 'them any hurt:' and ſo he continued loving to his dying day; nay, if at any time the mayor of the town ſent to him for ſoldiers, to diſperſe the meetings of thoſe called Quakers, if he ſent any, he privately charged them, 'not to meddle with the meeting.'

The governor's kindneſs afterwards.

The very next day after G. Fox was releaſed, the fire broke out at London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country, how that city was turned into rubbiſh and aſhes, (inſomuch that after an inceſſant fire which laſted near four days, but little of old

The fire breaks out at London.

1666. London was left ſtanding) there being about thirteen thouſand and two hundred houſes burnt; the account whereof hath been ſo circumſtantially deſcribed by others, that I need not treat of it at large; but I cannot omit to ſay, that Thomas Briggs, ſome years before, paſſing through the ſtreets of London, preached repentance to the inhabitants; and coming thro' Cheapſide, he cried out, that 'unleſs London repented, as Nineveh did, God would deſtroy it.'

Its deſtruction foretold by T. Briggs,

Now I may relate another remarkable prediction:

And Thomas Ibbitt; of which alſo H. Smith had a viſion, as mentioned.

Thomas Ibbitt of Huntingtonſhire came to London a few days before the burning of that city, and, as hath been related by eye-witneſſes, did, upon his coming thither, alight from his horſe, and unbutton his clothes in ſo looſe a manner, as if they had been put on in haſte juſt out of bed. In this manner he went about the city on the ſixth, (being the day he came thither) and alſo on the ſeventh day of the week, pronouncing a judgment by fire, which ſhould lay waſte the city. On the evening of theſe days ſome of his friends had meetings with him, to inquire concerning his meſſage and call to pronounce that impending judgment: in his account whereof he was not more particular and clear, than that he ſaid, he for ſome time had the viſion thereof, but had delayed to come and declare it as commanded, until he felt, as he expreſſed it, the fire in his own boſom: which meſſage or viſion was very ſuddenly proved to be ſadly true, as the foregoing brief account doth in part declare. The fire began on the ſecond of September, 1666, on the firſt-day of the week, which did immediately follow thoſe two days the ſaid Thomas Ibbitt had gone about the city declaring that judgment.

Having gone up and down the city, as hath been ſaid, when afterwards he ſaw the fire break out, and beheld the fulfilling of his prediction, a ſpiritual pride ſeized on him, which, if others had not been wiſer than he, might have tended to his utter deſtruction: for the fire being come as far as the eaſt end of Cheapſide, he placed himſelf before the flame, and ſpread his arms forth, as if to ſtay the progreſs of it; and if one Thomas Matthews, with others, had not pulled him (who ſeemed now altogether diſtracted) from thence, it was like he might have periſhed by the fire. Yet in proceſs of time, as I have been told, he came to ſome recovery, and confeſſed this error, and evident proof of human weakneſs, and a notorious inſtance of our frailty, when we aſſume to ourſelves the doing of any thing, to which heaven alone can enable us.

I cannot well paſs by without taking notice of it, that about three weeks before the ſaid fire, the Engliſh landed in the iſland of Schelling in Holland, under the conduct of captain Holmes, and ſetting the town on fire, there were about three hundred houſes burnt down, belonging moſtly to Baptiſts that did not bear arms. It may be further obſerved, that the Engliſh were beaten at ſea this ſummer by the Dutch, under the conduct of admiral De Ruyter, in a fight which laſted four days; ſo that they had occaſion to call to mind how often the judgments of God had been foretold them, which now came over their country, viz. peſtilence, war, and fire.

Schelling burnt by the Engliſh,

Who were afterward beaten by the Dutch.

G. Fox being at liberty, did not omit to viſit his friends, and in their meetings to edify them with his exhortations, whereby others alſo

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alſo ſometimes came to be convinced. And coming to Whitby, he went to a prieſt's houſe, who fourteen years before had ſaid, 'that 'if ever he met G. Fox again he would have his life, or he ſhould 'have his.' But now his wife was not only become one of G. Fox's friends, but this prieſt himſelf favoured the doctrine profeſſed by his wife, and was very kind to G. Fox, who paſſed from thence to York, where he had a large meeting, and viſited alſo juſtice Robinſon, who had been loving to him from the beginning. At this time there was a prieſt with him, who told G. Fox, 'It is ſaid of you that ye love none but yourſelves.' But he ſhewed him his miſtake, and gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, that they parted friendly.

G. F. comes to Whitby, and viſits a prieſt who had threatened his life.

Then goes to York and ſees juſtice Robinſon.

In this county G. Fox had many meetings, and one not far from colonel Kirby's abode, who had been the chief means of his impriſonment at Lancaſter and Scarborough caſtles; and when he heard of his releaſe, ſaid, he would have him taken again: but now when G. Fox came ſo near him, he himſelf was caught by the gout, which had ſeized him ſo that he was fain to keep his bed; and afterwards he met with adverſities, as did moſt of the juſtices and others who had been the cauſe of the impriſonment of G. Fox, who now coming to Sinderhill-green, had a large meeting there, where the prieſt ſent the conſtable to the juſtices for a warrant; but the notice being ſhort, the way long, and having ſpent time in ſearching for G. Fox in another houſe, before the officers came where the meeting was, it was ended, though they had almoſt ſpoiled their horſes by hard riding.

Col. Kirby hearing of G. Fox's releaſe, reſolves to have him taken again, but is himſelf by the gout confined to his bed.

G. F. comes to Sinderhill-green,

G. Fox paſſing from thence through Nottinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Oxfordſhire, and viſiting his friends in all places where he came, and edifying them in their meetings, gets at length to London: but he was ſo weak, by lying almoſt three years in hard and cold impriſonments, and his joints and body were ſo ſtiff and benumbed, that he could hardly get on horſe-back.

Thence to Nottinghamſhire, &c.

Being now at London, he beheld the ruins of the city, and ſaw the fulfilling of what had been ſhewn him ſome years before. Notwithſtanding this ſtroke on London, perſecution did not ceaſe, which gave occaſion to Joſiah Coale to write theſe lines to the king:

King CHARLES,

SET the people of God at liberty, who ſuffer impriſonments for the exerciſe of their conſciences towards him, and give liberty of conſcience to them to worſhip and ſerve him as he requireth, and leadeth them by his ſpirit; or elſe his judgments ſhall not depart from thy kingdom, until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people, and removed their oppreſſions. And remember thou art once more warned,

Joſiah Coale writes a warning to the king.

London, Dec. 2, 1666. *By a ſervant of the Lord,*

JOSIAH COALE.

About this time, or it may be in the next month, Stephen Criſp publiſhed an epiſtle, containing an exhortation to his friends, and alſo a prediction concerning ſucceeding times, which is as followeth:

FRIENDS,

1666.

Part of Step. Criſp's epiſtle to friends concerning the preſent and ſucceeding times.

FRIENDS,

I AM the more drawn forth at this time to viſit you with an epiſtle, becauſe the Lord hath given me ſome ſight of his great and dreadful day, and workings in it, which is in hand and greatly haſtens, of which I have ſomething to ſay unto you, that ye may be prepared to ſtand in his day, and may behold his wonderous working among his enemies, and have fellowſhip with his power therein, and may not be diſmayed nor driven away in the tempeſt, which will be great.

And as concerning thoſe ſucceeding times, the ſpirit of the Lord hath ſignified, that they will be times of horror and amazement, to all that have, and yet do reject his counſel: for as the days of his forbearance, warning and inviting, have been long, ſo ſhall his appearance amongſt thoſe that have withſtood him, be fierce and terrible; even ſo terrible, as who ſhall abide his coming? for the Lord will work both ſecretly and openly, and his arm ſhall be manifeſt to his children in both.

Secretly he ſhall raiſe up a continual fretting anguiſh among his enemies, one againſt another, ſo that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they ſhall ſeek to make each other miſerable, and delight therein for a little ſeaſon; and then the prevailer muſt be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit muſt fall therein; and the confidence that men have had one in another ſhall fail, and they will beguile and betray one another, both by counſel and ſtrength; and as they have bandied themſelves to break you, whom God hath gathered, ſo ſhall they band themſelves one againſt another, to break, to ſpoil, and deſtroy one another; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief, upon account of their ſolemn engagement, ſhall fail; ſo that few men ſhall count themſelves, or what is theirs, ſafe in the hand of his friend, who hath not choſen his ſafety and friendſhip in the pure light of the unchangeable truth of God; and all the ſecret counſels of the ungodly ſhall be brought to nought, ſometimes by the means of ſome of themſelves, and ſometimes by impoſſibilities lying in their way, which ſhall make their hearts fail of ever accompliſhing what they have determined; and in this ſtate ſhall men fret themſelves for a ſeaſon, and ſhall not be able to ſee the hand that turns againſt them, but ſhall turn to fight againſt one thing, and another, and a third thing, and ſhall ſtagger, and reel in counſel and judgment, as drunken men that know not where to find the way to reſt; and when they do yet ſtir themſelves up againſt the holy people, and againſt the holy covenant of light, and them that walk in it, they ſhall but the more be confounded; for they ſhall be helped with a little help, which all the ungodly ſhall not hinder them of, to wit, the ſecret arm of the Lord, maintaining their cauſe, and raiſing up a witneſs in the very hearts of their adverſaries to plead their innocency, and this ſhall make them yet the more to vex themſelves, and to go thorough hard beſtead; for when they ſhall look upward to their religion, to their power, policy or preferments, or friendſhips, or whatſoever elſe they had truſted in, and relied upon, they ſhall have cauſe to curſe it; and when they look downwards to the

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the effects produced by all thoſe things, behold then trouble, and horror, and vexation takes hold on them, and drives them to darkneſs; and having no help but what is earthly, and being out of the knowledge of the mighty overturning power of the Lord God Almighty, they ſhall deſpair and wear out their days with anguiſh; and beſides all this, the terrible hand of the Lord is, and ſhall be openly manifeſted againſt this ungodly generation, by bringing grievous and terrible judgments and plagues upon them, tumbling down all things in which their pride and glory ſtood, and overturning, overturning even the foundations of their ſtrength; yea, the Lord will lay waſte the mountain of the ungodly, and the ſtrength of the fenced city ſhall fail; and when men ſhall ſay, We will take refuge in them, Nah. iii. 12, 15, they ſhall become but a ſnare, and there ſhall the ſword devour: and when they ſhall ſay, We will go into the field, and put truſt in the number and courage of our ſoldiers, they ſhall both be taken away; and this evil alſo will come of the Lord, and his hand will be ſtretched out ſtill, and ſhall bring confuſion, ruin upon ruin, and war upon war; and the hearts of men ſhall be ſtirred in them, and the nations ſhall be as waters, into which a tempeſt, a ſwift whirlwind is entered, and even as waves ſwell up to the diſſolution one of another, and breaking one of another, ſo ſhall the ſwellings of people be: and becauſe of the hardſhip and ſorrow of thoſe days, many ſhall ſeek and deſire death, rather than life.

Ah! my heart relents, and is moved within me in the ſenſe of theſe things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will do in the earth, and will alſo make haſte to accompliſh among the ſons of men, that they may know and confeſs, *That the Moſt High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and ſetteth up according to his own will:* and this ſhall men do before ſeven times paſs over them, and ſhall be content to give their glory unto him that ſits in heaven.

But, oh friends! while all theſe things are working and bringing to paſs, repoſe ye yourſelves in the munition of that Rock that all theſe ſhakings ſhall not move, even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping you ſubjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to kill and mortify that which remains in any of you, which is of this world; for the worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and ſorrowful, as things go well or ill in the world: for as the truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its ſpirit, ſo the world is but one, and many are partakers of the ſpirit of it; and ſo many as do partake of it, ſo many will be ſtraitened and perplexed with it; but they who are ſingle to the truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, theſe ſhall rejoice in the midſt of adverſity; *theſe ſhall not have their hearts moved with fear, nor toſſed with anguiſh becauſe of evil tidings*, Pſal. cxii. 7, 8. becauſe that which fixeth them remains with them: theſe ſhall know their entrance with the Bridegroom, and ſo be kept from ſorrow, though his coming be with a noiſe; and when a midnight is come upon man's glory, yet they being ready and prepared, it will be well with them, and

1666. having a true ſenſe of the power working in themſelves, they cannot but have unity and fellowſhip with the works of it in the earth, and will not at all murmur againſt what is, nor wiſh nor will what is not to be; theſe will be at reſt till the indignation paſſeth over, and theſe having no deſign to carry on, nor no party to promote in the earth, cannot poſſibly be defeated nor diſappointed in their undertakings.

And when you ſee diviſions, and parties, and rendings in the bowels of nations, and rumours and tempeſts in the minds of the people, then take heed of being moved to this party or to that party, or giving your ſtrength to this or that, or counſelling this way or that way, but ſtand ſingle to the truth of God, in which neither war, rent, nor diviſion is; and take heed of that part in any of you, which truſts and relies upon any ſort of the men of this world, in the day of their proſperity; for the ſame party will bring you to ſuffer with them in the time of their adverſity, which will not be long after; for ſtability in that ground there will be none: but when they ſhall ſay, Come join with us in this or that, remember you are joined to the Lord by his pure ſpirit, to walk with him in peace and in righteouſneſs, and you feeling this, this gathers out of all buſtlings, and noiſes, and parties, and tumults, and leads you to exalt the ſtandard of truth and righteouſneſs, in an innocent converſation, to ſee who will flow unto that; and this ſhall be a refuge for many of the weary, toſſed, and afflicted ones in thoſe days, and a ſhelter for many whoſe day is not yet over.

So dearly beloved friends and brethren, who have believed and known the bleſſed appearance of the truth, let not your hearts be troubled at any of theſe things! Oh, let not the things that are at preſent, nor things that are yet to come, move you from ſteadfaſtneſs, but rather double your diligence, zeal, and faithfulneſs to the cauſe of God: for they that know the work wrought in themſelves, they ſhall reſt in the day of trouble, *yea, though the figtree fail, and the vine brings not forth, and the labour of the olivetree ceaſeth, and the fields yield no meat, and ſheep be cut off from the fold, and there be no bullocks in the ſtall, yet then mayſt thou rejoice in the Lord, and ſing praiſes to the God of thy ſalvation*, Hab. iii. 17, 18.

And how near theſe days are to this poor nation, few know, and therefore the cry of the Lord is very loud unto its inhabitants, through his ſervants and meſſengers, that they would prize their time while they have it, leſt they be overturned, waſted, and laid deſolate, before they are aware; and before deſtruction come upon them, and there be no remedy, as it hath already done upon many.

Oh London! London! that thou and thy rulers would have conſidered, and hearkened, and heard, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have perſiſted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved againſt thee, to cut off the thouſands and multitudes from thy ſtreets, and the preſſing and thronging of people from thy gates, and then to deſtroy and ruin thy ſtreets alſo, and lay deſolate thy gates, when thou thoughteſt to have repleniſhed them again.

And, oh! ſaith my ſoul, that thy inhabitants would yet be warned, and perſuaded to repent and turn to the Lord, by putting away

away every one the evil that is in their hearts, againſt the truth in yourſelves, and againſt thoſe that walk in it, before a greater deſolation and deſtruction overtake you. 1666.

Oh, what ſhall I ſay to prevail with London, and with its inhabitants! The Lord hath called aloud, he hath roared out of Sion unto them, but many of them have not hearkened at all, nor conſidered at all.

Well, oh my friends, (and thou, oh my ſoul) return to your reſt; dwell in the pavilion of the houſe of your God, and my God, and ſhelter yourſelves under the ſhadow of his wings, where ye ſhall be witneſſes of his doings, and ſee his ſtrange act brought to paſs, and ſhall not be hurt therewith, nor diſmayed.

Oh, my friends, in the bowels of dear and tender love have I ſignified theſe things unto you, that ye might ſtand armed with the whole armour of God, clothed in righteouſneſs, and your feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace; and freely given up in all things to the diſpoſing of the Lord, who will deliver us not by might, nor by ſword, nor ſpear, but by his own eternal, inviſible arm, will he yet ſave us and deliver us, and get himſelf a name by preſerving of us; and we ſhall yet live to praiſe him who is worthy of glory, of honour, and renown, from the riſing of the ſun, to the ſetting of the ſame, now and for-ever, Amen! Amen! ſaith my ſoul.

1667. A ſhort account of the arbitrary and violent proceedings of juſtice Armorer at Reading, &c. in particular againſt Tho. Curtis and family.

In the year 1667, a book came forth in print at London, with this title, 'Perſecution appearing with its open face in William Armorer.' This was written by ſome of the priſoners called Quakers, and contained a relation of the impetuous carriage of the ſaid Armorer, who being a knight and juſtice of peace, had made it his buſineſs many years, one after another, to perſecute the Quakers, and from time to time to diſturb their religious meetings. From a multitude of caſes I meet with in the ſaid book, I'll pick out but a few. The aforeſaid Armorer came very often to the houſe of Thomas Curtis at reading, to diſturb the meeting, taking many perſons priſoners from thence, particularly once thirty-four, both men and women, at a time. And when they were brought to their trial, the oath was tendered them as the moſt ready means to enſnare and to keep them in priſon. Among the priſoners, taken out of the meeting, was one Henry Pizing, who coming to the bar with his hat in his hand, judge Thomas Holt ſaid, 'Here's a 'man that hath ſome manners,' and aſked him, 'if he would take 'the oath of allegiance?' to which Pizing anſwered, 'he had 'taken it twice already.' 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'you were no Qua-'ker then.' To which the ſaid Henry replied, 'Neither am I now; 'but have been many weeks among them, and I never met with 'any hurt by them, but found them to be an honeſt and civil peo-'ple.' Upon which William Armorer, who had taken him priſoner, ſaid, 'Why did not you tell me ſo before?' to which Henry returned, 'Your worſhip was ſo wrathful that you would not 'hear me.' Then the judge ſaid, 'he muſt take the oath again.' The oath being read, he took it, upon which they let him go free without paying any fees. But they required of him, 'to go out

H. Pizing no Quaker, brought among others before judge T. Holt.

'at

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'at a backdoor, and to come no more among the Quakers.' But Pizing told them, 'he hoped now he was freed, he might go out 'at which door he would.'

Tho. Curtis examined.

Thomas Curtis afterwards being called, the judge aſked him, 'if 'he would take the oath of allegiance?' to which he anſwered, that 'he did not refuſe the oath upon the account of not bearing 'allegiance to the king, but becauſe Chriſt had commanded not to 'ſwear at all: for he was perſuaded that he had manifeſted him-'ſelf to be as good a ſubject to the king as moſt in the county, ſince 'he came into it, and that if he could take any oath, either to ſave 'his eſtate or life, he profeſſed he would begin with that oath.'— Then he deſired, 'that the court would be pleaſed to let ſome of 'their miniſters ſhew him, by the ſcriptures, how he might take 'it, and not break the command of Chriſt.' And the judge called to one Worrel, a prieſt that was near him, and deſired him to 'ſa-'tisfy Curtis in that particular.' But the prieſt putting off his hat, and bowing to the court, deſired to be excuſed, ſaying, 'he had 'had to do with ſome of them already, but they were an obſtinate 'people, and would not be ſatisfied.' 'Ay,' ſaid Curtis, 'this is 'commonly the anſwer we have from theſe men, when they are de-'ſired to anſwer us a queſtion according to the ſcripture; for when 'we make it appear that they give no ſatisfactory anſwer to the 'queſtion, they uſe to ſay, we are obſtinate.' Curtis (whoſe wife Ann was a daughter of a ſheriff of Briſtol, that had been hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king) was releaſed after ſome ſmall time; but quickly taken priſoner again by Armorer, who, perceiving that he intended to have gone to Briſtol fair, cauſed him to be brought to an inn, where he told him, 'you 'are going to Briſtol fair, but I will ſtop your journey: and then commanding the conſtable to carry him to priſon, he was compelled thither without a mittimus.

Prieſt Worrel called to ſatisfy T. Curtis how he might take the oath without breach of Chriſt's command.

About this time Curtis's impriſoned friends wrote a paper, and it is like he had a hand in it, to ſhew the hurt and miſchief proceeding from ſwearing. This paper being ſent by him to one of the magiſtrates, and leave being given him to read it in the council chamber, at the reading of theſe words, *Becauſe of ſwearing the land mourns*, alderman Johnſon ſaid, 'that was very true.'

Bold extravagancies of juſtice Armorer at and in the houſe of T. Curtis, &c.

Sometime after it happened that T. Curtis, his wife, and manſervant being all priſoners, Armorer ſent his man to inquire if there were any in the houſe more than the family, to which the maid having anſwered 'No,' a little after Armorer came himſelf, and knocked at the door; but the maid, being in fear, did not open it. Armorer then pulling an inſtrument out of his pocket, picked the lock, entered the houſe, and ſearching from room to room, came at length where he found one Joſeph Coale, who dwelt in the houſe, and was not well at that time; and Armorer taking him by the arm, and pulling him down ſtairs, ſaid to him, 'Will you take 'the oath of allegiance?' which he refuſing, was ſent to the houſe of correction, whither the day before ſeven women, taken from a meeting, had alſo been brought. This bold act of picking the lock he did at other times alſo, and once when the maid was gone out to carry ſome victuals to her maſter and miſtreſs in priſon. In

the

the mean-while he ſearched the warehouſe, where was much cloth; and to a woman that was there, and ſpoke againſt his picking of the locks, he ſaid, 'What have you to do with it? and where's 'that whore?' meaning the maid ſervant. The woman anſwered him, 'ſhe had to do with it; for ſhe was to ſee that no body did 'ſteal any thing out of the houſe.' Beſides Armorer continually made it his buſineſs to diſturb the meeting, which commonly was twice a week; and then he uſed to curſe, and to ſtrike thoſe he found there with a great cane, always ſending ſome to priſon. Having once cauſed three women to be brought before him from the houſe of correction, he would have them pay a fine for having been at a meeting; to which one Ann Harriſon ſaid, 'Thou haſt 'got our houſe already that we built, and haſt taken away our means, 'and wouldſt thou have me pay more money when I have brok-'en no law; we were but four above the age of ſixteen years, and 'the act ſays, it muſt be above four.' To which Armorer ſaid, 'his man told him they were ſix; and two of them ran away.' 'It 'is falſe,' ſaid Ann, 'there was Frances Kent, but ſhe being a mid-'wife, was fetched out of town; and as for the ſixth, ſhe was not 'there.' But Armorer not regarding whatever Ann ſaid, ſpoke in a rude manner, 'I ſhall have Mrs. Kent, and then let the beſt la-'dy in the land want her, ſhe ſhall not go, except the king or 'court ſend for her.'

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His illegal treatment of A. Harriſon.

If I ſhould mention all the enormities of Armorer's violent behaviour, this relation muſt needs be very large; and therefore I paſs by the moſt caſes, and touch but on ſome few. More than once it happened when the priſoners, being brought to their trial, reproved Armorer becauſe of his injuſtice, and put him in mind, 'that once he muſt give an account for his bad deeds;' he in a moſt impudent manner ſaid, 'You ſhall ſee at the day of judg-'ment whoſe arſe will be blackeſt, yours or mine.' And when a priſoner told him, 'it was an uncivil thing, for one called a juſtice, 'to ſpeak ſuch words,' he replied, 'Why, ſirrah, what incivili-'ty is it? Is not your noſe your noſe, and your arſe your arſe?' Other abſurdities the priſoners met with in the court I paſs by, as alſo how, from time to time, they were treated when they refuſed the oath. From what hath been ſaid already in more than one place concerning the like caſes, one may eaſily gueſs how matters were tranſacted here, which ſometimes was ſo groſsly, that the ſpectators ſhewed their diſlike. When once the jury, for want of good witneſſes, could not agree to find the bill, Armorer roſe off the bench, and appeared as a witneſs. But notwithſtanding the jury returning the ſecond time brought it in Ignoramus: upon which the other juſtice ſaid to them, 'that ſir William Armorer, an honour-'able gentleman, had taken his oath alſo:' to which the jury returned, ''Twas true, ſir William Armorer was an honour-'able gentleman, but was a man ſubject to paſſion.' And they continuing unwilling to bring in the priſoners guilty, the two juſtices, Proctor and Armorer, (for there were then no more on the bench) for all that would not diſcharge the priſoners, but ſent them to gaol again, as ſeditious perſons; for Proctor had told the jury the day before, 'that if they did not bring in the priſoners 'guilty, they would make William Armorer, and the clerk, 'perjured perſons.'

His profaneneſs.

Further inſtances of his arbitrary doings.

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Ann, the wife of Thomas Curtis, being called to the bar, and aſked if ſhe would take the oath, ſaid, 'I look on it as a very hard 'thing that I ſhould be required to take this oath, being under co-'vert, and my huſband being here a preſent ſufferer, for the very 'ſame thing; for there is no other woman in England, that I have 'heard of, under covert, that is required to take that oath, and 'kept in priſon on that account.' But Armorer full of paſſion, cried, 'Hold your tongue, Nan, and turn your back.' And ſo ſhe, with another woman, that had alſo been required to take the oath, was ſent back to gaol, as dangerous and ſuſpected perſons. At length ſome juſtices procured her liberty; but this ſo diſpleaſed Armorer, that he did not reſt before he had her in priſon again: but others it ſeems ſo eagerly deſired her liberty, that ſhe was diſcharged a ſecond time, though her huſband's goods and money were ſeized. How a priſoner, who ſpoke ſomething in his own defence, was threatened to be gagged—how girls were ſent to the houſe of correction, and how Armorer coming in winter time into the meeting, and having got a bucket of water into the room, he himſelf threw it with a naſty bowl in the faces of ſome young maidens, I curſorily ſkip over. He ſeemed exceedingly offended at Ann Curtis, who being a witty woman, did not omit, when occaſion was offered, to tell of his uncivil behaviour: and therefore he ſoon had her in gaol again; and when it was propoſed in the ſummer time to diſcharge ſome of the priſoners, becauſe of the extreme hot weather, provided they gave ſecurity, 'No' ſaid Armorer, 'Mrs. Curtis ſhall not go out, though ſhe would give 'ſecurity; but ſhe ſhall lie in gaol till ſhe rot.' But how wicked ſoever he was, yet he could not prevent that all his exorbitant carriage againſt the Quakers was publiſhed in print.

His malice in particular againſt Ann Curtis.

But ſuch behaviour was, at that time, no rare or uncommon thing; for ſince perſecution was continually cloked with a pretence of rebellion and ſedition all over the country, ſuch were found, who, to their utmoſt power, did perſecute the Quakers ſo called; as among others one Henry Marſhall, prieſt at Croſthwait in Weſtmoreland, who being alſo a prebendary, and having ſeveral benefices, yet how great ſoever his revenues were, kept poor people of that perſuaſion in priſon for not paying tithes to him; and once he ſaid very preſumptuouſly from the pulpit, 'that not one 'Quaker ſhould be left alive in England.' But this his temerity he did not outlive long: for as he was going half undreſſed to his chamber to bed, he fell down ſtairs, as was concluded from the circumſtances; for he was found lying on the floor, with his ſkull broken, wreſtling with death, without being able to ſpeak one word; and being taken up he died, leaving his wife and children in ſuch a condition, that by reaſon of debts they fell into poverty.

A preſumptuous expreſſion of H. Marſhall, a perſecuting prieſt, who ſoon after broke his ſkull and died poor.

About this time a certain popiſh author, who expreſſed his name no further than with the letters A. S. gave forth a book called, 'The Reconciler of Religions: Or, A Decider of all controverſies in 'matters of faith.' Joſiah Coale, who was very zealous for religion, and well ſaw what this author aimed at, anſwered him by a book that appeared in print, with the title of, 'The WHORE un-'veiled: or, The myſtery of the deceit of the church of Rome 'revealed.'

A popiſh author anſwered by J. Coale.

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'revealed.' Now although the ſaid A. S. chiefly ſtruck at the Quakers, as the worſt of hereticks, falſely perverting their doctrine, as importing, 'that the ſame ſpirit that reproved Judas of ſin, did al-'ſo induce him to deſperation, and to hang himſelf;' yet he omitted not to encounter the doctrine of other proteſtant ſocieties; and the Roman church he ſtated as the true church, from which they were unjuſtly departed, and to which they muſt all return again: 'for the Roman,' ſaid he, 'was the true church, and not any 'other; ſhe was the holy catholick and apoſtolical church that 'was infallible, and could not err; and had the power to work mira-'cles.' He alſo aſſerted, 'that ſhe was one in matters of faith, that 'ſhe was governed by one inviſible head Chriſt, and by a viſi-'ble head, the pope; and that therefore ſhe was the true church.' Now for as much as he held forth, at large, theſe and ſeveral other poſitions, ſo Joſiah Coale did not omit to anſwer all theſe pretences diſtinctly and emphatically; for he was an undaunted and zealous diſputant. Beſides the ſuperſtition, idolatry, and cruel perſecution of the Roman church, which had taken away the lives of many thouſands of honeſt and pious people, ſupplied abundant matter to Joſiah Coale, to ſhew the papal errors, and clearly to prove her to be the falſe church. For though he did not deny that the true church was catholick, or univerſal, yet he denied that the univerſality of the church of Rome was a ſufficient argument to prove her to be the true church. 'What 'church' (thus he queried) 'is more univerſal than the great 'whore the falſe church, who had a name written, *Myſtery Baby-* Rev. xvii. 5, 'lon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth,* and 15. 'who ſits upon the waters, *which are peoples, and multitudes,* Rev. xiii. 3. Ch. xviii. 7, 'and nations, and tongues?* And did not the whole *world won-* and xvii. 4. 'der after the beaſt* that carried the whore? Did ſhe not ſit as a Ch. xviii. 3, and xvii. 2. 'queen over them all, with her fair profeſſion or *golden cup in* 'her hand, full of abominations, and filthineſs of her fornica-'tion?* And did not all the inhabitants of the earth, and the 'kings of the earth drink of the wine of her fornication, and com-'mit fornication with her? Mark, how univerſal was this great 'whore, the falſe church; and how confident ſhe was: for ſhe '*ſaid in her heart that ſhe ſhould ſee no ſorrow;* and ſhe glori- Ch. xviii. 7, 'fied herſelf, and reigned *over the kings of the earth.* Is not this and xvii. 18. 'the very ſtate of the church of Rome at this day? Doth ſhe not 'reign over the kings of the earth? And hath ſhe not done ſo long, 'even for many ages? And how ſhe hath exerciſed authority 'over kings, may appear from the caſe of the emperor Frede- The caſe of the emperor 'rick, who was fain to hold the pope's ſtirrup while he got on Frederick with reſpect to 'horſeback. And did not the great whore which John ſaw, drink pope Adrian. 'the blood of the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſus? Surely the hiſ-'tories of many generations paſt teſtify this. And was ſhe not 'to have blood given her to drink?'—as may appear not obſcurely from Rev. xvii. 6. At this rate Joſiah Coale encountered the maſked A. S. but in a more copious way; and thus he anſwered his aſſertions. To that, 'that the church of Rome ſhould always 'remain to the end of the world; and that therefore ſhe was in-'fallible,' J. Coale ſaid that 'the bare affirmation of A. S. was no

'proof,

1667. Rev. xviii. 7. 'proof, except he would produce that ſaying of the mother of har-
'lots, *I ſit as a queen and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.*—
'But indeed that would be a very pitiful argument to prove the
'church of Rome infallible, unleſs ſhe was firſt proved to be the
'true church.' And as J. Coale anſwered theſe and other objections at large, ſo he ſhewed alſo the vanity of the boaſt of miracles, of which the church of Rome gloried, and he refuted all the falſities which that anonymous author had belched out againſt the Quakers, as a people that might be wronged without incurring any danger. But I omit to recite all J. Coale's anſwers for brevity-ſake; yet may make mention of a poem which he wrote ſome time before, when he was priſoner at Launceſton in Cornwal, to which the reader is referred, being to be found in Joſiah Coale's works, at page 111.

Thus zealouſly J. Coale wrote againſt popery; and yet ſuch hath been the malice of many, that they repreſented the Quakers as favourers of the church of Rome, tho' on many occaſions they had effectually ſhewn the contrary. But their enemies endeavoured to brand them many ways, and they left no ſtone unturned to blacken them; to which ſometimes falſe brethren gave occaſion: for about this time there were yet many of the adherents of John Perrot, who often ill treated, and ſpoke evil of thoſe who did not approve their abſurdities. This befel Richard Farnſworth, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers, though he was a man of a notable gift, and on his dying bed he gave evidences of a firm and ſteadfaſt truſt in God; for it was not long before this time that he fell ſick, and deceaſed at London. Among the many expreſſions which ſignified his good frame of mind, and the divine conſolation he felt, were alſo theſe words, that were taken in writing from his mouth:

The death of R. Farnſworth, with ſome of his dying words.

FRIENDS,

GOD hath been mightily with me, and hath ſtood by me at this time; and his power and preſence hath accompanied me all along, though ſome think that I am under a cloud for ſomething. But God hath appeared for the owning of our teſtimony, and hath broken in upon me as a flood, and I am filled with his love more than I am able to expreſs; and God has really appeared for us, &c.

This he ſpoke but a ſhort time before his departure; and exhorted his friends to faithfulneſs and ſteadfaſtneſs, and that nothing might be ſuffered to creep in of another nature than the truth they profeſſed, to intermix therewith, ſaying, No linſeywoolſey garment muſt be worn. Some more conſolatory words he ſpoke, and his laſt teſtimony was as a ſeal unto all the former teſtimonies he had given for the Lord. And after having lain yet an hour or two, he ſlept in peace with the Lord, and left a good repute behind him, with thoſe who truly were acquainted with him, and knew how zealouſly he laboured in the miniſtry of the goſpel for many years.

Lev. xix. 19.

G. Fox in Wales, and at Shrewſbury, &c.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who was this year not only in Wales, but in ſeveral other places, without being impriſoned, though at Shrewſbury, where he had a great meeting, the officers being

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being called together by the mayor, conſulted what to do againſt him, ſince it was ſaid, 'the great Quaker of England was come 'to town.' But they could not agree among themſelves, ſome being for impriſoning him, and others for letting him alone; and they being thus divided, he eſcaped their hands.

The deſcent, education, and qualification of R. Barclay,

As ſeveral eminent men among thoſe called Quakers, were taken away by death, ſo others came in who filled their places; among theſe, and none of the leaſt, was Robert Barclay, ſon of colonel David Barclay, deſcended of the ancient and famous family of the Barclays, and of Catharine Gordon, from the houſe of the dukes of Gordon. This his ſon Robert being born at Edinburgh, in the year 1648, was educated in France, and trained up in literature, having lived ſome years with his uncle at Paris, where the Papiſts were very active to bring him over to their religion: but though in that tender age he ſeemed a little to hearken to them, yet growing up in years, and ſo advancing in knowledge, he ſoon got a clear ſight of their errors. During his ſtay in France, he not only became maſter of the French, but alſo of the Latin tongue; and after he had been inſtructed in the languages of the learned, and other parts of human literature, he returned to Scotland. But during his abſence, his father had received the doctrine of the Quakers, and ſhewed by his pious behaviour, that he had not therein acted inconſiderately. Robert Barclay having attained the age of nineteen years, and being come to a good maturity of underſtanding, found ſo much ſatisfaction in the religion which his father made profeſſion of, that he alſo embraced it, and openly ſhewed before all the world, that the deſpiſed name of Quakers, could not hinder him from maintaining boldly that which now he apprehended to be truth. Nay, he grew ſo zealous and valiant in the doctrine he now profeſſed, that he became a publick promulgator of it; and often engaged in diſputes with the ſcholars, not only verbally, but alſo by writing; for he was ſo ſkilful in ſchool-learning, that he was able to encounter the learned with their own weapons, and of ſuch quick apprehenſion, as not to be inferior to the refined wits; his meekneſs alſo was eminent; and theſe qualifications were accompanied with ſo taking a carriage, as rendered him very acceptable to others. And tho' his natural abilities were great enough to have made him ſurpaſs others in human learning, and ſo to have become famous among men, yet he ſo little valued that knowledge, that he in nowiſe endeavoured to be diſtinguiſhed on that account: but his chief aim was to advance in real godlineſs, as the converſation I had with him hath undoubtedly aſſured me; for I was well acquainted with him, as alſo with

Whoſe father embraces the doctrine of the Quakers;

And ſo doth he about the age of nineteen, and becomes a publiſher thereof.

J. Haydock having received the doctrine of truth among the Quakers, is inſtrumental in his brother Roger's convincement,

Roger Haydock of Lancaſhire, a learned and intelligent man, who about this time alſo came to enter into ſociety with thoſe called Quakers, whoſe doctrine, his eldeſt brother, John Haydock had received before him. But it ſo happened, that Roger coming once to his father's houſe, was by his mother put on to diſcourſe with his brother John, in hopes that thereby he might have been drawn off from the way of the Quakers. But John gave ſuch weighty reaſons for what he aſſerted to be truth, that he quickly

1667. and both in time are publick preachers.

put Roger to ſilence, which ſo diſpleaſed his mother, who was inclined to the Preſbyterian way, that ſhe blamed him for not having held it out longer againſt his brother: but he told her, 'Tis truth, I dare not ſay againſt it.' Being thus convinced, he alſo became a publick profeſſor of the doctrine of the Quakers, and in time a zealous preacher of it too. And he being a man of great parts, well read, and full of matter, many times engaged in diſputes with the prieſts, ſometimes making uſe of his pen alſo to that end; for he was an unwearied labourer, and ſuffered the ſpoiling of his goods, and ſeveral impriſonments; and though he was attended with bodily weakneſſes, yet he did not uſe to ſpare himſelf, but travelled much to viſit the churches in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, &c. and he continued ſteadfaſt to the end of his days; not only for which, but alſo becauſe of a ſpecial affection he bore me, his remembrance is dear to me ſtill.

A return to M. Halhead, who coming into Devonſhire, is brought before the magiſtrates, and civilly diſmiſſed.

I muſt now make ſome mention again of Miles Halhead, ſeveral times named in this hiſtory, who this year coming into Devonſhire, and being brought before the magiſtrates, it was aſked him, 'what 'buſineſs he' (who dwelt in Weſtmoreland) 'had in Devonſhire?' to which he anſwered, 'that he was come there to ſee his old friends, 'whom formerly, about ten years ago, he had acquaintance with.' One of the magiſtrates aſked him, 'what were the names of thoſe 'friends he meant?' to which he returned, 'One ſir John Cople-'ſtone, who was then high-ſheriff of Devonſhire; John Page, who 'was mayor of Plymouth; one juſtice Howel, who was then the 'judge of the ſeſſions of Exeter, and one colonel Buffet, who was 'alſo a juſtice at that time.' One of the magiſtrates then ſaid to the others, 'Truly, gentlemen, though this man calls theſe men his 'friends, yet they have been his perſecutors.' Another of the ma-

The diſmal fate of perſecutors.

giſtrates then gave him an account, into what pitiful condition thoſe men were fallen, and how they loſt their eſtates; nay, Buffet had been committed to priſon for high treaſon, and was eſcaped out of gaol, and not to be ſeen in his own country. And further he ſaid to Halhead, 'Thus I have given you a true account of your 'old friends; if theſe men were your perſecutors, you may be 'ſure they will trouble you no more: for if they that trouble you 'and perſecute you, have no better fortune than theſe men, I wiſh 'that neither I, nor any of my friends, may have any hand in per-'ſecuting of you.' And thus theſe diſcreet magiſtrates ſuffered him to go his ways, without meddling with him.

The artifice of Preſbyterians and ſome others, to eſcape perſecution.

Neither was perſecution now generally ſo hot in England, as it had been before, yet the Preſbyterians and ſome others durſt not keep publick meetings, leſt they ſhould be fined; but at times when they have met for worſhip, they have had tobacco-pipes, bread and cheeſe, and cold meat on the table, having agreed before-hand, that, if the officers came in upon them, they ſhould leave their preaching and praying, and fall to their meat. This made G. Fox ſay to one Pocock, whoſe wife was one of his friends, 'Is

G. Fox's remark upon ſuch on that occaſion.

'not this a ſhame to you, who perſecuted and impriſoned us, and 'ſpoiled our goods, becauſe we would not follow you, and be of 'your religion, and called us houſe-creepers?' 'Why,' ſaid Pocock, 'we muſt be wiſe as ſerpents.' To which G. Fox returned,

'This

'This is the ſerpent's wiſdom indeed. Who would ever have 1667.
'thought, that you Preſbyterians and Independents, who perſe-
'cuted and impriſoned others, for not following your religion,
'now ſhould flinch away yourſelves, and not ſtand to, and own
'your own religion.'

G. Fox travelled this year through England, and viſited his friends in their meetings: but I paſs by his occurrences. He travels through England.

This year alſo came forth the perpetual edict, ſo called, in Holland, made as the title recites, 'for the maintenance of liberty, 'and for preſervation of the unity, and the common quiet 'of the country of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland.' By this edict, the chief command of the military forces of the ſtates, and the ſtadtholderſhip [or deputy-ſhip] were ſeparated. This was on purpoſe to prevent the prince of Orange's becoming too potent, for hereupon followed the ſuppreſſion of the ſtadtholderſhip. But how ſtrong ſoever this law was made, and confirmed by oaths, yet afterwards it was broke by the inſtigation of the rabble, as will be ſeen in its due time. This year alſo a peace was concluded between England and Holland, not long after the Dutch had burnt ſome of the king's ſhips in the Thames. The perpetual edict publiſhed in Holland.

THE NINTH BOOK.

IN the beginning of the year 1668, William Penn, ſon of admiral ſir William Penn, began to ſhew himſelf openly an adherer to, and aſſertor of the doctrine of thoſe called Quakers. He had been trained up in the univerſity of Oxford, and was afterwards, by his father, ſent into France, where, for ſome time, he lived (as himſelf once told me) with the famous preacher Moyſes Amyraut. After a conſiderable ſtay in that kingdom, being returned and come into Ireland, he once went to a meeting of thoſe called Quakers, which being diſturbed, he, though finely clothed as a young gentleman, and wearing a great periwig, was with others carried from thence to priſon, where by his fellow-priſoners he was more confirmed in that doctrine which he already apprehended to be truth. But when it came to be known that he was the ſon of admiral Penn, he was ſoon releaſed. This change did not a little grieve his father, who intended to have trained him up for the court; but now ſaw his eldeſt ſon in the early part (being about the twenty-ſecond year) of his age, entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers. Several means were uſed, nay even his neceſſaries were withheld from him, to draw him off, if poſſible, and bring him to other reſolutions. But all devices and wiles proved in vain: for he continued ſteadfaſt, and converſed much with Joſiah Coale, who likewiſe in his young years came over to the Quakers. 1668. Some account of W. Penn's education and convicement. Much converſant with J. Coale.

This ſummer Stephen Criſp was priſoner at Ipſwich, where the number of friends was conſiderably encreaſed by his miniſtry. I, with ſome other friends of Holland, viſited him there in priſon, and we found him in a cheerful condition, as well contented, as if he S. Criſp a priſoner at Ipſwich.

1668. he had been at liberty: for he ſuffered for the miniſtry of the goſpel, and continued to preach in priſon when his friends came to viſit him.

Grace-church-ſtreet meeting-houſe built, at the opening whereof G. F. and the author were preſent.

The journey which G. Fox made this year through England and Wales I paſs by. The latter part of the ſummer he returned to London, where, with great ſatisfaction, I heard him preach ſeveral times before a numerous auditory: for about that time, the meetings of diſſenters were not diſturbed at London, but all was ſo quiet, that the Quakers, ſo called, were ſuffered to build a large meeting-place in Grace-church-ſtreet, where the firſt time a meeting was kept, I was preſent, and ſaw G. Fox, and heard him preach there, beſides ſome others.

G. F. viſits Marſh, Eſq. where he has a diſcourſe about chriſtening of children.

Whilſt he was at London he gave a viſit to 'ſquire Marſh, who now was made a juſtice of the peace in Middleſex, and it ſo happened that he was at dinner when G. Fox came to his houſe, which ſo pleaſed him, that he kindly invited him to ſit down with him to dinner, but G. Fox courteouſly excuſed himſelf. There were at that time ſeveral great perſons at table with juſtice Marſh, who ſaid to one of them, (a Papiſt) 'Here is a Quaker you have not 'ſeen before.' From this the ſaid Papiſt took occaſion to aſk G. Fox, 'whether he did own the chriſtening of children?' to which G. Fox anſwered, 'there was no ſcripture for any ſuch practice.' 'What!' ſaid he, 'not for chriſtening children?' 'Nay,' replied G. Fox, 'the one baptiſm by the one ſpirit into one body, we 'own; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and to call 'that baptizing and chriſtening it, there's no ſcripture for that.'

The catholick faith.

Then the Roman Catholick aſked him, 'whether he did own the 'catholick faith?' 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox, but he added, 'that neither the pope nor the Papiſts were in that catholick faith; ſince 'the true faith worked by love, and purified the heart; and if 'they were in that faith which gives victory, by which they 'might have acceſs to God, they would not talk to the people of 'a purgatory after death; neither would they ever uſe priſons, 'racks, or fines, to force others to their religion; becauſe that 'was not the practice of the apoſtles and primitive chriſtians; 'but it was the practice of the faithleſs Jews and Heathens, to 'uſe ſuch forcing means. But,' continued G. Fox, 'ſeeing thou 'art a great and leading man among the Papiſts, and ſayeſt, there 'is no ſalvation but in your church, I deſire to know of thee, 'what it is that bringeth ſalvation in your church?' To this the Roman Catholick anſwered, 'A good life.' 'And nothing elſe?'

What brings ſalvation.

ſaid G. Fox. 'Yes,' replied the other, 'good works.' 'Is this 'your doctrine and principle?' ſaid G. Fox. 'Yes,' ſaid he. Then G. Fox replied, 'neither thou, nor the pope, nor any of 'the Papiſts know, what it is that brings ſalvation.' Then the Roman Catholick aſked him, 'What brings ſalvation into your 'church?' G. Fox anſwered, 'That which brought ſalvation into 'the church in the apoſtles days, namely, *the grace of God which*, 'the ſcripture ſays, *brings ſalvation, and hath appeared to all men; 'and teaches us to deny ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, and to 'live godly, righteouſly, and ſoberly in this preſent world.* By 'this it appears, it is not the good works, nor the good life, that

'brings

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Univerſality of grace,

'brings the ſalvation, but the grace.' 'What,' ſaid the Roman Catholick, 'doth this grace, that brings ſalvation, appear unto 'all men?' 'Yes,' ſaid G. Fox. 'I deny that,' returned the other. 'All that deny that,' replied G. Fox, 'are ſect-makers, and are 'not in the univerſal faith, grace, and truth, which the apoſtles 'were in.' Then the Roman Catholick began to ſpeak about the mother church, which gave occaſion to much diſcourſe, and G. Fox aſſerted, 'that if any outward place had claim to be the mo- 'ther church, above all other churches, then Jeruſalem had much 'more right to it than Rome.' But in concluſion he ſaid, 'that 'there was no other mother church but Jeruſalem, which is above 'and is free, and which is the mother of us all,' as ſaith the apoſtle. Upon this ſubject G. Fox did ſo paraphraſe, that eſquire Marſh ſaid at length to the Roman Catholick, 'O you do not 'know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, 'he would be a brave man.'

And about mother church.

See the diſcourſe more at large in G Fox's journal, p. 402, 403.

After ſome other diſcourſe together, G. Fox got an opportunity to go aſide with the ſaid Marſh into another room, and to deſire that he who had much of the management of affairs, would prevent the perſecution of his friends as much as poſſibly he could. Marſh ſhewed himſelf not averſe to this, but ſaid, 'He was in a 'ſtrait how to act between the Quakers and ſome other diſſen- 'ters. For,' ſaid he, 'you ſay ye cannot ſwear, and the Independ- 'ents, Baptiſts, and Fifth-monarchy people, ſay alſo they can- 'not ſwear.' To this G. Fox ſaid, 'I will ſhew thee how to diſ- 'tinguiſh: the members of thoſe ſocieties thou ſpeakeſt of, do 'ſwear in ſome caſes, but we cannot ſwear in any caſe. If any 'one ſhould ſteal their cows or horſes, and thou ſhouldſt aſk 'them, whether they would ſwear they were theirs? many of them 'would readily do it. But if thou trieſt our friends, they can- 'not ſwear for their own goods. Therefore when thou putteſt the 'oath of allegiance to any of them, aſk them, whether they can 'ſwear in any other caſe; as for their cow or horſe? which, if 'they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear wit- 'neſs to the truth.' Then G. Fox gave him a relation of a trial in Berkſhire, viz. 'A thief having ſtolen two beaſts from one of thoſe 'called Quakers, was impriſoned; but ſome body having inform- 'ed the judge, that the man that proſecuted was a Quaker, and he '(the judge) perceiving that he would not ſwear, would not hear 'what the man could ſay, but tendered him the oath of allegi- 'ance and ſupremacy, which the ſaid Quaker refuſing, the 'judge premunired him, and let the thief go free.'

The difference between thoſe of other perſuaſions and the Quakers, with reſpect to ſwearing.

Inſtanced in a remarkable caſe on a trial in Berkſhire, where the proſecutor is premunired, and the thief let go.

Eſquire Marſh having heard this relation, ſaid, 'That judge was 'a wicked man.' And by what G. Fox had told him, he ſufficiently perceived how he might diſtinguiſh between the Quakers and other people. True it is, the Baptiſts in thoſe days made ſome profeſſion of the unlawfulneſs of ſwearing, but when they came to be tried on that account, they ſoon deſiſted from that part of their profeſſion, as will be ſhewn more at large in the ſequel. But they and the Independents, &c. were very loath to take the oath of allegiance, becauſe of a grudge they had to the government; and this was well known to thoſe that were at the helm. But the inno-

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cent Quakers were continually expoſed to the malice of their perſecutors, and bore the hardeſt ſhock of the laws made againſt diſſenters. But now juſtice Marſh did not omit to free the Quakers from perſecution as much as was in his power: for he kept ſeveral from being premunired in thoſe parts where he was a juſtice. And when ſometimes he could not avoid ſending thoſe that were brought before him to priſon, he ſent ſome only for a few hours, or for a night. And even this was ſuch hard work to him, that at length he told the king, 'he had ſent ſome of the Quakers to pri-'ſon contrary to his conſcience, and that he could not do ſo 'any more.' He alſo adviſed the king to give 'liberty of conſci-'ence;' and he was ſo ſerviceable to ſtop the violence of perſecution, that about this time little was heard as to diſturbing of meetings.

Juſtice Marſh's extraordinary kindneſs and ſervice to friends.

About the forepart of this year, (if I miſtake not) there happened a caſe at Edmondſbury, which I can't well paſs by in ſilence, viz. A certain young woman being delivered of a baſtard child, deſtroyed it, and was therefore committed to priſon: whilſt ſhe was in gaol, 'tis ſaid William Bennit, a priſoner for conſcience-ſake, came to her, and in diſcourſe aſked her whether, during the courſe of her life, ſhe had not many times tranſgreſſed againſt her conſcience? and whether ſhe had not often thereupon felt ſecret checks and inward reproofs, and been troubled in her mind becauſe of the evil committed; and this he did in ſuch a convincing way, that ſhe not only aſſented to what he laid before her, but his diſcourſe ſo reached her heart, that ſhe came clearly to ſee, that if ſhe had not been ſo ſtubborn and diſobedient to thoſe inward reproofs, in all probability ſhe would not have come to ſuch a miſerable fall as now ſhe had: for man, not deſiring the knowledge of God's ways, and departing from him, is left helpleſs, and can't keep himſelf from evil, though it may be ſuch as formerly he would have abhorred in the higheſt degree, and have ſaid with Hazael, *What, is thy ſervant a dog that he ſhould do this great thing?* W. Bennit thus opening matters to her, did, by his wholeſome admonition, ſo work upon her mind, that ſhe, who never had converſed with the Quakers, and was altogether ignorant of their doctrine, now came to apprehend that it was the grace of God that brings ſalvation, which ſhe ſo often had withſtood; and that this grace had not yet quite forſaken her, but now made her ſenſible of the greatneſs of her tranſgreſſion. This conſideration wrought ſo powerfully, that from a moſt grievous ſinner, ſhe became a true penitent, and with hearty ſorrow ſhe cried to the Lord, 'that it might pleaſe him not to 'hide his countenance.' And continuing in this ſtate of humiliation, and ſincere repentance, and perſevering in ſupplication, ſhe felt in time ſome eaſe; and giving heed to the exhortations of the ſaid Bennit, ſhe attained at length to a ſure hope of forgiveneſs, by the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb, who died for the ſins of the world.

A very remarkable paſſage of a young woman, who murdered her baſtard child, and being afterwards convinced in priſon by W. B. died in a good aſſurance of the remiſſion of her ſins.

2 Kings viii. 13.

Of this ſhe gave manifeſt proofs at her trial before judge Matthew Hale, who, having heard how penitent ſhe was, would fain have ſpared her, having on purpoſe cauſed to be inſerted in the indictment,

dictment, ‘ that ſhe had committed the fact wilfully and deſigned- 1668.
‘ ly.’ But ſhe being aſked, according to the form, ‘ Guilty, or not
‘ guilty?’ readily anſwered ‘ Guilty.’ This aſtoniſhed the judge, who purpoſely had got the words ‘ wilfully and deſigned-
‘ ly’ inſerted in the indictment, that from thence ſhe might find occaſion to deny the charge, and ſo to quaſh the indictment; and therefore he told her ‘ that ſhe ſeemed not duly to con-
‘ ſider what ſhe ſaid; ſince it could not well be believed that ſuch
‘ a one as ſhe, who it may be inconſiderately had roughly han-
‘ dled her child, ſhould have killed it wilfully and deſigned-
‘ ly.’ Here the judge opened a backdoor for her to avoid the penalty of death. But now the fear of God had got ſo much room in her heart, that no tampering would do; no fig-leaves could ſerve her for a cover; for ſhe knew now that this would have been adding ſin to ſin, and to cover herſelf with a covering, but not of God's ſpirit; and therefore ſhe plainly ſignified to the court, ‘ that
‘ indeed ſhe had committed the miſchievous fact intendedly, there-
‘ by to hide her ſhame; and that ſhe having ſinned thus grievouſ-
‘ ly, and being affected now with true repentance, ſhe could by no
‘ means excuſe herſelf, but was willing to undergo the puniſh-
‘ ment the law required; and therefore ſhe could not but acknow-
‘ ledge herſelf guilty, ſince otherwiſe how could ſhe expect forgive-
‘ neſs from the Lord?’ This undiſguiſed and free confeſſion being ſpoken with a ſerious countenance, did ſo affect the judge, that tears trickling down his face, he ſorrowfully ſaid, ‘ Woman,
‘ ſuch a caſe as this I never met with before; perhaps you, who
‘ are but young, and ſpeak ſo piouſly, as being ſtruck to the
‘ heart with repentance, might yet do much good in the world;
‘ but now you force me, that ex officio I muſt pronounce ſen-
‘ tence of death againſt you, ſince you will admit of no excuſe.’
Standing to what ſhe had ſaid, the judge pronounced ſentence of death. And when afterward ſhe came to the place of execution, ſhe made a pathetical ſpeech to the people, exhorting the ſpectators, eſpecially thoſe that were young, ‘ to have the fear of God before
‘ their eyes, to give heed to his ſecret reproofs for evil, and ſo not
‘ to grieve and reſiſt the good ſpirit of the Lord; which ſhe her-
‘ ſelf not having timely minded, it had made her run on in evil,
‘ and thus proceeding from wickedneſs to wickedneſs, it had
‘ brought her to this diſmal exit. But ſince ſhe firmly truſted to
‘ God's infinite mercy, nay ſurely believed her ſins, though of a
‘ bloody dye, to be waſhed off by the pure blood of Chriſt, ſhe
‘ could contentedly depart this life.’ Thus ſhe preached at the gallows the doctrine of the Quakers, and gave heart-melting proofs that her immortal ſoul was to enter into paradiſe, as well as anciently that of the thief on the croſs. I have been credibly informed by a perſon who had it from the mouths of ſuch as were preſent at the execution, that in her requeſt to God ſhe prayed,
‘ that it might pleaſe him to give a viſible ſign, that ſhe was re-
‘ ceived into his favour.’ And that though it was then a cloudy day, yet immediately after ſhe was turned off, the clouds broke a little, and the ſun for a few moments ſhined upon her face, and preſently after ceaſed ſhining, and the ſky continued overcaſt. She

thus

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thus in a ſerious frame of mind ſuffered death, which her crime juſtly deſerved.

The dying words of T. Loe to W. Penn,

This year at London died Thomas Loe, a man of an excellent gift, who zealouſly had laboured in the miniſtry of the goſpel in Ireland, and by his preaching had brought many over into the ſociety of his friends, and among others alſo William Penn, to whom on his death-bed he ſpoke thus, 'Bear thy croſs, and ſtand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlaſting crown of glory, that ſhall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which ſhall proſper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, glory to him! for he is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over: glory be to his name for-ever!' No wonder that this ſpeech of one that was at the point of entering into eternity, confirmed William Penn exceedingly in that doctrine, which he had now embraced as truth. At another time Thomas Loe ſaid to his friends that ſtood at his bed-ſide, 'Be not troubled, the love of God overcomes my heart.' And to George Whitehead and others he ſaid, 'The Lord is good to me; this day he hath covered me with his glory. I am weak, but am refreſhed to ſee you. The Lord is good to me.' Another friend aſking how it was with him, he anſwered, 'I am near leaving you, I think; but am as well in my ſpirit, as I can deſire: I bleſs the Lord: I never ſaw more of the glory of God, than I have done this day.' And when it was thought that he was departing, he began to ſing praiſes to the Lord, ſaying, 'Glory, glory to thee for-ever!' which did not a little affect the ſtanders by, thus to hear a dying man ſing. And in this glorious ſtate he departed this life the 5th of October.

To his friends, and to G. Whitehead, &c.

Perſecution ceaſing, other diſſenters inveigh againſt the Quakers.

Now ſince perſecution was at a ſtand this year at London, thoſe of other perſuaſions ſometimes bitterly inveighed from the pulpit againſt the Quakers, and would challenge them alſo to a diſpute.

W. Burnet and J. Ives engage G. Whitehead, about the reſurrection and Chriſt's body.

William Burnet and Jeremy Ives, eminent Baptiſt teachers, had encountered George Whitehead this ſummer at Chertſey and Horn in Surry, about the reſurrection, and Chriſt's body in heaven, endeavouring to blacken the Quakers in reſpect of thoſe points, becauſe they kept to ſcripture words, from which the others departing, advanced very groſs abſurdities.

T. Vincent angry at loſing ſome of his hearers, charges the Quakers with falſe doctrine about the trinity, and thereupon a diſpute enſued.

One Thomas Vincent, a Preſbyterian teacher, was much diſturbed becauſe ſome of his auditory were gone over to the ſociety of the Quakers; and to render them odious, he and his fellow teachers accuſed them of erroneous doctrine concerning the trinity; and this was chiefly becauſe they did not approve of ſuch expreſſions as were not to be found in the holy ſcriptures, as that of three perſons. On this ſubject a diſpute was held in the Preſbyterian meeting-houſe at London, between the ſaid Vincent on one ſide, and George Whitehead on the other. That which Vincent and his brethren advanced firſt, was an accuſation, 'that the Quakers held damnable doctrine.' George Whitehead denying this, would have given the people an information of the principles of his friends; but Vincent, inſtead thereof, ſtated this queſtion, 'Do you own one Godhead, ſubſiſting in three diſtinct and

'ſeparate

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'ſeparate perſons?' Whitehead, and thoſe with him, denying this as an unſcriptural doctrine, Vincent framed this ſyllogiſm:

There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt; and theſe three are One.

Theſe are either three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, or three ſomethings elſe beſides ſubſiſtences.

But they are not three manifeſtations, three operations, three ſubſtances, nor three any thing elſe beſides ſubſiſtences.

Ergo, Three ſubſiſtences.

G. Whitehead rejected theſe terms, 'as not to be found in 'ſcripture, nor deduceable from the 1 Joh. v. 7.' the place Vincent inſtanced. And therefore he deſired 'an explanation of thoſe 'terms, inſomuch as God did not uſe to wrap up his truths in hea-'theniſh metaphyſicks, but in plain language.' But whatever was ſaid, no better explanation could be obtained, than 'perſon, or the 'mode of a ſubſtance.' G. Whitehead, and William Penn who alſo was there, alledged ſeveral places from ſcripture, proving God's complete unity: and they queried, 'how God was to be under-'ſtood, if in an abſtracted ſenſe from his ſubſtance?' But inſtead of anſwering the queſtion, they concluded it a point more fit for admiration than diſputation. Then W. Penn denied the minor propoſition of Vincent's ſyllogiſm; 'for,' ſaid he, 'no one 'ſubſtance can have three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, and preſerve its 'own unity: for every ſubſtance will have its own ſubſtance: ſo 'that three diſtinct ſubſiſtences, or manners of being, will re-'quire three diſtinct ſubſiſtences or beings; conſequently three 'Gods: for if the infinite Godhead ſubſiſts in three ſeparate man-'ners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and com-'plete ſubſiſtence without the other two: ſo parts, and ſome-'thing finite is in God; or if infinite, then three diſtinct infi-'nite ſubſiſtences; and what is this, but to aſſert three Gods, 'ſince none is infinite but God? on the contrary, there being an in-'ſeparability betwixt the ſubſtance and its ſubſiſtence, the uni-'ty of ſubſtance will not admit a trinity of incommunicable, or 'diſtinct ſubſiſtences.'

After ſeveral words on both ſides, G. Whitehead, to bring this ſtrange doctrine nearer to the capacity of the people, comparing three perſons to three apoſtles, ſaid, 'he did not underſtand how 'Paul, Peter, and John could be three perſons and one apoſtle.' At which one Maddocks, one of Vincent's aſſiſtants, framed this odd ſyllogiſm; 'He that ſcornfully and reproachfully compares our 'doctrine of the bleſſed trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit; one 'in eſſence, but three in perſons, to three finite men, as Paul, Pe-'ter, and John, is a blaſphemer. But you G. Whitehead have 'done ſo. Ergo.' A raſh concluſion! but how firm, let the judicious reader determine. I have no mind to enter further into this quarrel, ſince the parties on both ſides went away unſatisfied: for Vincent had not been able to prove 'the doctrine of 'the Quakers damnable,' as he had aſſerted. But his paſſion had tranſported him, as well as when he ſaid from the pulpit to thoſe of his ſociety, 'that he had as lief they ſhould go to a 'bawdy-houſe, as to frequent the Quakers meetings, becauſe of

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'their erroneous and damnable doctrines.' And pointing to the window, he further ſaid, 'If there ſhould ſtand a cup of poiſon, I 'would rather drink it, than ſuck in their damnable doctrines.' But this untimely zeal did not profit him; for it gave occaſion to ſome of his hearers to enquire into the doctrines of the Quakers; and thus ſome came to be convinced of the truth thereof.

On this occaſion W. Penn publiſhes a book, called 'The ſandy 'Foundation 'ſhaken.'

Now ſince the aforeſaid diſpute made a great noiſe at London, William Penn publiſhed a book with this title, 'The ſandy foun-'dation ſhaken,' in which he explained the points controverted, and defended his poſitions with good reaſon and the holy ſcripture. But yet this book, which he himſelf ſpread, cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that it was evilly ſpoken of, and not long after he was committed to the tower, and ſome thought it was not without his father's being acquainted with it, perhaps to prevent a worſe treatment.

For which he is ſent to the tower.

The character of Joſiah Coale, with ſome of his dying words.

This was at the latter end of the year, about which time Joſiah Coale fell into a ſickneſs, which took him off the ſtage of this life: he had languiſhed long, and yet did not at all ſpare his voice, but was uſed both in preaching and praying ſo to raiſe it, that he ſpent his natural ſtrength exceedingly, though he was yet as in a flouriſhing age; nay, it was his life and joy to declare the goſpel, and to proclaim the word of God, for which he had an excellent ability: and when he ſpoke to the ungodly world, an awful gravity appeared in his countenance, and his words were like a hammer and a ſharp ſword. But though he was as a ſon of thunder, yet his agreeable ſpeech flowed from his mouth like a pleaſant ſtream, to the conſolation and comfort of pious ſouls. Oh! how pathetically have I heard him pray, when he, as tranſported and raviſhed, humbly beſeeched God, that it might pleaſe him to reach to the hard-hearted, to ſupport the godly, and to preſerve them ſteadfaſt: nay, with what a charming and melodious voice did he ſound forth the praiſes of the Moſt High in his publick prayers! But his work was now done, he had finiſhed his courſe, and a time of reſt from his labours was come. Altho' he grew weak, yet his manly ſpirit and great courage bore him up for ſome time; but his diſeaſe, which ſeemed to be a kind of conſumption, at length ſo encreaſed, that he was fain to keep within doors for ſeveral weeks; then mending a little he went abroad again, and came into a meeting in London, where I beheld his countenance much unlike what it uſed to be, for it clearly manifeſted his bodily indiſpoſition: nevertheleſs he preached with a godly zeal, and his ſalutary exhortations flowed like a ſtream from his lips, which ſeemed to be touched with a coal from the altar of heaven, whilſt he was preaching the goſpel to the edification of his hearers. Now he began to lift up his voice again to that degree, that, judging from thence, one would have ſuppoſed him to have been pretty well reſtored; but the ground of his diſtemper not being taken away, he was ſoon neceſſitated to keep at home again; and his natural ſtrength waſted away ſo faſt, and he ſo declined, that his death began to be expected, which not very long after fell out accordingly. A little before he died, G. Fox being come to ſee him, aſked him 'whether any thing lay up-'on him to write to friends in England?' but he ſignified that he

he had nothing to write, only desired that his love might be remembered to them, and desired G. Fox to pray to God, that he might have an easy passage, for he felt his end approaching. He having complied with his desire, and seeing him begin to be heavy, bid him go and lie on the bed, which J. Coale did; but finding this, as it seems, more uneasy, with the help of his friends he rose again, and sat on the side of the bed; and his friends sitting about him, he felt himself so lively and powerfully raised, that he spoke to them after this manner: 1668.

'Well, friends, be faithful to God, and have a single eye to 'his glory, and seek nothing for self, or your own glory; and if 'any thing of that arise, judge it down by the power of the Lord 'God, that so ye may be clear in his sight, and answer his witness 'in all people; then will ye have the reward of life. For my 'part, I have walked in faithfulness with the Lord; and I have 'thus far finished my testimony, and have peace with the Lord: 'his majesty is with me, and his crown of life is upon me. So 'mind my love to all friends.' Then he ceased speaking; and a little time after he said to Stephen Crisp, 'Dear heart! keep low 'in the holy seed of God, and that will be thy crown for-ever.' After a short pause, he said, 'A minister of Christ must walk as 'he walked.'

His death on the 15th of the eleventh month, called January, 1668-9.

A little afterwards fainting, and being stayed by his friends, he departed in their arms, without the least sigh or groan, but as one falling into a sweet sleep; and being filled with heavenly consolations, he passed from this mortal life to that which is immortal, having attained the age of thirty-five years and two months, and preached the gospel about twelve years. He had travelled much in the West-Indies, sustained great hardships, and laboured in the ministry at his own charge, being freely given up to spend his substance in the service of the Lord. And though he went through many persecutions, imprisonments, and other adversities, yet he was not afraid of danger, but always valiant; and continued in an unmarried state, that so he might the more freely labour in the heavenly harvest, and many were converted by his ministry. He lived to see the desire of his heart accomplished; for when first he was raised up to true godliness, being under the sense of his former transgressions, he cried to the Lord for deliverance, and said with David, 'If thou, O God, wilt help me throughly, *then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.*' He had been long in a mournful state, though naturally of a cheerful temper; and having himself passed through a path of sorrow, he was the more able to comfort the mourners of Zion. The church was very sensible of this great loss; and I have reason to think his corps was attended to the grave by more than a thousand of his friends, among whom I was one; and his burial being very publick and well known, drew the eyes of many spectators towards it. Let none think it strange, that I have here expatiated somewhat largely, seeing he was indeed dear to me, and I have his kind usage yet in fresh remembrance; for the piety of my mother, whom he had seen in England, caused him to

Psalm li. 13.

give

1668/9. give me marks of the eſteem he bore to her memory: and his excellent endowments ſo affected me, that I was eager to go to that meeting where I heard he was likely to be; nay, I imagined I ſaw ſomething in him ſo extraordinary valuable, that I bore a very reverent reſpect to him, and the more, becauſe difference of age deprived me of a familiar converſation with him.

Account of the death of F. Howgil, 1668-9.

On the 20th of the eleventh month called January, 166⅘, Francis Howgil, after a ſickneſs of nine days, died in the priſon at Appleby, where he had been kept about five years. During his ſickneſs, he was in perfect good underſtanding, and often very fervent in prayer, uttering many comfortable expreſſions, to the great refreſhment of thoſe about him. He was often heard to ſay, 'that he was content to die, and praiſed God for the many ſweet 'enjoyments and refreſhments he had received in that his priſon-'houſe bed, whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand 'in his reſtraint. And,' ſaid he, 'this was the place of my firſt 'impriſonment for the truth, here at this town; and if it be the 'place of my laying down the body, I am content.' Several perſons of note, inhabitants of Appleby, as the mayor, and others, came to viſit him; and ſome of theſe praying that God might ſpeak peace to his ſoul, he returned, 'He hath done it.' About two days before his departure, being attended by his wife, and ſeveral of his friends, he ſaid to them, 'Friends, as to matter of 'words, ye muſt not expect much more from me, neither is there 'any great need of it, or to ſpeak of matters of faith to you who 'are ſatisfied: only that ye remember my dear love to all friends 'who inquire after me; for I ever loved friends well, or any in 'whom truth appeared. Truly God will own his people, as he hath 'ever hitherto done, and as we have daily witneſſed; for no ſoon-'er had they made that act of baniſhment, to the great ſuffering 'of many good friends, but the Lord ſtirred up enemies againſt 'them, whereby the violence of their hands was taken off. I ſay 'again, God will own his people, even all thoſe that are faithful— 'and as for me, I am well, and content to die. I am not at all 'afraid of death; but one thing was of late in my heart, and 'that I intended to have written to George Fox and others, even 'that which I have obſerved, viz. that this generation paſſeth faſt 'away: we ſee many good and precious friends within theſe few 'years have been taken from us; and therefore friends had need 'to watch, and be very faithful, ſo that we may leave a good and 'not a bad ſavour to the next ſucceeding generation; for we ſee 'that it is but a little time that any of us have to ſtay here.' A few hours before he departed, ſome friends from other places being come to viſit him, he inquired about their welfare, and prayed fervently, with many heavenly expreſſions, 'that the Lord, by 'his mighty power, might preſerve them out of all ſuch things as 'would ſpot and defile.' His voice then, by reaſon of his great weakneſs, failed him, and a little after he recovering ſome ſtrength, ſaid, 'I have ſought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived in-'nocently as among men; and if any inquire concerning my 'latter end, let them know that I die in the faith which I lived in 'and ſuffered for.' After theſe words he ſpoke ſome others in prayer

prayer to God, and ſo ſweetly finiſhed his days in peace with the Lord, in the fiftieth year of his age. 1669.

He left a good name behind him amongſt all who knew him.—Some time before his ſickneſs, conſidering this mutable ſtate, and finding in himſelf ſome decay of nature, he made his will, in which, as his love was very dear to his brethren, with whom he had laboured in the miniſtry, ſo he gave to each of them a remembrance of his love; he left alſo a legacy to his poor friends in thoſe parts where he lived.

For although his moveable goods were forfeited to the king forever, yet the confiſcation of his real eſtate was only for life; ſo that from thence having ſomething left, he could diſpoſe of it by his will.

He writes a treatiſe called 'Oaths no 'Goſpel Or-'dinance,'

During his impriſonment he neglected not to comfort and ſtrengthen his brethren by writing, effecting that by his pen, which he could not by word of mouth: he alſo defended his doctrine againſt thoſe who oppoſed the ſame; and among others, he wrote a large treatiſe againſt oaths, contradicting the opinion of thoſe who account it lawful to ſwear under the goſpel.

And advice as his laſt will to his daughter.

About two years before his deceaſe, he wrote an epiſtle of advice and counſel as his laſt will and teſtament to his daughter Abigail, a child whom he much loved, who was born in a time of deep exerciſes and trouble, which nevertheleſs by the Lord's goodneſs he was patiently brought through; wherefore he named this child Abigail, ſignifying 'The father's joy.' In this teſtament he gave her inſtructions for the future conduct of her life, the beginning whereof is thus:

DAUGHTER Abigail, this is for thee to obſerve and keep, and take heed unto all the days of thy life, for the regulating thy life and converſation in this world, that thy life may be happy, and thy end bleſſed, and God glorified by thee in thy generation. I was not born to great poſſeſſions, nor did inherit great matters in this world; but the Lord hath always endowed me with ſufficiency and enough, and hath been as a tender father unto me, becauſe my heart truſted in him, and did love the way of righteouſneſs from a child.——My counſel unto thee is, that thou *remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*, and fear the Lord, in thy youth, and learn to know him and ſerve him all thy days: firſt ſeek the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs thereof; it is not far from thee, it is within thee; it conſiſts in life and power, and it ſtands in righteouſneſs, truth, and equity, juſtice, mercy, long-ſuffering, patience, love, light, and holineſs, this is the being and centre thereof; therefore ſeek not lo here, or lo there without thee, in this or that outward obſervation, for many ſeek there and never find it; but ſeek and thou ſhalt find, wait and thou ſhalt receive. If thou enquire, in what muſt I ſeek? and what muſt I wait in? and how muſt I ſeek? I inform thee, that thou muſt ſilence all thy own thoughts, and thou muſt turn thy mind to that which is pure, and holy, and good within thyſelf, and ſeek and wait in that in the light of Jeſus Chriſt, wherewith thou art enlightened, which ſhews thee when thou doſt evil, and

1669. checks and reproves, take heed unto that, and it will ſhew the evil motions and thoughts; and as thou loveſt it, it will ſubdue them, and preſerve thee for the time to come out of evil; for tho' thou be born into the world a reaſonable creature, yet thou muſt be born again, and be made a new creature, or elſe thou canſt not enter into God's kingdom; thou muſt know the ſeed of the kingdom in thyſelf, of which thou muſt be born and formed again into God's image. I have told thee God hath ſown it in thee, a grain of it, a meaſure of it, a portion of it, a meaſure of light and truth, of righteouſneſs and holineſs; keep in thy mind to that, and love it, and thou wilt feel the heavenly Father working in thee, and begetting thee to life through Jeſus Chriſt that hath enlightened thee; and thou wilt feel the power of the Lord ſtrengthening thee in thy little, and making thee to grow in the immortal ſeed of his kingdom, and outgrow and overgrow all evil, ſo that thou wilt daily die to that, and have no pleaſure in it, but in the Lord, and in his goodneſs and virtue ſhed abroad in thy heart, which thou wilt taſte and feel within, and have joy and comfort therein. Love the Lord with thy heart and ſoul, even him that made thee, and gave thee a being, and all things in heaven and earth; and ſtill wait for the knowledge of him in thyſelf: he is not far from thee, but near unto thee, and unto all that call upon him in an upright heart: and do thou inquire of thy dear mother, ſhe will inform thee, ſhe knows him, and the way to life and peace, and hearken to her inſtructions. God is a ſpirit, of light, and life, and power, that ſearcheth the heart, and ſhews thee when thou doſt, or thinkeſt, or ſpeakeſt evil, and ſhews unto man or woman their thoughts. That which ſhews the evil is good, and that which ſhews a lie is truth: this is within, take heed to it; this is called God's ſpirit in the ſcripture, believe in it, love it, and it will quicken thy heart to good, and it will ſubject the evil: here is thy teacher near thee, love it, and if thou act contrary, it will condemn thee; therefore take heed unto this ſpirit of truth, and it will enlighten and enliven thee, and will open thy underſtanding, and give thee to know what God is, and to do that which is good and acceptable in his ſight; this ſpirit never errs, but leads out of all error into all truth. Be ſober-minded in thy youth, and wait on the Lord within, hearken unto him. God is light immortal, life immortal, truth immortal, an everlaſting eternal ſpirit. He ſpeaks ſpiritually and inviſibly, within the hearts and conſciences of men and women; hear what he ſpeaks, and obey his voice, and thy ſoul ſhall live; fear to offend him, or ſin againſt him, for the wages of ſin are death; therefore prize his love in thy young and tender years, and do thou read the ſcriptures and friends books, and take heed to what thou readeſt to obey it, as far as thou underſtandeſt; and pray often unto the Lord, that he will give thee his knowledge, and open thy underſtanding in the things of his kingdom; ſearch thy heart often with the light of Chriſt in thee, manifeſt and bring thy deeds to it, that they may be tried; and examine thyſelf, how the caſe ſtands betwixt the Lord and thee; and if thou ſeeſt thyſelf wrong, humble thyſelf,

and

and be ſorry, and turn unto him, and he will ſhew thee mercy; and take heed for the time to come, that thou run not into the ſame evil again; keep thy heart clean, watch againſt the evil in thyſelf, in that which ſhews it; therein there is power, and thereby thou haſt power to overcome all evil. And, dear child, mind not the pleaſures of ſin, which are but for a moment, and the end is miſery; but keep under and croſs thy will and affection, ſo thy mind will have no pleaſure in the evil, but in good; and thou wilt feel the immortal ſeed ſpringing up in thee, which God's peace and love is to. Oh Child! theſe are great and weighty things, not to be ſlighted. Accompany thyſelf always with them that fear the Lord, and fear and worſhip him in ſpirit and truth, and lead a holy and blameleſs life and converſation; deny them not, but love them, and ſuffer with them. Take heed that thou follow not the hireling teachers, who preach for gain and lucre, and abide not in Chriſt's doctrine; believe them not, heed them not, they do people no good; but thou wilt ſee them thyſelf, they have an outſide ſhew of godlineſs ſometimes, but deny the power of God and true holineſs; remember I have told thee, who have had perfect knowledge of them. But be ſure that thou let nothing ſeparate thy love from God and his people; thoſe are his people that keep his law, and obey Chriſt's voice, and lead a holy life, and they were ever hated and belied, and perſecuted, and evil-ſpoken of, always by bad and evil looſe people; theſe are God's people, and his love, and peace and bleſſing is with them; do thou grow as a natural branch (up among them) of the living vine, and continue all thy days in obedience unto God's will, and thou wilt feel joy and love in thy heart, which above all things covet after, and thou ſhalt attain and obtain everlaſting peace, which the Lord grant unto thee, according to the riches of his mercy and love, which endure for-ever and ever. Amen. 1669.

Excellent counſel for young maidens conduct.

And now Abigail, concerning thy well-being in this life, this is my advice and counſel unto thee; love thy dear mother, and ever obey her and honour her, and ſee thou grieve her not; be not ſtubborn nor wilful, but ſubmit unto her, and be as an obedient child unto her, whoſe love and care hath been too great over thee and thy ſiſters, which hath brought too much trouble upon herſelf. Learn, in thy youth, to read and write, and ſew and knit, and all points of good labour that belong to a maid, and flee idleneſs and ſloth, that nouriſheth ſin; and as thou groweſt up in years, labour in the affairs of the country, and beware of pride and riotouſneſs, and curioſity, but be well content with ſuch apparel as thy mother will permit thee, and as thou mayſt be a good example unto others. Be not wanton, nor wild, nor light, but temperate, moderate, and chaſte, and not forward in words nor ſpeech, but ſwift to hear, ſlow to ſpeak; and do thou always live with thy mother, and be a help unto her, and cheriſh her in her old age and latter years, that ſhe may be comforted in thee, and her ſoul may bleſs thee. Love thy ſiſters, and be always courteous to them and thy brother, encourage one another in good: and if thou live to be a woman of perfect years, keep thyſelf unſpotted, and let not thy mind out after ſports nor paſtimes, the

end

1669. end of all thoſe is ſorrow: neither after young men; if thou have a deſire to marry, do not thou ſeek a huſband, but let a huſband ſeek thee; and if thou live in God's fear, and an honeſt life and virtuous, them that fear God will ſeek unto thee; let not thy affections out unto every one that proffers love, but be conſiderate, and above all things, chooſe one (if thou doſt marry) that loves and fears the Lord, whoſe converſation, and manner, and courſe of life, thou knoweſt well, before thou give conſent. Be diſcreet and wiſe; hide nothing from thy mother, and ſhe will adviſe thee, no doubt, for thy good; and if ſhe be living, marry not without her conſent: and if thou join to a huſband, be ſure thou love him in thy heart, and be obedient unto him, and honour him among all, ſo will his heart be more to thee, and his love increaſe; grieve him not, but be gentle, and eaſy to be entreated, and mind thy own buſineſs; and if the Lord give thee children, bring them up in God's fear, and good exerciſe, and keep them in ſubjection unto thee, and be an example of virtue and holineſs unto them, that the Lord's bleſſing thou mayſt feel in youth and in age, and all thy life long. O Abigail! remember theſe things, keep in mind theſe things, read often this writing over, get it copied over, and lay up my words in thy heart, and do them, ſo wilt thou be happy in this life, and in the life to come: theſe things I give thee in charge to obſerve, as my MIND and WILL and COUNSEL unalterable unto thee, as witneſs hereof I have ſet my hand,

The 26th of the 5th month, 1666. *Thy dear father,*

FRANCIS HOWGIL.

A yearly meeting at London.

In the beginning of this year, the members of this ſociety, held a general yearly meeting at London, which ſince that time, hath been uſed to be held there annually, in the week called Whitſun-week, becauſe at that time of the year it is commonly beſt travelling, &c. Several are deputed from all places to this meeting, and what concerns the church in general, is there treated on.

Perſecution for religion ſeemed now to be at a ſtand, which diſpleaſed ſome of the moſt rigid ſort of churchmen, which we not only have already, but may again in due place demonſtrate.

About this time, as I take it, a certain biſhop ſaid occaſionally, 'That the Quakers, by their unlimited freedom, increaſed much, 'and therefore it was very needful to take care of them, ſeeing 'they often had much greater aſſemblies than the national church; 'for,' ſaid he, 'at ſuch a time I preached myſelf, and there were 'but a few hearers, when at the ſame time the Quakers meeting 'juſt by was crouded full;' and thereupon he deſired them 'to 'conſider whether it was not high time to ſtop theſe ſectaries.' After he had ſet forth his matter at large, another lord then preſent among others, ſaid, 'that indeed it ſeemed that the lord 'biſhop had ſpoken what was very reaſonable, that the ſectaries 'had often more hearers than the national church-preachers, 'and that it was not ſtrange to him that it diſpleaſed him, ſince 'he took ſo much upon himſelf; for,' ſaid he, 'his lordſhip ob-'ſerved, "That he preached himſelf; and the profeſſed Quakers,

"who

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" who had ſuch great aſſemblies, preached Chriſt Jeſus, and there-
" fore no wonder that they had the more hearers." This was ſuch a witty turn upon the biſhop, as no doubt made him ſo ſenſible as not to think fit to enter upon the debate in a doubtful diſpute, for it is obſervable, this lord's turn upon the biſhop was chiefly to ſtop him from promoting perſecution.

A witty turn upon a biſhop.

This ſpring G. Fox travelling to York, went through ſeveral other places in the north of England; and although he came near to his old enemy, colonel Kirby, who had a fit of the gout, and had threatened him, yet he paſſed on unmoleſted. So he went to Liverpool, whence he, with ſome of his friends, paſſed over for Ireland: among others, were Thomas Briggs and John Stubs; and being arrived at Dublin, he was kindly received by his friends; and journeying into the country, he met with no ſmall oppoſition from the Papiſts, of whom there are many there. Being come to a certain place, he challenged the Jeſuits, prieſts, and monks, to try whether their god, which they make of a wafer, be an immortal God, but they could not be brought to it; wherefore he ſaid, 'they were worſe than Baal's prieſts, for Baal's prieſts tried their 'god.' Then he went to Cork, where they had knowledge of his coming, and intended to take him priſoner; for the Quakers in Ireland were many years ſharply perſecuted, as their brethren were in England, of which to mention all circumſtances, it would make a very large treatiſe. At this time there were many priſoners at Cork, among whom was Samuel Thornton, with whom I was well acquainted, who being met with his friends in a chamber one firſt-day, the officer Quinnal came and ſhut the door of the room, and locked them in, to the number of eighty perſons, and carried the key to the mayor, Matthew Dean, who gave order that there ſhould neither victuals nor drink be carried to them, and they could only get what was pulled up with ropes through the grate, or thrown in through a hole. Under this chamber the ſoldiers were ordered to keep guard, that none might get away, and they made ſo great a ſmoke, that many of the priſoners were ſick, among whom were ſome weakly old people, and ſome women with child, and nurſes, who were almoſt ſtifled; and complaint thereof being made to the mayor, he anſwered in a ſcoffing manner, 'they are all brethren and ſiſters, let them lie upon one another; 'and if they are ſtifled 'tis their own fault.' Thus they were kept twenty-four hours, and afterwards ſome of them made priſoners.

G. F. travels in the north of England, thence to Liverpool, and ſo into Ireland with T. Briggs, &c.

Where he is oppoſed by the Papiſts, and challengeth the Jeſuits, &c. to prove their wafer god.

Then he goes to Cork,

Where S. Thornton, and near 80 more, are ſeverely treated by the mayor M. Dean.

Solomon Eccles, whom I alſo knew very well, was this year in priſon at Gallway in Ireland, where he was put, by a ſtrange accident. He was an extraordinary zealous man, and what he judged evil, he warmly oppoſed, even to the hazard of his life. This zeal led him to perform a ſtrange action in a chapel of the Papiſts without the town; for he went naked above his waiſt, with a chafingdiſh of coals and burning brimſtone on his head, and entered the chapel when all the people were on their knees to pray to their idol, and ſpoke as followeth, 'Wo to theſe idolatrous 'worſhippers! God hath ſent me this day to warn you, and to 'ſhew you what will be your portion except you repent:' which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was pre-

A relation of ſome bold and zealous actions of Sol. Eccles.

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ſently made a priſoner. What the benefit of this ſtrange action might be, I leave.

W. Gardiner of Liſbon, Martyr. A bold attempt of Bertrand le Blas, of Tournay.

Amongſt the martyrs of the reformed, we find ſome inſtances of perſons zealous to a ſtrange degree, as of William Gardiner at Liſbon, and Bertrand le Blas, at Tournay, whoſe actions were not leſs remarkable; for this laſt ſnatching the hoſt from the prieſt in their church as they were at maſs, was certainly a bold attempt, and not praiſe-worthy, if it was only an act of human contrivance; but I ſhall leave the judgment thereof unto God, as I account it ſafeſt, and the rather, becauſe under the ſharpeſt puniſhment they could inflict, they ſeemed not to ſhrink, but rather to be ſtrengthened. However ſo ſharp a trial did not fall to Eccles's portion, and I think it ſafer not to judge haſtily of this uncommon performance. He was, to my knowledge, a bold and undaunted man, and before this action in the chapel, as above, he did ſomething of a like nature at London at the fair-time, amongſt the plays, where he ſuffered much by the coachmens whipping him grievouſly on his naked back; but that could not lay his fervent zeal, which was kindled not only againſt the immodeſt and ungodly carriage of the pretended fools, but alſo againſt thoſe other vanities there uſed. To what height his zeal carried him, the following inſtance will ſhew: he who had been a member of the church of England, and then went to the Preſbyterians, and afterwards among the Independents, and after that was a Baptiſt, had been an eminent muſician, ſo that by his art he could get near one hundred and fifty pounds a year; but at laſt being a Quaker, he could not follow, for conſcience-ſake, what he now called his 'Babyloniſh trade of muſick;' wherefore he learned to make clothes to get his living by, and ſold his muſical books and inſtruments; but (as he declared) he had no peace in his conſcience; for, obſerving them to be inſtruments of vanity, he judged they ought to be deſtroyed, and therefore bought them again, although they were worth above twenty pounds, and carried them, viz. virginals, fiddles, &c. to Tower-Hill, where, laying them together, he ſet fire to them; but when ſome who were by endeavoured to hinder him, and to get one of the virginals away, he ſtamped upon it with his foot, and would not reſt until he had deſtroyed it; and after that he ſaid he found peace in his conſcience, having made an offering of that which he once entirely loved, and in the uſe of which he was educated; for not only his father and grandfather, but his grandfather's father had been muſicians, and he himſelf had the name of an eminent muſick-maſter.

S. Eccles ſells his muſical inſtruments, buys them again, and burns them on Tower-Hill.

Another account we have of his ſtrange zeal: when he ſaw how the Quakers were belied by William Burnet, Jeremy Ives, and Matthew Kiffin, teachers amongſt the Baptiſts, as if they believed not in Chriſt nor the reſurrection, he challenged all the teachers and prieſts, and Jeſuits, openly in a book which he printed, to come to a proof with him who were the 'true worſhippers;' firſt to faſt ſeven days and ſeven nights, and neither to eat or drink; and then the next ſeven days not to ſleep day or night; but we may well think that none were to be found to enter the liſts with him,

His ſtrange challenge.

him, nor to put themſelves on ſuch a teſt; and although ſome reckoned him out of his wits, yet he was not, for I remember the time very well, and had many an opportunity both to ſee and to hear him ſpeak. 1669.

I now return to G. Fox at Cork in Ireland, where they intended to take him, nevertheleſs they let him go unmoleſted, although he rode through the market, by the mayor's door, who not only ſaw him but ſaid, 'There goes G. Fox,' and yet let him paſs quietly. After he had travelled through many places in Ireland, he came again to Dublin, from whence he returned to England, and coming into Glouceſterſhire, he heard at Nailſworth of a report which had been ſpread abroad in the country, that he was turned Preſbyterian, and that they had prepared a pulpit for him in an open yard, where he was to preach. G. Fox hearing this thought it very ſtrange, whereupon he went to the place ſpoken of, where he indeed found a pulpit; but the caſe was this:—A certain Preſbyterian preacher, named John Fox, who went preaching about the country, was to preach there, and it ſeems ſome had changed his name from John to George, whereupon it was reported that he was turned from being a Quaker to be a Preſbyterian: this begat ſo great a curioſity in the people, that many went thither to hear this Quaker turned Preſbyterian; ſo this John Fox came to have a great auditory, (of ſeveral hundreds) who would not have went a foot to have heard him, had they known it. Now ſome hundreds of them hearing afterwards that the real G. Fox was not far off at a meeting, they went thither, and were ſober and attentive; where they were by him directed to the grace of God in themſelves, which would teach them and bring them ſalvation. And when the meeting was over, ſome of the people ſaid, 'they liked George 'Fox, the Quaker's preaching, better than G. Fox the Preſbyterian.' Not long after this John Fox was complained of in the houſe of commons, for having a tumultuous meeting, in which treaſonable words were ſpoken. This John Fox had formerly been prieſt of Marſhfield in Glouceſterſhire, and being put out of that place, was afterwards permitted by a common-prayer prieſt, to preach ſometimes in his ſteeple-houſe: at length this Preſbyterian prieſt preſuming too far upon the pariſh prieſt's former grant, began to be more bold than welcome, and would have preached there whether the pariſh prieſt would or not; which cauſed a great buſtle and conteſt between the two prieſts, and their hearers on either ſides, in which the common-prayer book was cut to pieces, and it is ſaid ſome treaſonable words were then ſpoken, by ſome of the followers of this John Fox; which caſe was quickly put into the news papers, and ſome malicious Preſbyterians cauſed it to be ſo worded as if it had proceeded from G. Fox the Quaker, but ſome members of the houſe of commons certified it under their hands, that it was John Fox, formerly prieſt of Marſhfield, who was complained of to be the ringleader of that unlawful aſſembly.

G. Fox paſſes unmoleſted through Cork, travels thro' many other places in Ireland, and returns to England. A divertive ſtory of G. Fox being turned Preſbyterian.

After this G. Fox travelled to Briſtol, where he met with Margaret Fell, then a widow, who came thither to viſit her daughter Yeomans. He had before this intimated to her his affection, and propoſed taking her in marriage at a ſuitable time; but though he had

1669. had a ſenſe in himſelf, it was of the Lord, yet he did not at firſt find a freedom to accompliſh the ſame, but all obſtructions being now removed, he ſo propoſed the matter, that if ſhe was willing to give her conſent, that the ſame ſhould be accompliſhed, ſhe might firſt ſend for her children; who being come, he aſked both her daughters and their huſbands, 'whether they had any thing 'againſt his taking their mother to be his wife?' and they all ſeverally expreſſed their ſatisfaction therein. Then he aſked Margaret, whether 'ſhe had performed her huſband's will?' and the children, whether, 'if their mother married, they ſhould loſe by it?' The children ſaid, 'ſhe had anſwered it to them, and deſired him 'to ſpeak no more of that.' So obſerving they were all well ſatisfied, he proceeded in his marriage, and took Margaret Fell to wife in a publick meeting of friends in Briſtol. She was a woman of a noble endowment, and this I know not only by her writings, but I have alſo heard her preach an hour together, delivering her matter compactly and orderly.

G. Fox's proceedings and marriage with M. Fell at Briſtol.

G. Fox being married, he ſtayed with his wife about a week in Briſtol, and then they went together to Oldſtone, and there taking leave of each other, they parted, ſhe went homeward into the north, and he travelled through Wiltſhire, Berkſhire, Oxfordſhire, Bucks, and ſo to London: for although now he had a wife, yet he did not neglect his care towards the churches, all the nation over, in the gift which he had received of God, both in word and writing to their edification; and amongſt the reſt he had a ſpecial regard, that the poor might be taken care of, to which end he wrote an epiſtle in London, to this effect, that poor children ſhould be put apprentices to trades, whereby in time, they might help their aged parents, and enable them to bring up their families, and maintain themſelves handſomely.

Soon after ſhe goes homeward, and he travels thro' Wiltſhire, &c. to London, taking care of the churches and poor.

1670. G. Fox ſtayed not long in London; but the year 1670 being now come, he travelled through Hertfordſhire, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire and Leiceſterſhire, where he expected to have met with his wife; for he had wrote her word (if ſhe found it convenient) to meet him there; but inſtead thereof he underſtood ſhe was haled out of her houſe, and carried to Lancaſter priſon, upon the old premunire, which was executed upon her five years before, from which ſhe was diſcharged by order of the king and council the laſt year. Wherefore after he had viſited friends in thoſe counties, he returned to London, where he found two of his wife's daughters, whom he haſtened to go to the king, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, which they did, but met with much difficulty; yet they diligently attended the ſame, as it behoved them for their mother, who was a mother or overſeer of the church alſo, and therefore of the greater concern: but at laſt through aſſiduous application, they got to the ſpeech of the king, to whom one of them ſaid, 'that inſtead of their waiting upon him to re-'turn him thanks for the diſcharge of their mother, they were 'now neceſſitated to make complaint of their mother's being caſt 'into priſon a ſecond time.' Whereupon the king gave command to ſir John Otway, to write to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, to ſet her at liberty, which letter G. Fox accordingly haſtened his daughters with into the country.

M. Fox haled to Lancaſter priſon on an old premunire, from which ſhe had been diſcharged;

But upon her daughter's application to the king, he gives order to ſet her at liberty.

The

1670.

The parliament now ſitting, made a law, entitled, 'An act to 'prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles,' which is as follows:

Act againſt ſeditious conventicles. The preamble, 16 Car. 2. cap. 4.

FOR providing further and more ſpeedy remedies againſt the growing and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries, and other diſloyal perſons, who, under pretence of tender conſciences, have or may at their meetings contrive inſurrections, as late experience hath ſhewn; (2) Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that if any perſon of the age of ſixteen years or upwards, being a ſubject of this realm, at any time after the tenth day of May next, ſhall be preſent at any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, at which conventicle, meeting or aſſembly, there ſhall be five perſons or more aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame houſhold, if it be in a houſe, where there is a family inhabiting; or if it be in a houſe, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting; then where any five perſons or more, are ſo aſſembled, as aforeſaid, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any one or more juſtices of the peace of the county, limit, diviſion, corporation or liberty wherein the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed, or for the chief magiſtrate of the place where the offence aforeſaid ſhall be committed; and he and they are hereby required and enjoined upon proof to him or them reſpectively made of ſuch offence either by confeſſion of the party, or oath of two witneſſes; (3) (which oath the ſaid juſtice and juſtices of the peace, and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter) or by notorious evidence and circumſtance of the fact, to make a record of every ſuch offence under his or their hands and ſeals reſpectively; which record ſo made, as aforeſaid, ſhall to all intents and purpoſes be in law taken and adjudged to be a full and perfect conviction of every ſuch offender for ſuch offence: and thereupon the ſaid juſtice, juſtices and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall impoſe on every ſuch offender ſo convict, as aforeſaid, a fine of five ſhillings for ſuch firſt offence; which record and conviction ſhall be certified by the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate, at the next quarter-ſeſſions of the peace, for the county or place where the offence was committed.

Conventicles, &c. forbidden after May 10, 1670.

How the offenders muſt be convicted.

The penalty for the firſt offence. The record and conviction to be returned to the next quarter-ſeſſions.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if ſuch offender ſo convicted as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence or offences, contrary to this act, and be thereof in manner aforeſaid convicted, then ſuch offender ſo convict of ſuch like offence or offences, ſhall for every ſuch offence incur the penalty of ten ſhillings; (2) which fine and fines, for the firſt and every other offence ſhall be levied by diſtreſs and ſale of the offenders goods and chattels; or in caſe of the poverty of ſuch offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other perſon or perſons who ſhall be then convicted in manner aforeſaid of the like offence at the ſame conventicle, at the diſcretion of the ſaid

The penalties for the ſecond offence.

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The penalty how to be levied.

Conſtables, &c. to levy the ſame, and pay it to the juſtice immediately.

How the penalties are to be divided.

juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſo as the ſum to be levied on any one perſon in caſe of the poverty of other offenders, amount not in the whole to above the ſum of ten pounds, upon occaſion of any one meeting, as aforeſaid; (3) and every conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwardens and overſeers of the poor reſpectively, are hereby authorized and required to levy the ſame accordingly, having firſt received a warrant under the hands and ſeals of the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively ſo to do; (4) the ſaid monies ſo to be levied, to be forthwith delivered to the ſame juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate, and by him or them to be diſtributed, the one third part thereof to the uſe of the king's majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to be paid to the high ſheriff of the county for the time being, in manner following; that is to ſay, the juſtice or juſtices of peace ſhall pay the ſame into the court of the reſpective quarter-ſeſſions, which ſaid court ſhall deliver the ſame to the ſheriff, and make a memorial on record of the payment and delivery thereof, which ſaid memorial ſhall be a ſufficient and final diſcharge to the ſaid juſtice and juſtices, and a charge to the ſheriff, which ſaid diſcharge and charge ſhall be certified into the exchequer together, and not one without the other: and no juſtice ſhall or may be queſtioned or accountable for the ſame in the exchequer or elſewhere, than in quarter-ſeſſions; another third part thereof to and for the uſe of the poor of the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall be committed; and the other third part thereof to the informer and informers, and to ſuch perſon and perſons as the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively ſhall appoint, having regard to their diligence and induſtry in the diſcovery, diſperſing and puniſhing of the ſaid conventicles.

Certificate into the exchequer.

The penalty of ſuch as preach or teach in a conventicle. How to be levied and diſpoſed.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall take upon him to preach or teach in any ſuch meeting, aſſembly or conventicle, and ſhall thereof be convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit for every ſuch firſt offence the ſum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforeſaid upon his goods and chattels; (2) and if the ſaid preacher or teacher ſo convicted, be a ſtranger, and his name and habitation not known, or is fled, and cannot be found, or in the judgment of the juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate before whom he ſhall be convicted, ſhall be thought unable to pay the ſame, the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, are hereby impowered and required to levy the ſame by warrant, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of any ſuch perſons who ſhall be preſent at the ſame conventicle; any thing in this or any other act, law or ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding; and the money ſo levied, to be diſpoſed of in manner aforeſaid: (3) and if ſuch offender ſo convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time again commit the like offence or offences contrary to this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforeſaid, then ſuch offender ſo convicted of ſuch like offence or offences, ſhall, for every ſuch offence, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and diſpoſed as aforeſaid.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon who ſhall wittingly and willingly ſuffer any ſuch conventicle,

conventicle, meeting, or unlawful aſſembly aforeſaid, to be held in his or her houſe, outhouſe, barn, yard, or backſide, and be convicted thereof in manner aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit the ſum of twenty pounds, to be levied in manner aforeſaid, upon his or her goods and chattels; or in caſe of his or her poverty or inability, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of ſuch perſons who ſhall be convicted in manner aforeſaid, of being preſent at the ſame conventicle; and the money ſo levied, to be diſpoſed of in manner aforeſaid. 1670. The forfeiture of ſuch as ſuffer conventicles in their houſes.

V. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon ſhall by any clauſe of this act be liable to pay above ten pounds for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other perſon or perſons. Proviſo.

VI. Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that in all caſes of this act, where the penalty or ſum charged upon any offender exceeds the ſum of ten ſhillings, and ſuch offender ſhall find himſelf aggrieved, it ſhall and may be lawful for him within one week after the ſaid penalty or money charged ſhall be paid or levied, to appeal in writing from the perſon or perſons convicting, to the judgment of the juſtices of the peace in their next quarter-ſeſſions, (2) to whom the juſtice or juſtices of the peace, chief magiſtrate or alderman, that firſt convicted ſuch offender, ſhall return the money levied upon the appellant, and ſhall certify under his and their hands and ſeals, the evidence upon which the conviction paſſed, with the whole record thereof, and the ſaid appeal; (3) whereupon ſuch offender may plead and make defence, and have his trial by a jury thereupon: (4) and in caſe ſuch appellant ſhall not proſecute with effect, or if upon ſuch trial he ſhall not be acquitted, or judgment paſs not for him upon his ſaid appeal, the ſaid juſtices at the ſeſſions ſhall give treble coſts againſt ſuch offender for his unjuſt appeal: (5) and no other court whatſoever ſhall intermeddle with any cauſe or cauſes of appeal upon this act, but they ſhall be finally determined in the quarter-ſeſſions only. Appeals may be, and to whom, and in what caſes.

VII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that upon the delivery of ſuch appeal, as aforeſaid, the perſon or perſons appellant ſhall enter before the perſon or perſons convicting, into a recognizance, to proſecute the ſaid appeal with effect: (2) which ſaid recognizance the perſon or perſons ſo convicting is hereby impowered to take, and required to certify the ſame to the next quarter-ſeſſions: (3) and in caſe no ſuch recognizance be entered into, the ſaid appeal to be null and void. Appellant to enter into a recognizance.

VIII. Provided always, that every ſuch appeal ſhall be left with the perſon or perſons ſo convicting, as aforeſaid, at the time of the making thereof.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that the juſtice, juſtices of the peace and chief magiſtrate reſpectively, or the reſpective conſtables, headboroughs and tithingmen, by warrant from the ſaid juſtice, juſtices or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, ſhall and may with what aid, force and aſſiſtance they ſhall think fit, for the better execution of this act, after refuſal or denial to enter, break open, and enter into any houſe or other place, where they ſhall be informed any ſuch conventicle, as aforeſaid, Juſtices of peace, conſtables, &c. upon refuſal, may break open doors.

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ſaid, is or ſhall be held, as well within liberties as without; (2) and take into their cuſtody the perſons there unlawfully aſſembled, to the intent they may be proceeded againſt according to this act: (3) and that the lieutenants or deputy-lieutenants, or any commiſſionated officer of the militia, or other of his majeſty's forces, with ſuch troops or companies of horſe and foot; and alſo the ſheriffs, and other magiſtrates and miniſters of juſtice, or any of them, jointly or ſeverally, within any the counties or places within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, with ſuch other aſſiſtance as they ſhall think meet, or can get in readineſs with the ſooneſt, on certificate made to them reſpectively under the hand and ſeal of any one juſtice of the peace or chief magiſtrate, of his particular information or knowledge of ſuch unlawful meeting or conventicle held, or to be held in their reſpective counties or places, and that he, with ſuch aſſiſtance as he can get together, is not able to ſuppreſs and diſſolve the ſame, ſhall and may, and are hereby required and enjoined to repair unto the place where they are ſo held, or to be held, and by the beſt means they can to diſſolve, diſſipate or prevent all ſuch unlawful meetings, and take into their cuſtody ſuch and ſo many of the ſaid perſons ſo unlawfully aſſembled as they ſhall think fit, to the intent that they may be proceeded againſt according to this act.

Lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and commiſſionated officers of the militia, muſt diſperſe conventicles, either with horſe or foot.

X. Provided always, that no dwelling-houſe of any peer of this realm, where he or his wife ſhall then be reſident, ſhall be ſearched by virtue of this act, but by immediate warrant from his majeſty, under his ſign-manual, or in the preſence of the lieutenant, or one deputy-lieutenant, or two juſtices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum, of the ſame county or riding.

Proviſo for peers of the realm.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden or overſeer of the poor, who ſhall know, or be credibly informed of any ſuch meetings or conventicles held within his precincts, pariſhes or limits, and ſhall not give information thereof to ſome juſtice of the peace, or the chief magiſtrate, and endeavour the conviction of the parties according to his duty; but ſuch conſtable, headborough, tithingman, churchwarden, overſeers of the poor, or any perſon lawfully called in aid of the conſtable, headborough or tithingman, ſhall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty, in the execution of this act, and be thereof convicted in manner aforeſaid, he ſhall forfeit, for every ſuch offence, the ſum of five pounds, to be levied upon his goods and chattels, and diſpoſed in manner aforeſaid: (2) and that if any juſtice of the peace, or chief magiſtrate, ſhall wilfully and wittingly omit the performance of his duty in the execution of this act, he ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds, the one moiety to the uſe of the informer, to be recovered by action, ſuit, bill or plaint, in any of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, wherein no eſſoign, protection or wager of law ſhall lie.

The penalty of all juſtices of peace, conſtables, and other officers, civil and military, that omit their duty in performing this act.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon be at any time ſued for putting in execution any of the powers contained in this act, otherwiſe than upon appeal

allowed

allowed by this act, ſuch perſon ſhall and may plead the general iſſue, and give the ſpecial matter in evidence; (2) and if the plaintiff be nonſuit, or a verdict paſs for the defendant, or if the plaintiff diſcontinue his action, or if upon demurrer judgment be given for the defendant, every ſuch defendant ſhall have his full treble coſts.

This act to be interpreted moſt beneficially for the ſuppreſſing conventicles.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that this act, and all clauſes therein contained, ſhall be conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for the ſuppreſſing of conventicles, and for the juſtification and encouragement of all perſons to be employed in the execution thereof; (2) and that no record, warrant, or mittimus to be made by virtue of this act, or any proceedings thereupon, ſhall be reverſed, avoided, or any way impeached by reaſon of any default in form. (3) And in caſe any perſon offending againſt this act, ſhall be an inhabitant in any other county or corporation, or fly into any other county or corporation after the offence committed, the juſtice of peace or chief magiſtrate before whom he ſhall be convicted, as aforeſaid, ſhall certify the ſame under his hand and ſeal, to any juſtice of peace or chief magiſtrate of ſuch other county or corporation wherein the ſaid perſon or perſons are inhabitants, or are fled into; (4) which ſaid juſtice or chief magiſtrate reſpectively, is hereby authorized and required to levy the penalty or penalties in this act mentioned, upon the goods and chattels of ſuch perſon or perſons, as fully as the ſaid other juſtice of peace might have done, in caſe he or they had been inhabitants in the place where the offence was committed.

Offenders to be proſecuted within three months after the offence.

XIV. Provided alſo, that no perſon ſhall be puniſhed for any offence againſt this act, unleſs ſuch offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the offence committed. (2) And that no perſon, who ſhall be puniſhed for any offence by virtue of this act, ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame offence by virtue of any other act or law whatſoever.

Aldermen within London have the ſame power there as juſtices of peace elſewhere.

XV. Provided, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every alderman of London for the time being, within the city of London, and the liberties thereof, ſhall have (and they and every of them are hereby impowered and required to execute) the ſame power and authority within London, and the liberties thereof, for the examining, convicting and puniſhing of all offences within this act committed within London, and the liberties thereof, which any juſtice of peace hath by this act in any county of England, and ſhall be ſubject to the ſame penalties and puniſhments, for not doing that which by this act is directed to be done by any juſtice of peace in any county of England.

Feme-covert.

XVI. Provided, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if the perſon offending, and convicted, as aforeſaid, be a feme-covert, cohabiting with her huſband, the penalties of five ſhillings, and ten ſhillings, ſo as aforeſaid incurred, ſhall be levied by warrant, as aforeſaid, upon the goods and chattels of the huſband of ſuch feme-covert.

Peers of the realm.

XVII. Provided alſo, that no peer of this realm ſhall be attached or impriſoned by virtue or force of this act; any thing, matter or clauſe therein, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

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Proviſo for the king's ſupremacy.

XVIII. Provided alſo, that neither this act, nor any thing therein contained, ſhall extend to invalidate or make void his majeſty's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs: (2) but that his majeſty, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, exerciſe and enjoy all powers and authority in eccleſiaſtical affairs, as fully and as amply as himſelf or any of his predeceſſors have or might have done the ſame: any thing in this act notwithſtanding.

By this very law many an honeſt family was impoveriſhed; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publickly, but the moſt ſincere amongſt them were the more zealous, and they were the more winnowed from the chaff, which in time of eaſe gets in amongſt religious profeſſors; and none need wonder at it, ſince the Quakers having gained the repute of an upright hearted people, ſome for by-ends might creep in amongſt them.

The baſeneſs and cruelty of informers, and of ſome juſtices.

At London, as well as at other places, many were ſpoiled of their goods very unmercifully, and many times people of good ſubſtance brought to mere poverty, ſeeing not only the ſhop goods of ſome, but alſo their houſhold goods have been ſeized, inſomuch that the very ſick have had their beds taken from under them, and they themſelves laid upon the floor; nay, they have been ſo cruel, as to leave them nothing; inſomuch that when the child's pap hath ſtood in a pannikin, they have thrown out the pap to take the pannikin away.

Should I ſum up all the particulars I have received, and the account I could give, it would make a volume of itſelf; for the informers were generally poor, and ſometimes alſo the juſtices, ſo that they knew how to part their booty belonging to the king, as well as to the poor; and thus the king and the poor got but little of their plunder. Nevertheleſs it ſo happened ſometimes, that

Some juſtices diſcouraged thoſe practices.

thoſe who were finable, were freed by the juſtices; for they knew very well, that thoſe informers, who were alſo witneſſes, were cunning ſhurkers, who were only concerned to get their thirds of the booty, and therefore found out a way by which they ſhewed that they were knaviſh and unjuſt in their office, therefore not fit to give evidence; ſo that it hath ſometimes fallen out, that an honeſt juſtice hath cleared thoſe informed againſt, when the informer miſſed in his evidence, either in the day of the month, or the like, in the complaint.

An impudent informer dies in priſon.

At London there once appeared before the lord mayor ſitting at a court of aldermen, an impudent informer, having ſuch a quantity of informations for fines as would have wronged the parties to the value of 1500 l. but the mayor abominating ſuch a practice, adjourned the court, and went away. But this hardy informer was not content to let the matter fall thus, but appeared before the court from time to time, to make a booty of honeſt peoples goods; but they ſtill put him off, until at laſt he himſelf was arreſted for debt, and carried to priſon, where he ended his days.

Although now the law againſt ſeditious conventicles had paſſed, upon a ſuppoſition that the Preſbyterians were ready to riſe, conſidering the buſtle and tumult occaſioned by John Fox in Glouceſterſhire,

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terſhire, which was much taken notice of, as I have mentioned before, yet nevertheleſs the Quakers meetings became the chief object in the execution of this law. Whereupon G. Fox being in London, ſet forth in print the injuſtice of this law, in order, if poſſible, to moderate the government not to put the ſame in execution. Nevertheleſs being alſo ſenſible that a great ſtorm hung over the heads of friends, he alſo wrote an epiſtle to them, to exhort them to faithfulneſs, and to encourage them to ſtand faſt in their teſtimony, and bear with chriſtian patience the ſuffering that was come upon them. Now the firſt day that this law took place, he went to the meeting of friends at Grace-church-ſtreet, in London, but being come to the place, he found the ſtreet full of people, and a guard to keep them out of their meeting-houſe; whereupon he went to Lombard-ſtreet, (out of which there was alſo a paſſage to the meeting-houſe) and there he alſo found a guard; but there being a court before the door, which was full of people, one of the Quakers miniſters was there preaching to the people, and when he had ended, G. Fox ſtood up and ſaid, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me; it is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks* — which words he thus explained: that it was Saul's nature that perſecuted; and that they perſecuting Chriſt in his members, were kicking againſt the pricks; and that it was the birth of the fleſh that perſecuted the birth of the ſpirit; and that it was the nature of dogs to tear and devour the ſheep, but that they ſuffered like ſheep, who did not bite again; but were a peaceable people, who loved even their perſecutors. While G. Fox was thus preaching, there came a conſtable and an informer, with ſoldiers, who pulled him down from the place he ſtood on. Then, ſaid he, *Bleſſed are the peace-makers:* but the commanders of the ſoldiers ordered them to ſecure him; 'for,' ſaid he, 'you are the man I looked for.' Wherefore he, with two more of his friends, John Burnet and another, were had before the lord mayor; and as they were going, the informer ſaid, 'It will never be a good world until all people come to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago.' G. Fox hearing this, ſaid, 'Art thou a Papiſt? What! a Papiſt informer? for two hundred years ago there was no other publick profeſſion of religion but that of the Papiſts in this nation.' It vexed the informer that G. Fox heard him ſpeak thus; for he now ſaw he was enſnared in his own talk. When he came into the court before the lord mayor's houſe, ſome people who were there aſked G. Fox, 'why he was brought thither priſoner?' 'Pray,' ſaid he, 'aſk that informer, and aſk him his name;' but he would not tell his name. Then one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, 'he ſhould tell his name before he went away: for,' ſaid he, 'the lord mayor will know by what authority you have intruded yourſelf with ſoldiers in the execution of thoſe laws which it belongs to the civil magiſtrate to execute, and not the military.' The informer underſtanding this, got away, but not without ſome difficulty, becauſe they would not then let him out of the court; but he forceably pulling open the door, and being got into the ſtreet, the people gave a great ſhout, crying out, 'A Papiſt informer! A Papiſt informer!' and he would have

G. Fox writes againſt the injuſtice of this law;

And an epiſtle to encourage his friends.

G. Fox goes to Grace-church-ſtreet meeting-houſe, when this law firſt took place, and preaching there, is taken into cuſtody, with others.

What befel a (ſuſpected) popiſh informer.

come

1670. come off but badly, had not G. Fox adviſed the conſtable and ſoldiers to keep him out of the hands of the common people. Whereupon he went into the houſe and changed his perriwig, and ſo got away,

When the lord mayor came home, and G. Fox was brought before him, he ſaid, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man among 'thoſe of your own profeſſion, pray will you be inſtrumental to 'perſuade them from meeting in ſuch great numbers: for,' ſaid he, 'ſeeing Chriſt hath promiſed, where two or three are met in 'his name, he will be in the midſt of them; and the king and 'parliament are graciouſly pleaſed to allow of four to meet together to worſhip God, why will not you be content to partake 'both of Chriſt's promiſe to two or three, and the king's indul-'gence to four?' To which G. Fox anſwered, 'That Chriſt's pro-'miſe was not to diſcourage many from meeting together in his 'name; but to encourage the few, that the feweſt might not 'forbear to meet, becauſe of their fewneſs. But if Chriſt hath pro-'miſed to manifeſt his preſence in the midſt of ſo ſmall an aſſem-'bly, where but two or three are gathered in his name; how much 'more would his preſence abound where two or three hundred are 'gathered in his name.' He wiſhed him to conſider, 'whether this 'act would not have taken hold of Chriſt, with his twelve apoſtles, 'and ſeventy diſciples, (if it had been in their time) who uſed to 'meet often together; and that with great numbers?' However he told him, 'this act did not concern us; for it was made againſt 'ſeditious meetings, of ſuch as met under pretence and colour of 'religion, to contrive inſurrections, as (the act ſays) late experi-'ence hath ſhewn; but we had been ſufficiently tried and proved, 'and always found peaceable; and therefore he would do well to 'put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.' He ſaid, 'the act was made againſt meetings, and a worſhip not accord-'ing to the liturgy.' G. Fox told him, "according to" was not the 'very ſame thing;' and aſked him, 'whether the liturgy was 'according to the ſcriptures? and whether we might not read 'ſcriptures, and ſpeak ſcriptures?" He ſaid, 'Yes.' G. Fox told him, 'that this act took hold only of ſuch as meet to contrive inſur-'rections, as late experience hath ſhewn; but they had never ex-'perienced that by us. Becauſe thieves are ſometimes on the 'road, muſt not honeſt men travel therefore? And becauſe plot-'ters and contrivers have met to do miſchief, muſt not an honeſt 'peaceable people, meet to do good? If we had been a people 'that did meet to plot and contrive inſurrections, &c. we might 'have drawn ourſelves into fours: for four might do more miſ-'chief in plotting, than if there were four hundred; becauſe 'four might ſpeak out their minds more freely one to another, 'than four hundred could; therefore we being innocent, and 'not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we uſed 'to do; that he knew in his conſcience, we were innocent.'

The informer being run away, ſir S. Starling, mayor,

After this and more diſcourſe, the lord mayor, whoſe name was Samuel Starling, let them go, ſeeing the informer was gone before, and now no body accuſed them. The treatment this informer met with, made others ſcrupulous, yet ſeveral of their meetings

in

in London were diſturbed, and ſome of their preachers caſt into priſon; but though the Baptiſts, and other diſſenters, ceaſed their publick meetings, yet the Quakers continued to keep theirs, as they uſed to do, whereby it happened that ſome of their meeting-houſes were pulled down, and amongſt others that at Ratcliff, which was a ſubſtantial building, almoſt new. 1670. diſcharges G. F. and the reſt.

After ſome time, the heat of perſecution in the city began to abate, but in other places it raged more fiercely; this engaged G. Fox to leave the city, and travel about the country in divers places to viſit his friends.

This year G. Fox had a very great fit of ſickneſs, to ſuch a degree, that he became both blind and deaf; inſomuch that his recovery was deſpaired of by ſome; but after a time he grew better. G. Fox ſo ill, that his life is in great danger; but he recovers.

In the mean-while perſecution in many places grew very diſmal; for many of the friends were beaten with ſwords, and pikes, and muſkets, to that degree, that their blood ran along the ground, and the informers were ſo very eager to hunt after their prey, that they informed of meetings when there were none. Amongſt others, this following was an inſtance: at Droitwich, John Cartwright came to a friend's houſe, who ſitting down to ſupper, he prayed before they eat, which being heard by an informer, the room being next to the ſtreet, he thereupon went immediately and informed that there was a meeting in the houſe, and ſo got a warrant to diſtrain the goods; and when he came riding with them in the evening, he fell from his horſe, and broke his neck, thereby getting his death inſtead of the prey which he hunted after. Great cruelty. An informer at Droitwich in purſuit of his wickedneſs, falls off his horſe and dies.

Now altho' perſecution was not ſo hot in London, as in other places in the country, yet ſometimes even there it was very ſevere, as may be ſeen by the inſtance of William Penn, and William Mead, who were taken from a meeting and impriſoned, and tried for the ſame in the month of September.

The indictment contained, 'That William Penn, and William 'Mead, with divers other perſons, to the number of three hun-'dred, at Grace-church-ſtreet, in London, on the 15th of Auguſt, 'with force and arms, had tumultuouſly aſſembled together, and 'that William Penn, by agreement between him and William 'Mead, had preached there in the publick ſtreet, whereby was 'cauſed a great concourſe and tumult of people,' &c. That there was a publick meeting in the ſtreet, proceeded from neceſſity; becauſe a guard was placed in the paſſage to hinder friends from going into their meeting-houſe; but it was a great untruth, that they met with force and arms, which were never uſed by the Quakers. This indictment being read before the court, the priſoners were demanded, according to cuſtom, whether they were 'guilty, or not guilty?' whereupon W. Penn ſaid, 'It is impoſ-'ſible that we ſhould be able to remember the indictment verba-'tim, and therefore we deſire a copy of it, as is cuſtomary on the 'like occaſions.' The recorder, John Howell, ſaid hereupon, 'You 'muſt firſt plead to the indictment, before you can have a copy of 'it.' Then W. Penn ſaid, 'that he firſt deſired, that no advan-'tage might be taken againſt him, nor he deprived of any benefit, The famous trial of W. Penn, and W. Mead, at the Old-Bailey.

1670. 'which he might otherwiſe receive, and that the court would pro-
'miſe him a fair hearing, and liberty of making his defence.' Upon which the court ſaid, 'that no advantage ſhould be taken
'againſt him, and that he ſhould have liberty, and ſhould be
'heard.' W. Penn then ſaid, 'that he pleaded not guilty in man-
'ner and form.' Then W. Mead was demanded, whether he was
'guilty, or not guilty,' and he anſwered the ſame as W. Penn. The court then proceeded with the buſineſs of trying thieves and murderers, making the priſoners ſtay waiting five hours, and then returned them to priſon; and after two days brought them again before the court. And then the officers of the court having taken off the priſoners hats, the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, ſhewed himſelf diſpleaſed with it, and ordered the officers to put on their hats again, which being done, the recorder, John Howell, who upon all occaſions ſhewed his fierceneſs, accuſed them that they ſhowed no reſpect to the court, and condemned them for it, in a fine of forty marks each, becauſe they had not taken off their hats. Thereupon W. Penn ſaid, 'that he deſired it might be obſerved,
'that they came into the court with their hats off, (that is, taken
'off) and if they have been put on ſince, it is by order from the
'bench, and therefore not the priſoners, but the bench ſhould be
'fined.' The jury then being ſworn, and the indictment read again, the witneſſes were called, who declared, that they ſaw W. Penn ſpeaking to the people, who were aſſembled in a great number in Grace-church-ſtreet, but they could not hear what he ſaid.

The recorder then aſked William Mead, 'whether he was there?' who anſwered, 'that it is a maxim in your own law, Nemo tene-
'tur accuſare ſeipſum, which if it be not true Latin, I am ſure
'it is good Engliſh—That no man is bound to accuſe himſelf—
'why then doſt thou offer to enſnare me with ſuch a queſtion?'—Hereupon the recorder ſhewed himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſaid, 'Sir, hold your tongue, I did not go about to enſnare you.'—Then William Penn ſaid, 'We confeſs ourſelves to be ſo far from re-
'canting, or declining to vindicate the aſſembling of ourſelves to
'preach, pray, or worſhip the eternal, holy, juſt God, that we de-
'clare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indiſ-
'penſable duty, to meet inceſſantly upon ſo good an account;
'nor ſhall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from re-
'verencing and adoring our God who made us.' The ſheriff, Richard Brown, ſaid, 'You are not here for worſhipping of God,
'but for breaking the law. You do yourſelves a great deal of
'wrong in going on in that diſcourſe.' Hereupon W. Penn anſwered, 'I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the in-
'dictment that is laid to my charge: and to the end the bench,
'the jury, and myſelf, with theſe that hear us, may have a more
'direct underſtanding of this procedure, I deſire you would let
'me know by what law it is you proſecute me, and upon what
'law you ground my indictment?' The recorder anſwered, 'Up-
'on the common law.' 'Where is,' aſked W. Penn, 'that com-
'mon law?' 'You muſt not think,' ſaid the recorder, 'that I
'am able to run up ſo many years, and over ſo many adjudged
'caſes, which we call common law, to anſwer your curioſity.' 'This
'anſwer,

'anſwer,' replied W. Penn, 'I am ſure is very ſhort of my queſtion, 1670.
'for if it be common, it ſhould not be ſo hard to produce.' The recorder replied, 'Sir, will you plead to your indictment?' 'Shall 'I,' anſwered W. Penn, 'plead to an indictment that hath no 'foundation in law? if it contain that law you ſay I have broken, 'why ſhould you decline to produce that law, ſince it will be im-'poſſible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in their ver-'dict, who have not the law produced, by which they ſhould 'meaſure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt, or contrary 'of my fact.' The recorder being angry, ſaid, 'You are a ſaucy 'fellow, ſpeak to the indictment.' W. Penn replied, 'I ſay it is 'my place to ſpeak to matter of law; I am arraigned a priſoner, 'my liberty, which is next to life itſelf, is now concerned,' &c.

At this time ſeveral upon the bench urged hard upon the priſoner to bear him down. W. Penn ſaid, 'You are many mouths 'and ears againſt me, and if I muſt not be allowed to make the 'beſt of my cauſe, it is hard; I ſay again, unleſs you ſhew me 'and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I ſhall 'take it for granted, your proceedings are merely arbitrary.' The recorder then replying, ſaid, 'The queſtion is, whether you are 'guilty of this indictment?' 'The queſtion,' ſaid W. Penn, 'is 'not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this 'indictment be legal? it is too general and imperfect an anſwer, 'to ſay it is the common law, unleſs we know both where, and 'what it is: for where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion; 'and that law which is not in being, is ſo far from being common, 'that it is no law at all.' The recorder ſnapped him hereupon, with, 'You are an impertinent fellow; will you teach the court 'what law is? It's lex non ſcripta, that which many have ſtudied 'thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you 'in a moment?' 'Certainly,' replied W. Penn, 'if the common 'law be ſo hard to be underſtood, it's far from being very com-'mon; but if the lord Coke in his Inſtitutes, be of any conſidera-'tion, he tells us, that common law is common right; and that 'common right is the great charter privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. '3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8. Coke's Inſtitutes, 2. p. 56.' The recorder taking no pleaſure in that ſpeech, ſaid, 'Sir, you 'are a troubleſome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the 'court to ſuffer you to go on.' 'I have,' replied W. Penn, 'aſked 'but one queſtion, and you have not anſwered me; though the 'rights and privileges of every Engliſhman be concerned in it.' 'Well,' ſaid the recorder, 'if I ſhould ſuffer you to aſk queſtions 'till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiſer.' 'That 'is,' ſaid W. Penn, 'according as the anſwers are.' 'But,' ſays the recorder, 'we muſt not ſtand to hear you talk all night.' Whereupon W. Penn replied, 'I deſign no affront to the court, but 'to be heard in my juſt plea; and I muſt plainly tell you, that if 'you deny me the oyer of that law, which you ſuggeſt I have bro-'ken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence 'to the whole world your reſolution to ſacrifice the privileges of 'Engliſhmen, to your ſiniſter and arbitrary deſigns.' This ſo enraged the recorder, that he called to the officers, 'Take him 'away.'

1670. 'away.' And to the lord mayor he ſaid, 'My lord, if you take 'not ſome courſe with this peſtilent fellow, to ſtop his mouth, we 'ſhall not be able to do any thing to night.' Then the lord mayor cried, 'Take him away, take him away, turn him into the 'bale-dock.'

W. Penn ſeeing how force and violence prevailed, ſaid, 'Theſe 'are but ſo many vain exclamations: is this juſtice, or true judg-'ment? muſt I therefore be taken away becauſe I plead for the 'fundamental laws of England?' Then addreſſing himſelf to the jury, he ſaid, 'However, this I leave upon your conſciences, who 'are of the jury, and my ſole judges, that if theſe ancient funda-'mental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not 'limited to particular perſuaſions in matters of religion, muſt not 'be indiſpenſably maintained and obſerved, who can ſay he hath 'right to the coat upon his back? certainly our liberties are openly 'to be invaded, our wives to be raviſhed, our children enſlaved, 'our families ruined, and our eſtates led away in triumph, by 'every ſturdy beggar, and malicious informer, as their trophies, 'by our pretended forfeits for conſcience-ſake. The Lord of 'heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.' The hearing of this emphatical ſpeech was ſo troubleſome to the recorder, that he cried, 'Be ſilent there.' At which W. Penn returned, 'I am not to be ſilent in a cauſe wherein I am ſo much con-'cerned, and not only myſelf, but many ten thouſand families 'beſides.'

He being now haled into the bale-dock, it was W. Mead's turn to plead, who ſpoke thus, 'Ye men of the jury, I now ſtand here to 'anſwer to an indictment againſt me, which is a bundle of ſtuff full 'of lies and falſehoods; for therein I am accuſed, that I met, Vi & 'armis, illicite & tumultuosè. Time was when I had freedom to 'uſe a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man: but 'now I fear the living God, and dare not make uſe thereof, nor 'hurt any man, nor do I know I demeaned myſelf as a tumultuous 'perſon. I ſay, I am a peaceable man; therefore it is a very pro-'per queſtion what W. Penn demanded in this caſe, an oyer of 'the law, on which our indictment is grounded.' To this the recorder ſaid, 'I have made an anſwer to that already.' W. Mead then turning his face to the jury, ſaid, 'Ye men of the 'jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what 'makes a riot, a rout, or unlawful aſſembly, Coke, he that they 'once called the lord Coke, tells us what makes a riot, a rout, or 'unlawful aſſembly.——A riot is when three or more are met 'together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's 'land, to cut down his graſs, his wood, or break down his 'pales.' The recorder interrupting him, and ſcornfully pulling off his hat, ſaid, 'I thank you ſir, that you will tell me what 'the law is:' and Richard Brown, that inveterate enemy of the Quakers, ſaid, 'He talks at random, one while an Independent, 'another while of ſome other religion, and now a Quaker, and 'next a Papiſt.' Mead, not being minded openly to affront this alderman, told him this well known Latin verſe—'Turpe eſt doctori 'cum culpa redarguit ipſum'—ſhame to that teacher, who is guilty of the fault with which he taxes others.

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For Brown himſelf formerly had been an Independent, though now he belonged to the church of England, and was of the court-party. But the lord mayor, who it ſeems was a great friend of Brown's, ſaid to Mead, 'You deſerve to have your tongue cut 'out.' 'And,' added the recorder, 'if you diſcourſe on this man-'ner, I ſhall take occaſion againſt you.' To which Mead returned, 'Thou didſt promiſe me I ſhould have fair liberty to be heard. 'Why may I not have the privilege of an Engliſhman? and you 'might be aſhamed of this dealing.' At this the envious recorder ſaid, 'I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of Eng-'land, which ought to be obſerved and kept; nor are you wor-'thy of ſuch privileges as others have.' Mead well ſeeing that force and violence prevailed, and that his ſpeaking could not avail him, ſaid, with a compoſed mind, 'The Lord be judge between 'me and thee in this matter.'

Upon which he was taken away into the bale-dock, and the recorder gave the jury the following charge: 'You have heard what 'the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and draw-'ing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was ſpeak-'ing. If they ſhould not be diſturbed, you ſee they will go on; 'there are three or four witneſſes that have proved this that he 'did preach there; that Mr. Mead did allow of it; after this, 'you have heard by ſubſtantial witneſſes what is ſaid againſt them. 'Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to, 'and obſerve, as what hath been fully ſworn, at your peril.' That the recorder ſpoke thus to the jury, in the abſence of the priſoners, was indeed irregular; wherefore W. Penn, who heard this from afar, ſpoke with a very raiſed voice, that ſo he might be heard by thoſe on the bench, after this manner: 'I appeal to the ju-'ry, who are my judges, and to this great aſſembly, whether 'the proceedings of the court are not moſt arbitrary, and void 'of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the ab-'ſence of the priſoners. I ſay it is directly oppoſite to, and de-'ſtructive of the undoubted right of every Engliſh priſoner, as 'Coke in the 2 Inſt. on the chap. of Magna Charta ſpeaks.'—— The recorder being thus unexpectedly laſhed for his extra-judicial procedure, ſaid, with a diſdainful ſmile, 'Why, ye are pre-'ſent; you do hear, do you not?' to which Penn returned, 'No 'thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bale-dock: and 'you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, nei-'ther can you legally depart the court, before I have been ful-'ly heard, having at leaſt ten or twelve material points to offer, in 'order to invalidate their indictment.' This plain ſpeaking of W. Penn ſo enraged the recorder, that he cried, 'Pull that fellow down, 'pull him down:' for Penn it ſeems, to be heard the better, was clambered up a little by the rails of the bale-dock. Then W. Mead ſaid, 'Are theſe according to the rights and privileges of 'Engliſhmen, that we ſhould not be heard, but turned into the 'bale-dock for making our defence; and the jury to have their 'charge given them in our abſence? I ſay theſe are barbarous 'and unjuſt proceedings.' The recorder yet more incenſed, cried, 'Take them away into the hole: to hear them talk all

1670. 'night, as they would—that I think doth not become the ho-'nour of the court.'

The priſoners being kept in a ſtinking hole, the jury were commanded up, to agree upon their verdict; and after an hour and half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above: the court then ſent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down; but the court uſed many indecent threats to the four that diſſented, and after much menacing language, and a very imperious behaviour againſt the jury, the priſoners being brought to the bar, the foreman was aſked, 'How ſay you? is William 'Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted in manner 'and form, or not guilty?' Foreman: 'Guilty of ſpeaking in 'Grace-church-ſtreet.' The next queſtion was, 'Is that all?' Foreman: 'That is all I have in commiſſion.' This anſwer ſo diſpleaſed the recorder, that he ſaid, 'You had as good ſay no-'thing.' And the lord mayor, Starling, ſaid, 'Was it not an un-'lawful aſſembly? You mean he was ſpeaking to a tumult of peo-'ple there?' To which the foreman returned, 'My lord, this was 'all I had in commiſſion.' Some of the jury ſeemed now to buckle to the queſtions of the court; but others oppoſed themſelves, and ſaid, 'they allowed of no ſuch words as "unlawful "aſſembly" in their verdict:' at which ſome on the bench took occaſion to vilify them with opprobrious language. And becauſe the court would not diſmiſs the jury before they gave a more ſatisfactory verdict, they called for pen, ink, and paper, and ſo went up again: and after half an hour, returning, delivered the following verdict in writing:

WE, the jurors hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of ſpeaking or preaching to an aſſembly, met together in Grace-church-ſtreet, the 14th of Auguſt laſt, 1670, and that William Mead is not guilty of the ſaid indictment.

Foreman.	Thomas Veer,	Henry Michel,	John Baily,
	Edward Buſhel,	John Brightman,	William Lever,
	John Hammond,	Charles Milſon,	James Damaſk,
	Henry Henly,	Gregory Walklet,	William Plumſted.

This verdict the mayor and recorder reſented at ſo high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all moderation and civility; and the recorder ſaid, 'Gentlemen, you ſhall not be diſmiſſed till we 'have a verdict that the court will accept; and you ſhall be lock-'ed up, without meat, drink, fire and tobacco: you ſhall not 'think thus to abuſe the court: we will have a verdict by the help 'of God, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.'

Now though the jury had given in their verdict, and ſignified that they could give no other, yet all was in vain; and W. Penn ſeeing how they were treated againſt all reaſon, ſaid, 'My jury, 'who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their ver-'dict ſhould be free, and not compelled; the bench ought to 'wait upon them, but not foreſtal them. I do deſire that juſtice 'may be done me, and that the arbitrary reſolves of the bench 'may not be made the meaſure of my jury's verdict.' This mo-

deſt

deſt ſpeech ſo incenſed the recorder, that he cried, 'Stop that 'prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.' And the lord mayor ſaid to the jury, 'You have heard that he preached, 'that he gathered a company of tumultuous people, and that they 'do not only diſobey the martial power, but the civil alſo.' To which William Penn returned, 'That's a great miſtake; we did 'not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury 'cannot be ſo ignorant, as to think, that we met there with a 'deſign to diſturb the civil peace, ſince (firſt) we were by force 'of arms kept out of our lawful houſe, and met as near it in the 'ſtreet as the ſoldiers would give leave. And (ſecondly) becauſe 'it was no new thing, nor with the circumſtances expreſſed in the 'indictment, but what was uſual and cuſtomary with us; it's ve-'ry well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer 'violence to any man.' 1670.

The court now being reſolved to ſend the priſoners to their gaol, and the jury to their chamber, Penn ſpoke as followeth, 'The 'agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and ſuch an one 'being given by the jury, I require the clerk of the peace to re-'cord it, as he will anſwer it at his peril. And if the jury bring 'in another verdict contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjur-'ed men in law.' And looking upon the jury, ſaid, 'You are 'Engliſhmen, mind your privilege; give not away your right.' To which E. Buſhel, one of them, returned, 'Nor will we ever do 'it.' Another of the jurymen pleaded indiſpoſition of body, and therefore deſired to be diſmiſſed; but the lord mayor ſaid, 'You 'are as ſtrong as any of them; ſtarve then, and hold your prin-'ciples.' To which the recorder added, 'Gentlemen, you muſt 'be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; 'for the court is reſolved to have a verdict; and that before you 'can be diſmiſſed.' And though the jurymen ſaid, 'We are agreed, 'we are agreed, we are agreed,' yet the court ſwore ſeveral perſons to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation; nay, they had not ſo much as a chamberpot, though deſired. Thus force and violence prevailed. The next day, though it was the firſt of the week, vulgarly called Sunday, the court ſat again; and the priſoners being brought to the bar, the jury were called in, and their foreman was aſked, 'Is William 'Penn guilty of the matter whereof he ſtands indicted, in man-'ner and form aforeſaid, or not guilty?' To which he anſwered as before, 'William Penn is guilty of ſpeaking in Grace-church-'ſtreet.' The lord mayor then aſking, 'to an unlawful aſſembly?' Edward Buſhel anſwered, 'No, my lord, we give no other verdict 'than what we gave laſt night; we have no other verdict to give.' 'You are,' returned the lord mayor, 'a factious fellow: I'll take 'a courſe with you.' 'I have,' ſaid Buſhel, 'done according to 'my conſcience.' This ſo diſpleaſed the mayor, that he ſaid, 'That conſcience of yours would cut my throat; but I will cut 'yours ſo ſoon as I can.' To which the recorder added, 'He has 'inſpired the jury; he has the ſpirit of divination; methinks I 'feel him: I will have a poſitive verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve for it.'

Penn's courage, and the noble reſolution of one of the jury.

Extravagant raſhneſs of the mayor.

Then W. Penn ſaid, 'I deſire to aſk the recorder one queſtion: 'Do

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'Do you allow of the verdict given of W. Mead?' To which the recorder answered, 'It cannot be a verdict, because you are in-'dicted for a conspiracy; and one being found not guilty, and 'not the other, it cannot be a verdict.' This made Penn say, 'If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and 'Magna Charta but a mere nose of wax.' 'How!' asked W. Mead then, 'is not guilty no verdict?' 'No,' said the recorder, 'it is no verdict.' To which Penn replied, 'I affirm that the con-'sent of a jury is a verdict in law; and if W. Mead be not 'guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear, since you have 'indicted us of conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire 'alone.' After this the court spoke to the jury, and caused them to go up again, if possible to extort another verdict from them. Then the jury being called, and asked by the clerk, 'What say 'you? is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands 'indicted in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?' The fore-man answered, 'Guilty of speaking in Grace-church-street.' To which the recorder returned, 'What is this to the purpose? I say, 'I will have a verdict.' And speaking to E. Bushel, said, 'You 'are a factious fellow, I will set a mark upon you; and whilst I 'have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.' To this the mayor added, 'Have you no more wit than to be 'led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose.'

Thus the court endeavoured to baffle the jury; and therefore it was not without very good reason that William Penn said, 'It is 'intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced. Is this accord-'ing to the fundamental laws? Are not they my proper judges by 'the great charter of England? What hope is there of ever hav-'ing justice done, when juries are threatened, and their verdict is 'rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbi-'trary proceedings. Did not the lieutenant of the tower render 'one of them worse than a felon? and do you not plainly seek 'to condemn such for factious fellows who answer not your ends? 'Unhappy are those juries, who are threatened to be fined, starved, 'and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their 'consciences.' These plain expressions so troubled the recorder, that he said to the lord mayor, 'My lord, you must take a course 'with this fellow.' And then the mayor cried, 'Stop his mouth; 'gaoler bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.' To which W. Penn said, 'Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters.' The recorder then ventured to say, 'Till now I never understood 'the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suf-'fering the inquisition among them. And certainly it will ne-'ver be well with us, till something like the Spanish inquisition 'be in England.' The jury being required to find another verdict, and they saying they could give no other, the recorder grew so angry, that he said, 'Gentlemen, we shall not be at this 'pass always with you; you will find the next session of parlia-'ment there will be a law made, that those that will not conform, 'shall not have the protection of the law.——Your verdict is 'nothing, you play upon the court. I say, you shall go toge-'ther, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve, and I 'will

Penn's free speeches disturb the recorder.

Mayor's violent passion.

The recorder commends the policy and prudence of the Spanish inquisition and threatens the jury.

'will have you carted about the city, as in Edward the third's 'time.' 1670.

The jury refuſing to give in another verdict, ſince they had all agreed to that which they had given, and ſhewing themſelves unwilling to go up again, the lord mayor bid the ſheriff to make them go. The ſheriff then coming off his ſeat, ſaid, 'Come, 'gentlemen, you muſt go up; you ſee I am commanded to make 'you go.' Upon which the jury went up, and ſeveral were ſworn to keep them without any accommodation as aforeſaid, till they brought in their verdict: and the priſoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remaining till next morning were then brought to the court again; and being ſet to the bar, and the jury called, and aſked, 'Is William Penn guilty of the matter 'whereof he ſtands indicted in manner and form, &c. or not 'guilty?' The foreman anſwered, 'You have there read in wri-'ting already our verdict, and our hands ſubſcribed.' Now the clerk, who had that paper, was by the recorder ſtopped from reading it; and it was ſaid by the court, 'that paper was no 'verdict.' Then the clerk aſked, 'How ſay you, is William Penn 'guilty, &c. or not guilty?' To which the foreman anſwered, 'Not guilty.' The ſame queſtion being put concerning W. Mead, the foreman anſwered likewiſe, 'Not guilty.' The jury then being aſked by the clerk, whether they ſaid ſo all, they anſwered, 'We do 'ſo.' The bench ſtill unſatisfied, commanded that every perſon ſhould diſtinctly anſwer to their names, and give in their verdict, which they unanimouſly did, in ſaying, 'Not guilty.' The recorder, who could not bear this, ſaid, 'I am ſorry, gentlemen, you have 'followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the 'good and wholeſome advice which was given you. God keep 'my life out of your hands; but for this the court fines you 'forty marks a man, and impriſonment till paid.'

The jury fined forty marks a man, and to be impriſoned till paid.

W. Penn then ſtepping up towards the bench, ſaid, 'I demand 'my liberty, being freed by the jury.' 'No,' ſaid the lord mayor, 'you are in for your fines.' 'Fines!' returned Penn, 'for what?' 'For contempt of the court,' ſaid the lord mayor. 'I aſk,' replied Penn, 'if it be according to the fundamental laws of Eng-'land, that any Engliſhman ſhould be fined or amerced, but by 'the judgment of his peers or jury? ſince it expreſsly contra-'dicts the 14th and 29th chapters of the great charter of Eng-'land, which ſay, no freeman ought to be amerced but by the 'oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.' Inſtead of anſwering to this queſtion, the recorder cried, 'Take him away, 'take him away; take him out of the court.' On which Penn ſaid, 'I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but 'you cry, take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, 'ſince the Spaniſh inquiſition hath ſo great a place in the record-'er's heart. God Almighty, who is juſt, will judge you all for 'theſe things.' W. Penn was not ſuffered to ſpeak any more, but he and W. Mead were haled to the bale-dock, and from thence ſent to Newgate, and ſo were their jury. How they came at length to be freed, I do not know.

This trial was afterwards publiſhed in print more at large

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than is ſet down here, and an appendix ſubjoined to it;* in which are ſhewed not only the invalidity of the evidence, but alſo the abſurdity of the indictment, and the illegal proceedings of the court; and from the great charter, that they had been dealt with contrary to law. The caſe of the lord chief juſtice Keeling is alſo mentioned, who having put reſtraints upon juries, a committee of parliament the 11th of December, 1667, came to this reſolution, 'That his proceedings were innovations, in the trial of men 'for their lives and liberties; and that he had uſed an arbitrary 'and illegal power, which was of dangerous conſequence to the 'lives and liberties of the people of England, and tended to the 'introducing an arbitrary government.' Moreover, 'That in the 'place of judicature he had undervalued, vilified and condemned 'Magna Charta.' And therefore, 'that he ſhould be brought to 'trial, in order to condign puniſhment, in ſuch manner as the 'houſe ſhould judge moſt fit and requiſite.' Two days after, viz. 'Die veneris, the 13th of December,' it was reſolved, 'That the 'precedents and practice of fining and impriſoning jurors for 'verdicts is illegal.' The book containing the fore-mentioned trial of W. Penn and W. Mead was reprinted I think more than once; for it came to be much in requeſt, becauſe the liberties of the people were therein well defended, and arbitrary power controuled. The title of it was, 'The people's ancient and juſt li-'berties aſſerted;' and underneath was added this well known verſe of Juvenal:

Sic volo, ſic jubeo; ſtat pro ratione voluntas.
So I will; ſo I command—Let my will ſtand for a reaſon.

* To which the reader is referred, as well worthy his peruſal.

In the caſe of the lord chief juſtice Keeling, the practice of fining juries for their verdicts declared illegal.

A further account of theſe proceedings publiſhed by T. Rudyard, who, for defending the oppreſſed, is himſelf violently proſecuted;

This matter was more circumſtantially treated of in a book in print, by Thomas Rudyard, a lawyer, who ſhewed therein at large the right of juries, and the unlawfulneſs of the proceedings then in vogue; which he made appear plainly, both from law, and by citations from the books of eminent lawyers. And having ſometimes vigorouſly pleaded the cauſe of the oppreſſed, he alſo became the object of perſecuting fury, which could not endure his faithful defending of the innocent. And therefore this ſummer the magiſtrates of London iſſued out a warrant to break open his houſe in the dead of the night, in order to apprehend him; and this warrant was executed by the ſoldiers of one captain Holford; and the next day he was ſent to Newgate by a mittimus under the hands and ſeals of the lord mayor Samuel Starling, William Peak, Robert Hanſon, and ſeveral others, under pretence, 'that he ſtirred up perſons to diſobedience of the laws, 'and abetted and encouraged ſuch as met in unlawful and ſedi-'tious conventicles, contrary to the late act.' But his caſe being brought before the juſtices of the court of common-pleas, at Weſtminſter, by an Habeas Corpus, that court, after ſolemn debate, gave their judgment, 'that Thomas Rudyard was unjuſtly impriſon-'ed, and unlawfully detained'—and ſo he was ſet at liberty. But the lord mayor, Samuel Starling, fretting at this diſcharge, found out new ſtratagems to compaſs his ends upon him. For an indictment was formed againſt him for having hindered due

But removing his cauſe to the common-pleas is acquitted.

And again on another proſecution.

courſe

courſe of law againſt one Samuel Allingbridge. But Rudyard ſo well defended himſelf, that he was acquitted; which ſo incenſed the lord mayor, that not long after he was again committed to Newgate, on a religious account, viz. for having been in the meeting at Whitehart-court in Grace-church-ſtreet. The proceedings againſt him and others on that account were no leſs arbitrary than thoſe againſt W. Penn and W. Mead already mentioned, and therefore Rudyard expoſed his and their trials in print; and ſeeing he underſtood the law, he was the more able to ſhew the unjuſtneſs of theſe proceedings, and how inconſiſtent ſuch proſecutions were with the laws of the land. 1670.

He is again proceeded againſt for being at a meeting; an account of which he printed.

But to avoid prolixity, I ſhall relate but little of them, ſince many things occur therein, which have been mentioned already in other caſes. How the recorder Howell was inclined in reſpect to religion, may be deduced from what hath been ſaid already of his panegyrick upon the Spaniſh inquiſition. And to Rudyard and his fellow-priſoners he gave no obſcure evidence what religion he preferred; for they ſaying, 'that they were always quiet and peaceable in their aſſemblies, and that the laws againſt riots were never intended againſt them, but popiſh, or ſuch like diſturbers of the peace.' The recorder returned, 'that the Papiſts were better ſubjects to the king, than they were; and that they were a ſtubborn and dangerous people, and muſt either be brought under, or there was no ſafe living by them.' The priſoners offering to vindicate themſelves from theſe odious and foul aſperſions, were not ſuffered to ſay any thing in their own defence; but inſtead of hearing them, they were by order of the lord mayor, and the recorder, thruſt into the bale-dock, and treated almoſt at the ſame rate as W. Penn and W. Mead had been before.

A touch at the religious ſentiments of Howell, the recorder.

But violence prevailed now; and the recorder, becauſe of his outrageous behaviour againſt the Quakers, was ſo much in favour of the court of juſtice, that alderman Jo. Robinſon did not ſtick to tell them, 'that the recorder deſerved an hundred pounds for his ſervice done at the Old-Baily the laſt ſeſſions.' And his propoſal ſo took, that the court conſented to pay him for the ſaid ſervice an hundred pounds by the chamberlain of London. And ſince this was ſo well known to T. Rudyard, that in a book he publiſhed, he named the date of the ſaid order, viz. the 8th of October, 1670; and that other orders had been given for two hundred pounds more to him, within eight months laſt paſt; he, to reprehend ſuch doings in a ſatyrical way, called them 'An excellent way to eaſe the treaſury of being over-burdened with orphans money, by which ſiniſter ends, and curſed diſpoſitions of its caſh, the chamber was ſo deeply in debt, that it was almoſt incredible.'

To whom 100l. is ordered to be paid for his ſervice, by the chamberlain of London, as had 200l. before.

Now ſince Rudyard as a lawyer, had a more full knowledge of theſe unlawful proceedings againſt him and his friends, than many others, he compoſed a treatiſe of thoſe proſecutions, which he called, 'The ſecond part of the people's ancient and juſt liberties aſſerted.' And true lovers of their country were pleaſed with it: for that party, which countenanced popery, and therefore endeavoured to violate the people's rights, ſtrove to get the upper hand.

Perſecution

1670.

Wicked fellows encouraged to become informers againſt diſſenters.

Perſecution was now very hot and fierce all over the country, becauſe a door was opened for all baſe and wicked fellows to get booty by informing; for by the act againſt meetings (which, though religious, were branded with the name of ſeditious) the informer was to have a third part of the impoſed fine. This ſet on many vile perſons, and amongſt theſe ſometimes thieves and infamous fellows, to inform of any comings together of Quakers, tho' it was but on a viſit, or a to burial, by the name of a meeting, and to ſwear that a meeting had been kept there. Nay, ſometimes they ſwore only by gueſs, that in ſuch a place a meeting had been kept, tho' the witneſſes had not ſeen it, as was requiſite by law. And this informing came ſo much in vogue, that ſome magiſtrates themſelves turned informers.

——Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri ſacra fames!
What will not the curſed thirſt of gold, force mankind to perform!

I might write a large volume of theſe abominable deeds, if I could find leiſure for it; yet now and then I'll mention a few inſtances, by which the reader may make a conjecture of the reſt.

Perſons fined for having been at a burial.

This year at Alford in Somerſetſhire, in the month called Auguſt, the corps of one Samuel Clothier was buried, and though in the burying place all were ſilent, yet the juſtice Robert Hunt fined ſome that had been at the burial, for having aſſiſted at this pretended meeting.

The extravagancy of juſtice Whaley againſt the Quakers at Nottingham, aſſerting 35 Eliz. was not made againſt Papiſts.

In Nottingham it happened in the latter end of this year, that the juſtice Penniſton Whaley, who had fined many of thoſe called Quakers, for frequenting their religious meetings, encouraged the people at the ſeſſions to perſecute the Quakers without any pity, ſaying to them, 'Harden your hearts againſt them, for the act of the '35th of queen Elizabeth is not made againſt the Papiſts; ſince 'the church of Rome is a true church, as well as any other church; 'but theſe Quakers are erroneous and ſeditious perſons.' By theſe words one may eaſily judge to what religion this juſtice of peace was inclined; but ſuch diſſemblers feigned to be proteſtants, that ſo they might bear honourable offices. I paſs by unmentioned many perſons, who by beating, puſhing, and trampling, were grievouſly abuſed in their meetings, to that degree, that ſome not long ſurvived the violence committed on them, and felt the painfulneſs or ſmart of it till death.

The pious death of T. Bud.

This year about midſummer, Thomas Bud, deceaſed at Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, after having been priſoner about eight years and a half, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear. Some hours before his death, he was heard to ſay, 'That he 'had renewed his covenant with God, and was well ſatisfied in 'it; and that he believed God would ſuſtain him by the right 'hand of his juſtice: and that he rejoiced and thanked God that 'all his children walked in the way of the Lord.'

Cruelties at Warborrow in Oxfordſhire.

At Warborrow, in Oxfordſhire, thoſe called Quakers were alſo moſt grievouſly abuſed in their religious meetings, and even aged women not ſpared, which often cauſed the cry of innocent children to go up to heaven, when they ſaw their mothers

thus

1670.

thus ill treated. For magiſtrates themſelves to break their canes to pieces on thoſe that were met together, was but an ordinary thing; and then ſometimes other ſticks were made uſe of: often alſo women were ſtripped of their upper garments; and this accompanied with the ſpoil of goods. That the perſecutors were thus enraged, was not ſtrange, when we conſider that ſome were ſtirred up to it by their teachers; an inſtance of which was given by Robert Prieſt of the ſame place, who once ſaid in his ſermon, 'that the king's laws, though 'they were contrary to the law of God, yet ought to be obey-'ed.' Quite otherwiſe was the doctrine of the apoſtle Peter and John, when they ſaid to the Jewiſh council, *Judge ye, whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God?*

Profane words of their teacher, R. Prieſt.

In Northamptonſhire, where perſecution was alſo very hot, the biſhop of Peterborough ſaid publickly in the ſteeple-houſe, after he had commanded the officers to put in execution the laſt act againſt ſeditious meetings, 'Againſt all fanaticks it hath done its 'buſineſs, except the Quakers: but when the parliament ſits 'again, a ſtronger law will be made, not only to take away their 'lands and goods, but alſo to ſell them for bond-ſlaves.' Thus the churchmen blew the fire of perſecution.

A cruel ſaying of the biſhop of Peterborough in Northamptonſhire.

At York the ſpoiling of goods was alſo fiercely driven on by alderman Richardſon; and even boys and girls, that were under ſixteen years of age, and therefore not ſubject to the penalty of the law, were alſo fined; and when the conſtables ſhewed themſelves unwilling to aſſiſt in the robbery, they were ſnarled at, and one proſecuted for not performing his duty, becauſe he had refuſed to take away a man's cloak. But if I ſhould mention the ill uſage committed in all counties and places, when ſhould I come to a concluſion!

Alderman Richardſon's proceedings at York.

Thomas Green, a grave man, with whom I have been very familiarly acquainted, being in prayer at a meeting at Sawbridgworth in Hertfordſhire, was pulled off his knees, and dragged out; and being brought before the juſtices Robert Joſlin and Humphrey Gore, they fined him twenty pounds for ſpeaking or preaching at the ſaid meeting; and granted a warrant to John Smith and Paul Tomſon, conſtables, to diſtrain; upon which they went into the ſaid Thomas Green's ſhop in Royſton, and took away as much goods as were worth fifty pounds. But this did not quench his zeal; for like a true and faithful paſtor he continued to feed the flock, and to edify the church with his gift, in which he was very ſerviceable.

Tho. Green being taken in prayer at a meeting in Hertfordſhire, is fined 20l. for which 50l. worth in goods is taken.

At another time the juſtices Peter Soames and Thomas Mead gave a warrant to diſtrain twenty pounds worth of goods from the ſaid Thomas Green, for preaching at a meeting at Upper-Chiſſel in Eſſex. And the officers going to Thomas Green's ſhop, took all they could get, leaving nothing in the ſhop but a ſkein of thread, which was fallen on the ground, and not obſerved by them.

At another time they ſeize all his ſhop goods.

Theophilus Green ſuffered alſo great ſpoil of goods: for having preached in a meeting at Kingſton upon Thames, he was put into the ſtocks for ſome hours, and fined twenty pounds. And

Theo. Green fined, &c. for preaching.

1770.

having preached the three next firſt-days of the week at Wanſworth, was for each fined at the ſame rate.

The week following he being at Uxbridge, and viſiting ſome poor children of his friends, whoſe father and mother died ſhortly one after another, he took two of them as his own, and looked after the diſpoſing of the reſt. And ſtaying there till the firſt-day of the week, he went to the meeting, and exhorted his friends, 'to keep their meetings in the name of Jeſus;' at the ſpeaking of which words the conſtable and informer came in, and carried him away to juſtice Ralph Hawtrey, who fined him twenty pounds, and ſent him priſoner to Newgate in London, with a mittimus; wherein he charged him, that 'he had exhorted the people to keep 'their meetings in the name of Jeſus, notwithſtanding the laws of 'men to the contrary.' Warrants being iſſued forth to make diſtreſs for the above-mentioned fines, which amounted to one hundred pounds and five ſhillings, they came and opened his doors, and took away all his goods they found, leaving him neither bed nor ſtool. And after he had been kept priſoner three months, he, with ſeven more, were brought to the ſeſſions-houſe at Hicks's-hall, and the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to them. To which his plea was, 'As an Engliſhman I ought either to be ac-'quitted or condemned, for the cauſe for which I was commit-'ted, before I ſhould anſwer to any other matter or cauſe. Be-'ſides, I look upon myſelf to be illegally committed, as being 'fined and committed, for the ſame fact.' But they told him, 'he 'muſt anſwer whether he would ſwear or no, and then he ſhould 'be heard.' But continuing to refuſe ſwearing, he was remanded to priſon with the reſt; and afterwards being ſent for again, and ſtill unwilling to break Chriſt's command, *Not to ſwear at all*, the ſentence of premunire was read againſt him and his fellow priſoners, and ſo they continued in gaol above two years, till they were diſcharged by an act of grace from the king.

A ſtrange warrant againſt him by juſtice Hawtrey.

Further very ſevere proceedings againſt him, after fines to 100l. 5s. value.

The meetings of thoſe called Quakers were miſerably diſturbed in Horſlydown, in the county of Surrey. On the 25th of September ſeveral muſketeers came into the meeting-houſe, and haling thoſe that were met together in the ſtreet, the troopers came riding amongſt them, and beat and abuſed them violently, puſhing them with their carabines, which the others did with the but-ends of their muſkets, to that degree, that above twenty perſons were wounded and ſorely bruiſed; nay, ſo deſperately wicked were theſe miſchievous fellows, that a party of horſe ſought to ride over theſe harmleſs people; but the horſes, more merciful than their riders, and not going forward, they turned them, and by curbing and reining them backward, ſtrove to do what miſchief they could. On the ſecond of October theſe peaceable people being kept out of their meeting-place, there came a party of foot, and a party of horſe, and abuſed them no leſs violently than the week before; inſomuch that with beating and knocking they broke ſeveral of their muſkets and pikes, and one carabine, and above thirty perſons were ſo ſorely wounded and bruiſed, that their blood was ſpilt in the ſtreets.

A lamentable account of the violence exerciſed by the ſoldiers at Horſlydown meeting in Southwark.

On the ninth of the ſaid month the ſoldiers, both horſe and foot,

foot, came again to the meeting at the aforeſaid place, and one of them having a ſhovel, threw the dirt and mire from the channels on both men and women; and after him the horſe and foot came, and fell upon them, ſtriking and knocking down, without reſpect to age or ſex, until they drew blood from many; and when ſome of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houſes, to ſave their lives, the ſoldiers forced open the door, and haled them into the ſtreet again, and plucked off their hats, that they might ſtrike on their bare heads; inſomuch that many had their heads grievouſly broken. Some troopers alſo tore the women's clothes off their backs, and haled them through the mire by their horſe-ſides; and ſome of the foot ſoldiers put their hands in a moſt ſhameful manner under the women's coats: nay, a ſoldier twice ſtruck a woman, that was big with child, with his muſket, on the belly, and once on the breaſt, whilſt another flung dirt in her face; ſo that ſhe miſcarried; and above fifty perſons were this day ſorely wounded and bruiſed. The 16th of the ſaid month theſe conſcientious people meeting again to perform their worſhip to God, a great party of horſe and foot came, and fell to beating them ſo violently, as if they would have killed all on the ſpot; ſo that the blood ran down about the ears of many; and one of the conſtables endeavouring to ſtop the wicked crew from ſhedding more blood, they fell upon him alſo, and broke his head; and when they were rebuked for their cruel dealing, ſome ſaid, 'If you knew what orders we have, you 'would ſay we dealt mercifully with you.' And being aſked, 'How can you deal thus with a people that make no reſiſtance 'nor oppoſition?' they anſwered, 'We had rather, and it would 'be better for us, if you did reſiſt and oppoſe.' From which it appeared plainly, that this miſchief was done to provoke oppoſition, that ſo they might have imbrued their hands in the blood of theſe ſufferers, and ſo have had their lives and goods for a prey. It was therefore thought convenient to acquaint the king and his council with this barbarous cruelty, which had ſuch effect, that ſome ſtop was made to theſe exceſſive cruelties, though their abuſes did not altogether ceaſe. 1670.

In the cathedral at Cork in Ireland, S. Eccles expoſes B. Croſs a turn-coat prieſt, for which he is whipped thro' the ſtreets, and turned out of the town.

About this time it happened that Solomon Eccles came to Cork in Ireland, and went into the cathedral, where the prieſt Benjamin Croſs preached in a ſurplice; and having formerly been a Preſbyterian preacher in Dorſetſhire in England, had there ſaid, 'that 'he had rather go to the ſtake and be burned, than to put on a 'ſurplice.' This prieſt (now become a turncoat for gain) having finiſhed his ſermon, and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles ſaid, that 'the prayer of the wicked was an abomination to the 'Lord.' And knowing the deceitfulneſs of the ſaid prieſt, and his being an apoſtate, he added, 'What ſhall be done to the man 'that makes ſhipwreck of a good conſcience?' For this he was taken, and by the mayor committed to priſon, where being kept ten days, he was accuſed as a vagabond, and without any examination, whipped along the ſtreets of Cork, from Northgate to Southgate, and received about ninety ſtripes, and then was expelled. We have ſeen heretofore inſtances of his great zeal; and though

1670. though in ſome reſpect he might by it have been tranſported a little too far, yet he gave proofs of a ſincere heart; for having ſaid ſome years after to one John Story, (who launched out into great haughtineſs and arrogancy) 'that it was the word of the Lord that he 'ſhould die that year,' (which by ſome body to ſet a gloſs upon it, was interpreted to be meant the ſpiritual death) yet Eccles himſelf ſaid afterwards, both at London, and Briſtol, and elſewhere, 'that 'he had not ſpoken this according to the counſel of the Lord; but 'that it had been in his own will, and from a forward mind; and 'that he had felt the anger of the Lord, becauſe he had called 'theſe his own words the word of the Lord, which he really 'repented of.'

A token of S. Eccles's ſincerity.

1671. In the beginning of the year 1671 G. Fox was at London, and though by reaſon of a heavy ſickneſs, of which he began to recover, he continued ſtill weak, yet he did not omit preaching; and about this time he made the following prayer to the Lord, which he put in writing:

G. Fox's prayer.

O LORD God Almighty! proſper truth, and preſerve juſtice and equity in the land, and bring down all injuſtice and iniquity, oppreſſion and falſehood, and cruelty, and unmercifulneſs in the land, that mercy and righteouſneſs may flouriſh.

And, O Lord God! eſtabliſh and ſet up verity, and preſerve it in the land: and bring down in the land all debauchery, and vice, and whoredoms, and fornication, and this raping ſpirit, which cauſeth and leadeth people to have no eſteem of thee, O God! nor their ſouls or bodies, nor of chriſtianity, modeſty, or humanity.

And, O Lord! put it in the magiſtrates hearts, to bring down all this ungodlineſs, and violence, and cruelty, profaneneſs, curſing and ſwearing; and to put down all theſe whorehouſes and playhouſes, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither ſhall come: but ſuch works lead people to hell. And the Lord in mercy bring down all theſe things in the nation, to ſtop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.

This prayer was wrote the 17th at night, of the 2d month, 1671. G. FOX.

G. Fox's wife being ſtill detained in priſon, he obtains the royal order for her diſcharge.

G. Fox thinking his wife now at liberty, underſtood that her enemies, notwithſtanding the king's order to releaſe her, had found means to hold her ſtill in priſon. Therefore he did not give himſelf reſt, till, by the help of others, he obtained from the king a diſcharge under the great ſeal, to clear both her and her eſtate, after ſhe had been ten years a priſoner, and premunired. This royal order he ſent forthwith down to her, and thus ſhe was ſet at liberty.

Concludes on a voyage for America, and ſets ſail.

Now ſince the heat of perſecution began to cool, he felt himſelf inclined to make a voyage to America, to viſit his friends there. Of this his intention he gave notice to his wife by a letter, and deſired her to come up to London, which ſhe did accordingly; and he having taken leave of her, ſet ſail in the latter part of the

the ſummer towards America, with ſeveral of his friends that accompanied him. 1671.

Now whilſt I leave him on ſhip-board, I can't forbear to mention, that this year at London came forth a witty pamphlet with this title, 'An eaſy way to get money cum privilegio, without 'fear or cumber, printed for the ſociety of informers.' This book contained a ſatyrical rebuke to the informers, and began thus: 'To all you that can work, and will not; and to all thoſe that 'through other ways of extravagancy have brought yourſelves in-'to debt, neceſſity, or other wants, (for your ſpeedy ſupply, and 'future ſupport,) there is an opportunity put into your hands, that 'is both ſafe, profitable, and honourable: it is to be informers.' A very witty and ingenious paper printed for the ſociety of informers.

Next the author ſaid, 'that it was an eaſy way, ſince it was no 'more than to ſeek out where there were in any houſe, barn, ſta-'ble, or backſide, five perſons beſides thoſe of the family; though 'they ſpoke never a word. If you do but ſwear it' (thus he continued) 'to be a conventicle, then it is a conventicle. It is no 'matter if there were never a thought in their hearts as to plot-'ting or contriving inſurrections, (for which the law was made) 'they being there, it is ſufficient to have them fined five ſhillings a 'piece the firſt time, and twenty pounds for the houſe; and for 'the ſecond time ten ſhillings a piece; and if the juſtices be not 'well adviſed, it may be for the ſecond time for the houſe you may 'get twenty pounds more, although the act doth not grant it. 'And of all this it is ſaid, the thirds are yours: this you may 'eaſily have; for the juſtices are afraid of your power, ſince you 'have them under your lee; ſo they will not much queſtion you, 'leſt they be counted fanaticks; and they know that if they do 'not pleaſe your wills, your power is ſuch, that you may reco-'ver fifty pounds, for your parts, by action, ſuit, bill, or plea, in 'any of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, wherein no eſſoine, 'protection, or wager of law, ſhall lie. Can your hearts deſire 'more? Who will not be informers? that muſt have all clauſes 'conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially to their juſtification and 'encouragement!'

'As to the profitableneſs,' the author ſaid, 'beſides the twenty 'pounds and ten ſhillings a piece for meeting, if you can but 'tempt any by your queſtions, or other provocations, to ſpeak 'but a word to anſwer you, it will ſerve to make him a preacher, 'and then for the firſt time there is twenty pounds, and for the ſe-'cond forty pounds: it is no matter what is ſpoke, or to what con-'cern; if you ſwear you did hear ſuch an one ſpeak, it is 'enough to make him a preacher. And as to the inability, there 'is no danger that you ſhould fall ſhort of your ſalary; for you 'can by your power make void that old proverb, "Where it is not "to be had, the king muſt loſe his right." But your prero-'gative is ſuch, that if the offender hath it not, you can command 'your ſervants to levy it on any other that is not an offender in 'that nature, provided he be there, otherwiſe an appeal will be 'granted.'

At this rate the author treated the matter, taking out of the way all difficulties and ſcruples which any might have objected;

1671. and though he did this moſtly in a burleſque way, yet what he ſaid was ſo firm and ſtrenuous, that he gave proofs of being a man of underſtanding, and of a great wit; for though in an ingenious way he ſhewed the abominableneſs of this informing trade, yet he propoſed it ſafe every way; and if any might tell them they were knights of the poſt, yet however the thing fell out, it was never attended with loſs, but always with a certain gain; ſince in the proſecution nothing could be objected, but what might eaſily be quaſhed, and the oppoſers thus fruſtrated. 'And 'when to all theſe infallible profits was added the honourableneſs 'of the office, what could one deſire more? for was it not ho-'nourable indeed, to command both magiſtrates and military of-'ficers, to follow the informers where they will? And to obtain 'this office, one needed not to be at great coſt to purchaſe it, nor 'to break his pate with ſtudying; ſince at the very firſt conventi-'cle they entered, they might commence doctors.' But of what religion or profeſſion theſe informers ſhould be, the author himſelf ſeemed not to know: 'They muſt be no Jews,' ſaid he, 'for 'theſe were not to covet their neighbour's ox, nor aſs, nor any 'thing that was their neighbour's: neither ſhould they be Gen-'tiles, for they had conſcience accuſing, and did by nature the 'things contained in the law, having the law wrote in their hearts. 'And Chriſtians they could be by no means; for they ſay they for-'ſake the Devil and all his works, and all the luſts of the fleſh, 'and not to hurt any by word or deed, which is leſs than by 'ſwearing,' [the common fact of the informers.]——To conclude, the author ſaid: 'For any into whoſe hands this may come, if 'they fear any danger in it, they ought not to conceal it, but to 'bring it before ſome juſtice, or the chief magiſtrate of the place, 'with an account how they came by it, and then they are inno-'cent: then if it cannot clear itſelf, let it lie in priſon till it periſh.'

Now I return to George Fox, whom we left in the ſhip going to America. During his voyage he ſuffered much in his body; for the many hurts and bruiſes he had formerly received, and the griefs and infirmities he had contracted in England by cold, and hardſhips, and long impriſonments, returned upon him now he came to ſea, and cauſed great pain. And after having been ſeven weeks and ſome odd days at ſea, he, with his fellow-travellers, came ſafe to the iſland of Barbados. His occurrences there he hath deſcribed at large in his Journal. Many of the great ones, eſpecially the governor, ſhewed him much kindneſs. And after he had edified his friends there on many occaſions, and exhorted them to the maintaining good order, both in things relating to the church, and in the governing of their blacks, he now being reſtored to health again, departed the iſland after a ſtay of three months, and ſet ſail for Jamaica, where he had not been long, ere Elizabeth Hooton, ſeveral times mentioned in this work, departed this life, having been well the day before ſhe died; and thus ſhe finiſhed her days, in a good frame of mind. After he had been there about ſeven weeks, he performed his ſervice to his ſatisfaction.

G. Fox, &c. arrives ſafe at Barbados,

Afterward ſails to Jamaica, where E. Hooton dies.

In the beginning of the year 1672, he took ſhipping for Maryland,

land, where being come, he with thoſe with him travelled through woods and wilderneſſes, over bogs and great rivers, to New-England. By the way he had ſometimes opportunity to ſpeak to the Indians and their kings, and at other times he met with ſingular caſes, all which, for brevity's-ſake, I paſs by in ſilence. He went alſo to the town formerly called New-Amſterdam, which name now is changed into that of New-York. Here he lodged at the governor's houſe, and had alſo a meeting there. From thence he returned again to Maryland, and came alſo into Virginia, and Carolina, and thus ſpent above a year travelling to and fro in America. 1672. Then takes ſhipping for Maryland, and ſo travels to New-England, Maryland again, Virginia, and Carolina.

Whilſt he was there, England and France were entered into war againſt Holland. Now though I have yet in freſh remembrance thoſe ſad times, and in what a wonderful manner it pleaſed the Lord to ſave our country from being quite overrun and ſubdued, yet I ſhall not mention thoſe things, ſince they are at large ſet down by other writers. Yet tranſiently I'll give a touch of the remarkable exaltation of William III. prince of Orange, and afterwards king of Great-Britain. England and France at war with Holland.

I have already ſaid in its due place, how it was endeavoured to exclude him by the perpetual edict from ever being ſtadtholder, or deputy. But how ſtrong ſoever this edict was ſworn to, yet heaven brought it to nought, and broke the ties of it by the refuſe of the nation: for women, and many others, of the mob, forced the magiſtrates, when the French were come into the province of Utrecht, and all ſeemed to run into confuſion, to break their oaths, and to reſtore that young and magnanimous prince to the honour and dignity of his renowned anceſtors. The miſerable fate of the two brethren, John and Cornelius de Wit, who had been chief inſtruments in making the ſaid perpetual edict, and were killed and butchered in a moſt abominable manner by the inhabitants of the Hague, was not without good reaſon diſapproved by many grave and ſerious people. 'Tis true, it was a great miſtake that they acted ſo, that they ſeemed to ſet limits to the Almighty; though I do not believe their intent was ſuch, but rather that what they did in making void the ſtadtholderſhip they judged conducive to the benefit of their country. After they were murdered, the widow of Cornelius de Wit ſeemed to have a firm belief that they were entered into everlaſting glory: for tho' for ſome time after their death ſhe was under a great concern, conſidering how on a ſudden, and at unawares, they were hurried out of this life; yet at length, early in the morning, either in a dream or in a viſion, ſhe beheld them both in a cloud, in a glorious form, with hands lifted up, and clothed in pure white raiment. By this ſight all her former ſolicitude and fear was taken from her, and ſhe was fully ſatisfied concerning their eternal well-being. I have this relation from ſeveral credible perſons, who ſaid they had it from her own mouth, and they all agreed in the material circumſtances. The manner of the diſſolution of the perpetual edict againſt the prince of Orange; And the miſerable fate of J. and C. de Wit. The dream of C. de Wit's widow.

In England, where it was obſerved that perſecution for religion, during the war, could not but be prejudicial to the publick, the king publiſhed a declaration, whereby the execution of the penal laws was ſuſpended. But ſince the Papiſts, againſt whom the moſt Execution of the penal laws for religion ſuſpended.

1673. moſt of theſe laws had been made, thus got liberty to enter into offices of truſt, many of the people grew jealous on this account; inſomuch that the parliament, in the year 1673, ſhewed their diſlike to the king, telling him, that the penal ſtatutes about eccleſiaſtical matters, could not be ſuſpended but by an act of parliament. The king wanting money to continue the war, yielded ſomewhat to the parliament, in reſpect to the popiſh prieſts and Jeſuits, conſenting that the laws againſt them ſhould continue in force.

G. F. returns to England, and is met by many friends at Briſtol.

This ſummer G. Fox returned to England, and arrived at Briſtol, of which he gave notice to his wife by a letter; and ſhe delayed not to go to him. With her came alſo her ſon-in-law Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters: her other ſon-in-law John Rouſe, accompanied by William Penn, &c. came alſo from London; and ſince at that time there was a fair at Briſtol, many of his friends came thither from other parts of the country, and ſo were at a great meeting he had there, in which he preached concerning the three chief teachers, viz. 'That God was the firſt 'teacher of man and woman in paradiſe; and that as long as they 'kept to God's teaching, they kept in the image of God, and in 'righteouſneſs, holineſs, and dominion over all that God had made: 'but when they hearkened to the falſe teaching of the ſerpent, 'who was out of truth, and ſo diſobeyed God, they loſt the image 'of God, to wit, righteouſneſs and holineſs; and ſo coming un-'der the power of Satan, were turned out of paradiſe. That this 'ſerpent was the ſecond teacher, and that man following his 'teaching, came into miſery, and into the fall. And that Chriſt 'Jeſus was the third teacher, of whom God ſaid, *This is my be-'loved Son in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him!*—that this 'Son himſelf ſaid, *Learn of me!*—that he was the true goſpel 'teacher, that never fell, and therefore was to be heard in all 'things, ſince he was the Saviour and the Redeemer, and having 'laid down his life, had bought his ſheep with his precious blood.' Of this he treated at large in the ſaid meeting. After ſome ſtay at Briſtol, he went to Glouceſterſhire; and going from thence to Oxfordſhire, he came at length to London, where perſecution being not ſo hot now as formerly, the Baptiſts and Socinians were very active in blackening the Quakers, by publiſhing ſeveral books againſt them, in which they averred that the Quakers were no chriſtians. But theſe malicious books were not left unanſwered, nor the falſehoods contained in them.

From whence thro' Glouceſterſhire, Oxon, &c. he came to London. Baptiſts and Socinians aver the Quakers are no chriſtians; but their books are anſwered. G.F. has ſome foreſight of his impriſonment, which ſoon after follows, being with T. Lower taken and ſent to Worceſter gaol.

After G. Fox had been ſome time at London, he went with his wife and Thomas Lower to Worceſter; and when he ſignified to her that it was like a priſon would be his ſhare, ſhe ſeemed not without reaſon grieved at it. And not long after having had a meeting at Armſcot in Tredington pariſh, after the meeting was ended, he, with Thomas Lower, ſitting in the parlour, and diſcourſing with ſome friends, they both were, under pretence of having kept great meetings that might be prejudicial to the publick peace, taken by Henry Parker, juſtice, and ſent to Worceſter gaol, on the 17th of December, and his wife, with her daughter, returned into the north; and by that time he thought ſhe could be got home,

home, he wrote a ſhort letter to her, and exhorted her to be content with the will of the Lord. He alſo wrote a letter to the lord Windſor, who was lieutenant of Worceſterſhire, and other magiſtrates, wherein he informed them of his impriſonment, and that he had not been taken in a meeting, but in a houſe where he had ſome buſineſs. He alſo ſignified, that he intended to have viſited his mother, from which he had now been ſtopped. But he could not thus obtain his liberty; yet Thomas Lower might have got free if he would, for his brother Dr. Lower, being one of the king's phyſicians, had procured Henry Saville, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, to write to the ſaid lord Windſor to releaſe Thomas Lower; but his love to his father-in-law, G. Fox, was ſuch, that he kept the ſaid letter by him unſent; and ſo they were both continued priſoners. 1673.

A manifeſt token of T. Lower's great love to G. Fox.

Now while I leave them in priſon, I return once more to Miles Halhead, of whom mention hath been often made already. He being at Plymouth in this year, felt himſelf ſtirred up to go ſee John Lambert, who having formerly been a general, was now, as hath been ſaid in due place, confined to perpetual impriſonment, in a little iſland not far from Plymouth. To this iſland Halhead paſſed over, and though he found there a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, yet he got leave to ſee Lambert; and being come to him, he ſaid, 'Friend, is thy name John Lambert?' to which Lambert anſwered, 'Yea:' which made Miles ſay, 'Then I pray thee, friend, 'hear what the ſervant of the Lord hath to ſay to thee:' and he continued thus: 'Friend, the Lord God made uſe of thee and others 'for the deliverance of his people, and when you cried to him, 'he delivered you in your diſtreſſes, as at Dunbar, and other places, 'and gave an opportunity into your hands to do good; and you 'promiſed what great things you would do for the Lord's peo-'ple: but, truly, John Lambert, ye ſoon forgot your promiſes 'made to the Lord in that day and time of your great diſtreſs, 'and turned the edge of your ſword againſt the Lord's ſervants and 'handmaids, whom he ſent forth to declare his eternal truth; and 'made laws, and conſented to laws, and ſuffered and permit-'ted laws to be made againſt God's people.' To this Lambert ſaid, 'Friend, I would have you know, that ſome of us never made 'laws, nor conſented to laws to perſecute you, or any of your 'friends; for perſecution we ever were againſt.' To which Miles returned, 'It may be ſo; but the ſcripture of truth is fulfilled by 'the beſt of you: for although thou and ſome others have not giv-'en your conſent to make laws againſt the Lord's people, yet ye 'ſuffered and permitted it to be made and done; and when pow-'er and authority was in your hands, ye might have ſpoken the 'word, and the ſervants and handmaids of the Lord might have 'been delivered out of the devourers hands; but none was found 'amongſt you that would be ſeen to plead the cauſe of the inno-'cent; ſo the Lord God of life was grieved with you, becauſe ye 'ſlighted the Lord and his ſervants, and began to ſet up your ſelf-'intereſt, and to lay field to field, and houſe to houſe, and make 'your names great in the earth. Then the Lord took away your 'power and authority, your manhood and your boldneſs, and

M. Halhead moved to pay a viſit to the late general Lambert, who after much plain dealing, parts with him in love.

1673. ‘ cauſed you to flee before your enemies, and your hearts fainted ‘ with fear, and ſome ended their days in grief and ſorrow, and ‘ ſome lie in holes and caves to this day. So the Lord God of hea- ‘ ven and earth will give a juſt reward to every one according to ‘ his works. So, my dear friend, prize the great love of God to ‘ thee, who hath not given thy life into the hands of the devourers; ‘ but hath given thee thy life for a prey, and time to prepare thy- ‘ ſelf, that thou mayſt end thy days in peace. And truly the ‘ Lord is good to all them that fear him, and believe in his ‘ name: for tho' all the powers of the earth riſe up againſt a poor ‘ innocent people, yet the Lord God of life and love was with them, ‘ and pleaded their cauſe, although all men ſlighted them; and, ‘ truly, the beſt was but as a brier, and the moſt upright among ‘ them as a thorn hedge. If the Lord had not pleaded our inno- ‘ cency, we had not had a being in the land of our nativity; glory ‘ to his name for-ever! who hath not ſuffered or permitted more of ‘ the wrath of man, nor laws, nor decrees of men, to come againſt ‘ his people, that believe in his name, than hath been for his honour, ‘ and for his glory, and for the eternal good of all his ſons and ‘ daughters, and ſervants; and the remainder the Lord God of ‘ life and love hath reſtrained to this day: glory, and honour, ‘ and living eternal praiſes be given and returned to the Lord God ‘ and the Lamb, for-ever!’

Thus Halhead ended his ſpeech, and Lambert, who had heard him with good ſatisfaction, deſired him to ſit down, which Halhead did; and then Lambert called for beer, and gave him to drink; after which, he ſaid to him, ‘ Friend, I do believe thou ‘ ſpeakeſt to me in love, and ſo I take it.’ And then he aſked him, ‘ if he was at Dunbar fight?’ to which Halhead having anſwered, ‘ No;’ he further aſked, ‘ How do you know what great danger ‘ we were in at that time?’ Upon which Halhead gave him to un- derſtand, ‘ that he coming that way a little time after the fight, ‘ and having viewed the town of Dunbar, and the ground about it ‘ where the Engliſh army lay, how the ſea was on the one hand of ‘ them, and hills and mountains on the other, and the great ‘ Scotch army before and behind them, he then took into ſerious ‘ conſideration, the great danger the Engliſh had been in, and ‘ thought how greatly the Engliſhmen were engaged to the Lord ‘ for their deliverance, to ſerve him in truth and uprightneſs of ‘ heart all the days of their life. Truly, John,’ ſaid Halhead then to Lambert, ‘ I never ſaw thy face before to know thee, al- ‘ though I have been brought before many of our Engliſh com- ‘ manders in the time of Oliver Cromwell.’ Lambert then aſking, ‘ who they were?’ Halhead named the generals Fleetwood and Deſborough, major Blackmore, and colonel Fenwick, before whom he had been when he was governor of Edinburgh. Lambert then ſaid, ‘ he knew the moſt of thoſe men to have been very mo- ‘ derate, and that they ever were againſt perſecution.’ To which Miles replied, ‘ Indeed they were very moderate, and would not ‘ be much ſeen to perſecute, or be ſevere with the Lord's people; ‘ but truly they permitted others to do it, and took little notice of ‘ the ſufferings of the people of God; ſo that none was found to

‘ plead

'plead our cauſe but the Lord God.' To this Lambert ſaid, 'Although you and your friends ſuffered perſecution, and ſome 'hardſhips in that time, your cauſe therein is never the worſe for 'that.' 'That is very true,' returned Miles, 'but let me tell thee, 'in the plainneſs of my heart, that's no thanks to you, but glory 'to the Lord for-ever.' About two hours Miles diſcourſed with Lambert, and his wife and two daughters; and after he had cleared himſelf, he took leave of them, and ſo parted in love. 1673.

Now before I leave Halhead, I'll inſert here a copy of a letter he wrote in the year 1674, to G. Fox, who was then priſoner in Worceſter gaol: the ſaid letter was thus:

GEORGE FOX,

THOU dear and well-beloved of the Lord, whom he ſent, out of his eternal love, to me, and many more, who were in darkneſs and in blindneſs, ſeeking the living among the dead, to ſhew and direct us the way that leads out of ſin and evil, up to God eternal, bleſſed for evermore. The living, eternal God of life and love, that ſent thee into the north, keep and preſerve me by his eternal arm and power, and all my dear friends and brethren, truly ſenſible of his eternal love, which I bear record hath been exceeding great, ſince the day the Lord made his precious truth known amongſt us. Therefore, dear George Fox, pray for me, for I am old and infirm of body, and the ſight of my eyes grows exceeding weak, that I may be kept faithful and upright to the Lord, in my meaſure I have received of the Lord, in this day of his eternal love; that I may give my account with joy and rejoicing, and gladneſs of heart, and be preſented with thee, and all my brethren, blameleſs to the Lord, that I may go to my grave in peace, and reſt for evermore. Amen! 1674. M. Halhead's letter to G. F.

My dear love to my good old friends, Margaret Fox, and Thomas Lower; their dear and tender love and care of me in months paſt, by me cannot be forgotten, as I dwell and abide faithful to him, who is my light and life, my joy and peace, God over all, bleſſed for evermore. Amen!

MILES HALHEAD.

In the month called January, 167$\frac{3}{4}$, G. Fox, and Thomas Lower, were brought to their trial in the court at Worceſter, it being the laſt day of the ſeſſions; and when they came in, thoſe on the bench were ſtruck with paleneſs in their faces, and continued a while ſpeechleſs, inſomuch that a butcher in the hall ſaid, 'What! 'are they afraid? dare not the juſtices ſpeak to them?' At length juſtice Parker, by whoſe order G. Fox and T. Lower had been committed, made a long ſpeech, much to the ſame effect as the contents of the mittimus, and added, 'that he thought it a milder 'courſe to ſend them two to gaol, than to put his neighbours to 'the loſs of two hundred pounds, which they muſt have ſuffered, 'if he had put the law in execution againſt conventicles.' But this was a very poor ſhift, and ſilly evaſion; for there being no meeting when he came, nor any to inform, he had no evidence to convict them or his neighbours by. When Parker had ended his ſpeech, the juſtices ſpoke to the priſoners, and began with Lower, whom they G. Fox and Tho. Lower brought before the court at their ſeſſions at Worceſter; And examined.

1674. they examined why he came into that country? And when they had done with him, they aſked of G. Fox an account of his travel, which he gave them, and ſhewed them clearly, that he and his friends, of whom ſo great a noiſe had been made by juſtice Parker, as if many had come together from ſeveral parts, were in a manner all but one family. When he had ended ſpeaking, the chairman Simpſon ſaid, 'Your relation or account is very innocent.' Then he and Parker having whiſpered awhile together, the ſaid chairman ſtood up and ſaid, 'You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all 'this may be true which you have ſaid; but that we may be the 'better ſatisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy?' Now though G. Fox anſwered to this, 'that they had ſaid 'they would not enſnare him, and that this was a plain ſnare, 'ſince they knew, he and his friends would not take any oath;' all was in vain, and they cauſed the oath to be read; which being done, he told them, 'I never took oath in my life, but I have 'always been true to the government. I was caſt into the dungeon 'at Derby, and kept priſoner ſix months there, becauſe I would 'not take up arms againſt king Charles at Worceſter fight: and 'for going to meetings, I was carried out of Lieceſter, and brought 'before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in king Charles: and 'ye know in your own conſciences, that we, the people called Qua'kers, cannot take an oath, or ſwear in any caſe, becauſe Chriſt 'hath forbidden it. But as to the matter or ſubſtance contained 'in the oaths, this I can and do ſay, that I do own and acknow'ledge the king of England to be lawful heir and ſucceſſor to the 'realm of England; and do abhor all plots and plotters, and con'trivances againſt him; and I have nothing in my heart but love 'and good will to him and all men, and deſire his and their proſ'perity; the Lord knows it, before whom I ſtand an innocent 'man. And as to the oath of ſupremacy, I deny the pope and his 'power, and abhor it with my heart.'—Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, they cried, 'Give him the book,' viz. the bible. 'The book,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ſaith, *ſwear not at all*,' and he going on to declare his mind further, they cried, 'Take him away goaler;' who not ſhewing himſelf very forward, they cried again, 'Take him 'away: we ſhall have a meeting here; why do you not take him 'away?' And one of the bench ſaid, 'That fellow,' meaning the gaoler, 'loves to hear him preach.' The gaoler then taking him away, as he was turning from them, he ſaid, 'The Lord forgive 'you who caſt me into priſon for obeying the doctrine of Chriſt!' After G. Fox was led away, the juſtices told T. Lower, 'he was at 'liberty;' for they did not think it ſafe to deal with him at the ſame rate as they did with G. Fox, becauſe they thought he had ſome protection at court. Lower aſked then, 'why his father-in-'law might not be ſet at liberty as well as he, ſince they were both 'taken together, and their caſe was alike?' But they telling him, they would not hear him, ſaid, 'You may be gone about your 'buſineſs, for we have nothing more to ſay to you, ſeeing you are 'diſcharged.'

G. F. recommitted for refuſing to ſwear; but T. Lower ſet at liberty.

And then pleads earneſtly to obtain his father-in-law's alſo.

This was all he could get from them; therefore, after the court was riſen, he went to ſpeak with them at their chamber, deſiring

to

1674.

to know, 'what cauſe they had to detain his father, ſeeing they 'had diſcharged him;' and wiſhing them to conſider, 'whether 'this was not partiality.' Upon this Simpſon ſaid, 'If you be not 'content, we will tender you the oath alſo, and ſend you to your 'father.' To which Lower replied, 'Ye may do that, if ye 'think fit; but whether ye ſend me or no, I intend to go, and 'wait upon my father in priſon; for that is now my buſineſs in 'this country.' Then juſtice Parker ſaid to him: 'Do you think, 'Mr. Lower, that I had no cauſe to ſend your father and you to 'priſon, when you had ſuch a great meeting, inſomuch that the 'parſon of the pariſh complained to me, that he had loſt the great-'eſt part of his pariſhioners; ſo that when he comes amongſt them, 'he hath ſcarce any auditors left.' To this Lower returned, 'I have 'heard that the prieſt of that pariſh comes ſo ſeldom to viſit his 'flock, but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his 'tithes, that it was but charity in my father to viſit ſuch a forlorn 'and forſaken flock: and therefore thou hadſt no cauſe to ſend my 'father to priſon for viſiting them, or for teaching, inſtructing, 'and directing them to Chriſt their true teacher, who had ſo little 'comfort or benefit from their pretended paſtor, who comes among 'them only to ſeek for his gain from his quarter.' Upon this the juſtices fell a laughing; for Dr. Crowder, the prieſt ſpoken of, was then in the room, ſitting among them; though Lower did not know him, and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not to vindicate himſelf. But after Lower was gone away, the juſtices ſo jeſted on Crowder, that he grew aſhamed, and was ſo net-tled with it, that he threatened to ſue T. Lower in the biſhop's court, upon an action of defamation; which Lower having heard of, ſent him word, 'that he might begin if he would; and that 'he would anſwer him, and bring his whole pariſh in evidence 'againſt him.' And he told him the ſame afterwards to his face; which ſo cooled the prieſt's eagerneſs, that he thought it more ſafe for him to let him alone.

T. Lower unwittingly gives a ſmart reprimand to the parſon, Dr. Crowder, to the great diverſion of the juſtices.

Soon after the ſeſſions were over, an Habeas Corpus was ſent down to Worceſter, for the ſheriff to bring up G. Fox to the king's bench bar: whereupon his ſon-in-law, Lower, conducted him; for the under-ſheriff had made Lower his deputy, to convey G. Fox to London; who being arrived there, appeared before the court of king's bench, where he found the judges moderate, and they patiently heard him, when he gave them an account how he had been ſtopped in his journey, and committed to gaol; and how at his trial, the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy had been tendered to him; and alſo what he had offered to the juſtices as a declaration, that he was willing to ſign, inſtead of the ſaid oaths. To this it was told him by the chief juſtice, 'that 'they would conſider further of it.' Being then delivered to the keeper of the king's bench, he was ſuffered to go and lodge at the houſe of one of his friends; for though he continued a priſoner, yet they were ſufficiently perſuaded that he would not run away. But after this, juſtice Parker, as it was ſaid, moved the court, that G. Fox might be ſent back to Worceſter, that his cauſe might be tried there; for Parker ſaw clearly, that if G.

G. Fox, under the charge of his ſon Lower brought up to the king's bench bar, where the judges hear him with moderation;

But through the inſinuations of juſtice Parker, as it was ſaid, he is remitted to the next aſſizes;

1674. Fox had been acquitted here, this would have tended to his ſhame, for having committed him unjuſtly.

A day then being appointed for another hearing, G. Fox appearing again at the king's bench, and hearing that it was under deliberation to ſend him back to Worceſter, ſignified, 'that this 'was only to enſnare him, by putting the oath to him, that ſo 'they might premunire him, who never took oath in his life.' And he further told them, 'If he broke his Yea or Nay, he was 'content to ſuffer the ſame penalty as thoſe that break their 'oaths.' Now ſeeing Parker had ſpread a report at London, and it had been ſaid in the parliament-houſe, 'that when he took G. 'Fox, there were many ſubſtantial men with him, out of ſe-'veral parts of the nation, and that they had a deſign, or plot 'in hand,' G. Fox did not omit to ſhew the fallacy of that malicious ſtory: and ſince he thus laid open Parker's ſhame, it was not ſtrange, that by his friends at court, he procured that the king's judges complied with his deſire, that G. Fox ſhould be remanded to Worceſter gaol; inſomuch that whatever he ſaid, he could not prevent it; only this favour was granted him, that he might go his own way, and at his leiſure, provided he would be there without fail by the aſſizes, which were to begin on the ſecond day of the month called April.

Where he appears accordingly before judge Turner, who, tho' ſeemingly inclinable to more kindneſs, at laſt refers him to the next ſeſſions.

G. Fox then after ſome ſtay, went down leiſurely, and being come to Worceſter, he was on the ſecond day of the foreſaid month, brought from the gaol, to an inn near the Seſſions-hall; but not being called that day, the gaoler came to him at night, and told him he might go home, meaning to the gaol; whereupon he walked thither, being accompanied by one of his friends. Next day being brought up again, a boy of about eleven years old was ſet to be his keeper. Having in my relation of the proceedings before the king's bench paſſed by moſt part of the pleading, ſo I ſhall do here likewiſe, to avoid repetitions of what hath been ſeveral times related already, concerning ſuch kind of trials; yet I cannot paſs by in ſilence, that after he had given an account of his journey before he was taken, he added, 'that ſince his impriſon-'ment, he had underſtood, that his mother, who was an anci-'ent and weak woman, and had deſired to ſee him before ſhe di-'ed, hearing that he was ſtopped, and impriſoned, in his journey, 'ſo that he was not likely to come and ſee her, it ſtruck her ſo, 'that ſhe died ſoon after; which had been very hard to him.'—— Judge Turner, who formerly had been very ſevere to him, ſeemed now, as ſome thought, inclined to have him ſet at liberty, ſince he ſaw they had nothing juſtly againſt him; but Parker, who had committed him, endeavoured to incenſe the judge againſt him; for if he had been releaſed, then he himſelf muſt have borne the blame of having committed G. Fox unjuſtly; and therefore he told the judge, 'that G. Fox was a ringleader; that many of the nation 'followed him; and one knew not what it might come to.' Yet the judge gave but little ear to all this, being willing to be eaſy; but he could not reſolve to do this, by ſetting G. Fox at liberty, leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe others; and thus in concluſion, G. Fox and his cauſe were referred to the ſeſſions again, and he continued priſoner,

priſoner, but with this proviſo, that he ſhould have the liberty of the town; which accordingly he had. 1674.

By this he got opportunity to ſpeak with many perſons, and ſometimes with prieſts too, one of which aſked him, 'whether 'he was grown up to perfection?' to which he anſwered, 'what 'he was, he was by the grace of God.' 'This is,' replied the prieſt, 'a modeſt and civil anſwer; but,' continued he, in the words of the apoſtle John, '*If we ſay that we have no ſin, we de-* '*ceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.*' And aſking, 'what 'he ſaid to that?' G. Fox returned with the words of the ſame apoſtle, '*If we ſay that we have not ſinned, we make him a liar, and* '*his word is not in us.*' Moreover he ſaid, 'Chriſt came to deſtroy 'ſin, and to take away ſin. There is a time for people to ſee that 'they have ſinned, and there is a time for them to confeſs their 'ſin, and to forſake it, and to know the blood of Chriſt to cleanſe 'from all ſin.' After ſome more reaſoning, the prieſt ſaid, 'We 'muſt always be ſtriving;' to which G. Fox returned, 'that it was 'a ſad and comfortleſs ſort of ſtriving, to ſtrive with a belief that 'we ſhould never overcome:' and he told him alſo, 'that Paul, who 'once cried out becauſe of the body of death, did alſo thank God, 'who gave him the victory; and that he ſaid, *There is no condem-* '*nation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus:* ſo that there was a time of 'crying out for want of victory, and a time of praiſing God for the 'victory.' 'But,' ſaid the prieſt, 'Job was not perfect.' To which G. Fox returned, that God hath ſignified in ſcripture, 'that Job was 'perfect and upright, and that he eſchewed evil: and that the 'Devil himſelf was forced to confeſs, that God had ſet an hedge 'about him; which was not an outward hedge, but the inviſi-'ble heavenly power.' 'Yet ſaid Job,' replied the prieſt, '*He* '*charged his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his* '*ſight.*' 'That's a miſtake,' ſaid G. Fox, 'for it was not Job ſaid 'ſo, but Eliphaz, who contended againſt Job.' 'Well but,' ſaid the prieſt, 'what ſay you to that ſcripture, The juſteſt man that 'is, ſinneth ſeven times a day?' 'There is,' anſwered G. Fox, 'no 'ſuch ſcripture.' So the prieſt was ſilent, and this conference broken off, of which I have related thus much, to ſhew that G. Fox was not ſuch a ſimple perſon, as ſome from mere envy have repreſented him; for he was never at a loſs for an anſwer, but had it always in readineſs.

A prieſt puts ſeveral queſtions to G. Fox, which he anſwers.

Now the time of the ſeſſions being come again, where the juſtice, who was chairman, was one Street; G. Fox was called there before the juſtices, and then the ſaid juſtice exceedingly miſrepreſented the caſe, by telling the people, 'that G. Fox had a meet-'ing at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrify-'ing the king's ſubjects; for which he had been committed, and 'that for the trial of his fidelity, the oaths had been tendered to 'him.' And then turning to G. Fox, he aſked him, 'ſince he had 'time to conſider of it, whether he would now take the oaths?' G. Fox having obtained liberty to ſpeak for himſelf, gave a relation of his journey, and ſhewed that he and his friends had in nowiſe kept a meeting that occaſioned terror to any of the king's ſubjects; and as to the oaths, he ſhewed why he could not take them,

G. Fox appears again at the ſeſſions;

and

1674. and what he could declare inſtead thereof. But notwithſtanding all this, the oaths were read to him again; and he perſiſting in his refuſal to take them, the indictment was read alſo; and afterwards the chairman aſked him, 'if he was guilty?' G. Fox anſwered, 'No, ſince the indictment was a bundle of lies;' which he proved in ſeveral particulars, aſking him; 'if he did 'not know, in his conſcience, that they were lies?' to which he ſaid, 'it was their form;' whereupon G. Fox returned, 'it 'was not a true form.' Then the chairman told the jury what they ſhould do in this caſe: and before they gave in their verdict G. Fox ſaid to them, 'that it was for Chriſt's-ſake, and 'in obedience to his and his apoſtle's command that he could 'not ſwear: and therefore,' ſaid he, 'take heed what ye do; 'for before his judgment-ſeat ye ſhall all be brought.' The chairman then ſaid, 'This is canting.' 'Why,' ſaid G. Fox, 'if to con-'feſs Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, and to obey his command, be 'called canting by a judge of a court, it is to little purpoſe for 'me to ſay more among you. Yet ye ſhall ſee that I am a 'chriſtian, and ſhall ſhew forth chriſtianity; and my innocency 'ſhall be manifeſt.' By this his ſpeaking, the people generally were affected; but the jury however found the bill againſt him; which G. Fox nevertheleſs traverſed. Thus the matter could not be finiſhed now, and therefore he was aſked to put in bail, till the next ſeſſions; this he refuſed, and warned his friends that ſeemed willing to be bound for him, 'not to meddle with that, ſince 'there was a ſnare in it.' Yet he told the juſtices, 'that he would 'promiſe to appear, if the Lord gave him health and ſtrength, and 'he was at liberty.' Some of the juſtices ſhewed themſelves loving, and endeavoured to ſtop the reſt from indicting him, or putting the oath to him. But the chairman ſaid, 'He muſt go accord-'ing to law.' Yet liberty was given G. Fox to go at large, till next quarter-ſeſſions.

Bill found againſt him which he traverſes, refuſes to put in bail, and warns his friends not to be bound for him.

Comes up to London on the approach of the yearly meeting;

He then went up to London; where the time of the yearly-meeting approached; but, at the inſtance of ſome of his friends, he appeared again before the judges of the king's bench, and delivered to them the following declaration, ſetting forth what he was ready to promiſe inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy:

A declaration propoſed by G. Fox, inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

THIS I do in the truth, and in the preſence of God, declare, that king Charles the ſecond is lawful king of this realm, and of all others his dominions; and that he was brought in, and ſet up king over this realm, by the power of God: and I have nothing but love and good will to him and all his ſubjects, and deſire his proſperity and eternal good. And I do utterly abhor and deny the pope's power and ſupremacy, and all his ſuperſtitions and idolatrous inventions; and do affirm, that he hath no power to abſolve ſin: and I do abhor and deteſt his murderings of princes, or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewiſe I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers againſt the king and his ſubjects; knowing them to be works of darkneſs, and the fruits of an evil ſpirit, and againſt the

the peace of the kingdom, and not from the ſpirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, becauſe it is forbidden by Chriſt and the apoſtle; but if I break my Yea or Nay, then let me ſuffer the ſame penalty as they that break their oaths. 1674.

GEORGE FOX.

This declaration, being the ſubſtance of what oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy contain, G. Fox preſented to the judges of the king's bench; but the proceedings having gone on at Worceſter, they were unwilling to meddle with the buſineſs, but referred it to the next quarter-ſeſſions at Worceſter.

Appears again at Worceſter ſeſſions, and for refuſal of the oath, is found guilty.

The yearly-meeting at London, at which he was, being over, he returned again to Worceſter, where the ſeſſions being held in the month called July, and he called to the bar, and the indictment read, juſtice Street cauſed the oaths to be read alſo, and tendered to him again. G. Fox then ſaid, 'that he was come to 'traverſe his indictment.' But when he began to ſhew the errors that were in the indictment, viz. ſuch as were ſufficient to quaſh it, he was ſoon ſtopped, and the oath required of him; and he perſiſting in the refuſal, was by the jury found guilty. The chairman, how active ſoever he had been againſt G. Fox, yet was now troubled, and told him of a 'ſad ſentence he had to ſpeak againſt 'him.' To which G. Fox returned, 'that he had many and more 'errors to aſſign in the indictment, beſides thoſe he had already 'mentioned.' Whereupon the chairman told him, 'he was go-'ing to ſhew him the danger of a premunire, which was the loſs 'of his liberty, and all his goods and chattels, and to endure im-'priſonment during life: but,' added he, 'I do not deliver this 'as the ſentence of the court, but as an admonition to you.' Then the gaoler was bid to take him away; and G. Fox afterwards underſtood concerning this pretended admonition, that the chairman had ſaid to the clerk of the peace, that 'what he had 'ſpoken ſhould ſtand for ſentence.'

And the chairman's admonition ſtands for ſentence againſt him.

Earl of Saliſbury's ſon very loving to G. F.

Now whilſt G. Fox was in priſon, there came to him, amongſt others, the earl of Saliſbury's ſon, who was very loving, and much concerned, that they had dealt ſo with him; and he himſelf took a copy in writing of the errors that were in the indictment. And G. Fox afterwards got the ſtate of his caſe, drawn up in writing, delivered to judge Wild. He alſo wrote a letter to the king, wherein he gave an account of the ſentiments of thoſe called Quakers concerning ſwearing; and how they abhorred all plottings and contrivances againſt the king. Not long after he fell into ſuch a ſickneſs, that ſome began to doubt of his recovery; and then one of his friends went to juſtice Parker, by whoſe order he had been firſt committed to priſon, and deſired him to give order to the gaoler, that he might have liberty to go out of the gaol into the city. Whereupon Parker wrote the following letter to the gaoler:

G. F. writes to the king.

MR. HARRIS,

Juſtice Parker's letter to the gaoler.

I HAVE been much importuned by ſome friends of George Fox, to write to you. I am informed by them, that he is in a very weak condition, and very much indiſpoſed. What lawful favour

1674. you can do for the benefit of the air, for his health, pray ſhew him. I ſuppoſe the next term they will make application to the king. *I am*,

SIR,

Eveſham, the 8th of October, 1674. *Your loving friend*,

HENRY PARKER.

M. Fox acquaints the king with her huſband's condition, and he refers her to chancellor Finch.

This letter was a ſufficient warrant for the gaoler to permit G. Fox to be brought from priſon to the houſe of one of his friends. His wife was come to him before that time, and after having been with him about ſeventeen weeks, and no diſcharge like to be obtained for him, ſhe went up to London, and being come to Whitehall, and meeting with the king there, ſhe gave him an account of her huſband's long impriſonment, and how weak he was, and not without danger of his life. To which the king ſaid, 'he 'could do nothing in it, but ſhe muſt go to the chancellor.' And ſo ſhe went to the lord Finch, who was then chancellor; and having given him an account of the matter, ſhe told him, 'that 'the king had left it wholly to him; and, if he did not ſhew 'pity, and releaſe her huſband out of priſon, ſhe feared he would 'end his days there.' But the chancellor ſaid to her, 'that the 'king could not releaſe him otherwiſe than by a pardon.' Now G. Fox could not reſolve to be freed thus, as well knowing he had done no evil; and therefore he would rather have lain in priſon all his days, than to be thus ſet at liberty; otherwiſe he needed not to have lain ſo long, ſince the king had been willing long before to have given him a pardon, and alſo had ſaid to one Thomas More, 'that G. Fox needed not ſcruple being releaſed by a par-'don; for many a man, that was as innocent as a child, had 'had a pardon granted to him.' G. Fox unwilling to have a pardon, but deſiring to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, the lord chancellor, who ſhewed himſelf a diſcreet man, procured that an Habeas Corpus was granted to bring G. Fox to London, once more to appear before the king's bench. The Habeas Corpus was with the firſt opportunity ſent down by his wife to Worceſter; but there they would not part with him at firſt (being now recovered a little of his ſickneſs) under a pretence that he was premunired, and was not to go out in that manner. Thus it became neceſſary to ſend to London again; and another order was got, and ſent down to bring up G. Fox before the king's bench. Being ſtill weak, he was carried up to London in a coach, the under ſheriff, and the clerk of the peace, accompanying him.

G. F. not free to accept of a pardon.

The lord chancellor procures G. F. an Habeas Corpus in order to try the validity of his indictment.

A ſecond order ſent to bring him up:

Whereupon he is brought before the judges of the king's bench, and councellor Corbet pleads his cauſe ſo, that the judges grant his liberty.

Being come to town, he was brought before the four judges at the king's bench, where councellor Thomas Corbet pleaded his cauſe, and acquitted himſelf exceeding well; for he ſtarted a new plea, and told the judges, that 'by law they could not impriſon 'any man upon a premunire.' The judges then ſaying they muſt have time to look in their books, and to conſult the ſtatutes, the hearing was put off till the next day. And ſince it appeared that Corbet was in the right, they choſe to let their plea fall, perhaps for fear of worſe conſequences. And thus they began to examine

the

1674.

the errors of the indictment, which proved to be ſo many and ſo groſs, that all the judges were of opinion, 'that the indictment 'was quaſhed and void, and that G. Fox ought to have his liber-'ty.' The ſame day ſeveral lords and other great men had the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy tendered to them in open court; and ſome of G. Fox's adverſaries moved the judges that the oaths might be tendered to him again, ſaying, 'he was a dangerous 'man to be at liberty.' But judge Matthew Hale, who was then lord chief juſtice of England, and really an excellent and pious man, as hath been hinted already here before, ſaid, 'he had in-'deed heard ſome ſuch reports of G. Fox, but he had alſo heard 'more good reports of him.' This ſaying was ſerviceable; and Hale and the other judges ordered G. Fox 'to be freed by pro-'clamation.' Thus he was ſet at liberty in an honourable way; and his counſellor Corbet, who had pleaded for him, got great fame by it; for many other lawyers told him, 'he had brought 'that to light which had not been known before.' And after the trial, one of the judges ſaid to him, 'You have obtained a great 'deal of honour by your way of pleading G. Fox's cauſe in court.

Sir M. Hale oppoſes his adverſaries, and ſhews favour.

Counſellor Corbet gets great reputation by his defence of G. Fox's cauſe.

The year was now come to an end: but before I go over to the next, I am to mention that the Baptiſts in England, loſing from time to time ſome of their beſt members, wrote therefore very fiercely againſt the Quakers, endeavouring thereby to render them no chriſtians. But thoſe writings were continually anſwered, and that with ſo many convincing reaſons, that the Quakers got more adherents by it. The conſequence of this was, that a publick diſpute was appointed to be held, between the Baptiſts and the Quakers, in the meeting-houſe of the Baptiſts at London. For the Quakers there ſpoke by turns, George Whitehead, Stephen Criſp, William Penn, and George Keith; and the opponents were Jeremy Ives, William Kiffin, Thomas Plant, Thomas Hicks, and Robert Ferguſon, a Preſbyterian, afterwards eminently known in Holland, by the fierce declaration drawn up by him in the name of the duke of Monmouth, when that unhappy prince went over to England with forces, to diſpute the throne againſt king James.

The Baptiſts endeavour to repreſent Quakers no chriſtians.

This gave occaſion to the diſpute at Barbican.

R. Ferguſon the penman of the duke of Monmouth's declaration.

Jeremy Ives was an eminent teacher among the Baptiſts, that had been in priſon at London fourteen years before on a religious account, and chiefly becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to take the oath.

Not long after he wrote a ſmart letter from the priſon to two of his ſociety (who having been impriſoned with him for the ſame cauſe, had taken the oath, thereby to obtain their liberty) wherein he reproved them for their falling away, and ſignified that thus they had encreaſed the burden of their faithful brethren, from the bearing of which they had withdrawn themſelves. But what a changeable creature is man if he doth not continue watchful, and keep cloſe to the divine grace, continually laying hold thereon! for ſcarce five days paſſed, but this inconſtant Jeremy grew weary of impriſonment, and took the oath alſo to get out of priſon. Neither did he ſtop here; for it is plain that he was now departed from his profeſſion. To temporize therefore, and to find out excuſes for what he had done, he put forth a book in print, wherein

J. Ives ſmartly reproves two of his brethren for taking the oaths, and ſoon after doth the like, and writes in defence thereof.

1674. in he aſſerted the lawfulneſs of ſwearing. It was aſked of him, whether he was that ſame Jeremy Ives, that once had been of ſuch a tender conſcience, that he durſt not take an oath, and had afterwards publickly defended ſwearing as lawful? And he did not deny the fact, for it was notoriouſly known: but he went about to diſguiſe the matter, and ſaid, 'I am that Jeremy who took the oath of al-'legiance, and wrote a book to prove that ſome oaths were lawful, 'though not all.' Neither did he deny the fore-mentioned letter, for it was extant, and written as followeth:

BROTHER PITMAN, AND BROTHER SHEWEL,

J. Ives's letter to two of his brethren. I AM at this time ſurpriſed with a holy paſſion; and though Jonah could not ſay concerning the gourd, that he did well to be angry; yet (if my experience in the word of the Lord doth not deceive) I can truly ſay, I do well to be angry with you; whom I have had a godly jealouſy of all along, viz. That you would be as eaſily perſuaded to part with——as unwilling to ſuffer for your ſpiritual liberties. Oh my brethren! where is your firſt love? how unlike the chriſtians in former times are you! whoſe zeal was ſo hot for God, that their eyes prevented the morning, that thereby they might prevent the rage of the adverſary, who (as it is now) commanded them *no more to worſhip in the name of the Lord.* I always did conclude, that thoſe that would—quit the cauſe of righteouſneſs—would quit the ways of holineſs, as yeſterday ſad experience hath taught, to the perpetual joy of your adverſaries, and the ſaddening the hearts, and adding afflictions to the bonds of the priſoners of the Lord. I do therefore conjure you, as you will anſwer the great God another day, to conſider, that now is the time for you to look to your miniſtry, and to the flock over which the Lord hath made you overſeers, that you may be able, through grace, to ſay, 'you are clear from the blood of all men;' and obſerve, that God is now come to prove you, to ſee whether you will keep his commandments or not. Remember when that apoſtate's caſe was debated, you had no zeal nor indignation againſt him, but you ſmothered all with this, 'if it were in a matter of faith and 'worſhip that he had fallen from, you would have been as one man 'againſt it.' Well, behold the Lord is come home to you; the matter now is purely for worſhipping God; now God is proving you to ſee whether you will obey him or no; and did not yeſterday's work witneſs, that you were willing to prefer the fear of a man, that muſt die, before the fear of the great God; and the fear of them that can kill the body, before the fear of the Lord, that can caſt body and ſoul into hell? I have no more to ſay but this, that your cowardly temporizing and complying with the precepts of men, makes me jealous, that your fear towards the Lord is taught by the precepts of men. I would not be too cenſorious, but my grounds are great; and my BONDS are my CROWN, but your cowardly ſpirit is my GREAT CROSS. You little think what a ſcandal it is amongſt us, to hear it affirmed that one of you ſhould ſay, 'you had rather given fifty pounds than have ſworn,' and yet ſwear that you ſwear willingly. Oh! for the Lord's ſake, do ſomewhat that may roll away this reproach; which, that you may,

may, is the prayers of your brother, who could be content to write himſelf, 1674.

Jan. 14, 1660. *Your companion in tribulation,*

JER. IVES.

Brother Ward, my fellow-priſoner deſires to preſent his love to you, and ſo do ſome others.

Thus zealouſly Jeremy Ives wrote to his fellow-teachers, who, for human fear, and to avoid ſufferings, had, againſt their profeſſion, and the conviction of their conſciences, taken the oath. But who could have imagined on ſight of ſuch a letter, that he himſelf, within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſhould have done that which he reproved ſo ſeverely in others. Certainly in this caſe the ſaying of the prophet Jeremiah ſeems to be very applicable, *The heart is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked; who can know it? Let therefore him who ſtandeth,* be cautious *leſt he fall.* Happy had this man been, if he had been ſo ſenſible of his tranſgreſſion as one Edward Chilton, who, though by profeſſion a Quaker, yet when it came to a trial, either to take the oath of allegiance, or to be premunired, he wavered and fainted; yet not ſo, that he fell away totally: for he became ſo penitent for the evil he had committed, that he found himſelf conſtrained to give proof thereof by a letter he wrote to his friends, who remained priſoners, becauſe, for conſcience-ſake, they could not ſwear; whereas he, to be releaſed from impriſonment, had taken the oath that was demanded of him. But of what a bitter reliſh this became to him, and what terror and horror he was ſeized with, the following letter will ſhew.

Jer. xvii. 9.

The different caſe of Edw. Chilton, a Quaker by profeſſion.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I DESIRE to lay before you this my condition in this my fall, that my fall may be no cauſe for you to ſtumble, but that you by it may be the more encouraged to ſtand; for I have yielded to the betrayer, and ſo betrayed the innocent ſeed in me; for I forſook the counſel of the Lord, and conſulted with fleſh and blood, and ſo I fell into the ſnare of the world, and yielded to the covenant; and ſo I reſted ſatisfied in what I had done, for ſome certain hours; but when the Lord in his power looked back upon me, then I remembered what I had done; then I remembered that I had denied truth, which once I had profeſſed, though once I thought I ſhould have ſtood when others fell. So the terrors of the Lord have taken hold on me, and I lie under the judgments of the Lord.

And now I feel the truth of the words that were ſpoken by Chriſt, 'that he that faileth in one tittle, is guilty of all;' and now I feel the truth of that, 'that it is better to forſake wife and children, 'and all a man hath, even life itſelf, for Chriſt and the truth's 'ſake, than to break one tittle of the law of God written in the 'heart.' So I hope that by mercy and judgment the Lord will redeem me to himſelf again. The Lord may ſuffer ſome to fall, that the ſtanding of them that ſtand faithful may ſeem to be the more glorious, and for them to take heed leſt they fall.

Now I know and feel, that it is better to part with any thing of

1674. this world, though it be as dear to one as the right-hand, or the eye, than to break our peace with God.

Pray for me; for my bonds are greater than yours.

Windſor, the 22d of the 11th month, 1660. EDWARD CHILTON.

An inſtructive digreſſion on this occaſion.

It is remarkable, that this Chilton in the concluſion of his letter ſaith, that 'his bonds were greater than thoſe of his friends,' who neither feared a premunire, nor loſs of their liberty, when they muſt pay ſo dear for it, as the taking of an oath. For when any one truly abides in the fear of God, he dares not againſt the convictions of his conſcience tranſgreſs the divine commandments, and ſeek evaſions to avoid the ſtreſs thereof: for certainly God will not be mocked. Could our Saviour have ſpoken in more plain and expreſs terms than he did, when he ſaid, *Swear not at all!* And yet what cunning devices have been invented by thoſe who boaſt of the name of Chriſtians, to enervate the force of theſe expreſs words. It is not a proper place here to refute their reaſons; but yet I cannot think it unſuitable to ſhew briefly how dangerous it is to act againſt the expreſs commandments of ſacred writ, and againſt the conviction of one's conſcience, thereby to avoid perſecution? for not only the apoſtle James ſaith, *Whoſoever ſhall offend in one point, he is guilty of all;* but our ſupreme lawgiver Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *Whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven.* And, *whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my words, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels.* And to encourage us to faithfulneſs, he hath alſo ſaid, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell.* Which words indeed are ſo emphatical, that it ought not to diſpleaſe any that I repeat them, as they have been left on record by the evangeliſt Luke, viz. thus, *I ſay unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye ſhall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell; yea, I ſay unto you, fear him.* Can it be otherwiſe, but that ſuch words muſt needs make a powerful impreſſion on a real chriſtian? and the more, when we conſider, that nothing in the world can retrieve or reſtore a periſhing ſoul, as may appear from theſe of our bleſſed Lord; *What is a man profited, if he ſhall gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul? or what ſhall a man give in exchange for his ſoul?* A clear proof that the whole world, and all that is contained therein, is not able to ſave one ſoul, or to afford any thing that can redeem it. If I here thought it requiſite, a godly zeal at preſent would make me ſay more on this ſubject; but not to expatiate too far beyond the limits of this hiſtorical tract, I ſhall not purſue this digreſſion any further, but return to my relation from whence I thus ſtepped aſide.

Mat. v. 34. James ii. 10. Mat. x. 33. Mark viii. 38. Mat. x. 28. Luk. xii. 4, 5. Mat. xvi. 26.

To take up again then the broken thread of my diſcourſe, I once more come to Jeremy Ives, who, to avoid perſecution, had taken the oath contrary to his underſtanding; and it was Thomas Rudyard,

1674.

T. Rudyard's reproof to J. Ives, with his anſwer.

Rudyard, mentioned here before, who objected this to him: and he feeling himſelf pinched by it, endeavoured to break the ſtreſs thereof by ſaying, that 'the reaſon why in a letter he had blamed 'a friend, was for ſaying, he had rather have given fifty pounds 'than have taken the oath of allegiance, and yet ſwore he took it 'freely and willingly.' But who ſees not what a poor ſhift this was?

A ſummary account of the diſpute at Barbican with the Baptiſts.

Now to come to the diſpute, I already mentioned; it was aſſerted, 'that the Quakers were no chriſtians;' and, to maintain this, Thomas Hicks ſaid, 'They that deny the Lord's Chriſt are 'no chriſtians: but the Quakers deny the Lord's Chriſt,' &c. To this W. Penn ſaid, 'I deny the minor, viz. that the Quakers deny 'the Lord's Chriſt.' And T. Hicks returned, 'They that deny 'Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon without them, deny the Lord's 'Chriſt: but the Quakers deny Chriſt to be a diſtinct perſon with-'out them: therefore, &c.' W. Penn then deſired that T. Hicks would explain what he meant by the term perſon? And T. Hicks anſwered, 'I mean the man Chriſt Jeſus.' To which Penn replied, 'Then I deny the minor, viz. that we deny the man Chriſt 'Jeſus.' To which Hicks returned, 'I prove ye deny the man 'Chriſt Jeſus: one of your own writers ſaith, that Chriſt was ne-'ver ſeen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears, &c.' To this J. Ives added: 'He that denies that Chriſt was ever ſeen with 'carnal eyes, &c. denies the man Chriſt: but the Quakers deny 'that Chriſt was ever ſeen with carnal eyes, &c.' George Keith then ſaid, 'I anſwer by diſtinguiſhing: Chriſt as God was never 'ſeen with carnal eyes; but as man he was ſeen with carnal eyes.' To this J. Ives returned: 'But he was Chriſt as he was man; how 'then was not Chriſt ſeen with carnal eyes?' This queſtion G. Keith anſwered thus: 'We are to conſider that the terms or names 'Jeſus Chriſt, are ſometimes applied to him as God, and ſome-'times to him as man; yea, ſometimes to the very body of Jeſus: 'but the queſtion is, whether do thoſe names more properly, im-'mediately, and originally belong to him as God, or as he was 'before he took the manhood upon him, or to the manhood? We 'affirm, thoſe names are given to him moſt properly and eminent-'ly as God; and leſs properly, yet truly, as man; and leaſt pro-'perly to his body, yea to his dead body.' Then J. Ives aſked, 'Where do you read that the carcaſs was called the Chriſt?' This irreverent expreſſion ſo diſpleaſed many, that ſome cried out, 'Where didſt thou ever read that Chriſt's dead body was called a 'carcaſs?' From this diſguſt W. Penn ſaid: 'I beſeech you, for 'the Lord's ſake, that we may treat of theſe things as becomes 'chriſtians.'

G. Keith then reſuming the diſcourſe, anſwered Jeremy Ives's queſtion thus: 'I prove that the dead body of Jeſus was called 'Chriſt from the words of Mary; *where have ye laid him?*' for 'ſhe had juſt before called the body her Lord: likewiſe the angel 'ſaid to her, *See the place where the Lord lay*: and that he was 'Jeſus Chriſt before he took fleſh, I prove from the ſaying of the 'apoſtle, *who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt.*' Then T. Hicks ſaid, 'I will prove the Quakers to be no chriſtians:' and J. Ives added,

John xx. 15.

Mat. xxviii. 6.

Eph. iii. 9.

1674. added, 'They that ſay that Chriſt cannot be ſeen with carnal eyes, 'and was never viſible to wicked men, do deny the Lord's Chriſt; 'for he was ſeen with carnal eyes, and by wicked men.' To this W. Penn ſaid, 'I diſtinguiſh upon the word SEEN; wicked men 'might ſee him in that bodily appearance, and yet not ſee him to 'be the Chriſt of God; they ſaw his manhood, but not his Chriſt-'ſhip: this I will prove from Chriſt's words to Peter, (when he
Mat. xvi. 16, 17. 'confeſſed him to be *Chriſt, the Son of the living God*) viz. *Fleſh* '*and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is* '*in heaven*: therefore Peter with a carnal eye could not have ſeen 'the Lord's Chriſt, much leſs wicked men. My ſecond proof is
1 Cor. ii. 8. 'from the apoſtle's words, *whom none of the princes of this world* '*knew; for had they known him, they would not have crucified him.*' W. Penn enlarging a little more on this ſubject, ſaid alſo, 'that '*ſeeing* and *knowing* in ſcripture are ſometimes equivalent.' And G. Keith added, 'Chriſt ſaid, *He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the* '*Father*: but no wicked man hath ſeen the Father, therefore no 'wicked man hath ſeen Chriſt, as ſuch.' Ives and his companions ſcoffed at this diſtinction: but the Quakers averred, 'that all who 'ſaw Jeſus as the carpenter's ſon, did not ſee him as the Chriſt of 'God.' Then Ives aſked, 'Is the manhood a part of the Lord's 'Chriſt?' To which William Penn returned, 'Is this to prove 'the charge of our denying the Lord's Chriſt? it ſeems we muſt be 'here to be catechiſed, and ye will not anſwer us one queſtion; 'yet I ſhall anſwer J. Ives his queſtion, if he will promiſe to 'anſwer mine.'

Ives then ſaying that he would anſwer it; W. Penn returned, 'I here declare, that we do faithfully believe that holy manhood 'to be a member of the Chriſt of God:' and directing his queſtion to Ives, he ſaid, 'Was he the Chriſt of God before he was mani-'feſt in the fleſh?' 'He was,' anſwered Ives, 'the Son of God.' 'But,' replied W. Penn, 'was he the Lord's Chriſt? I will prove 'him to have been the Lord's Chriſt as well before as after: firſt
1 Cor. x. 4. 'from the apoſtle Paul's words to the Corinthians, *that rock was* '*Chriſt*: next from Jude, where ſome Greek copies have it thus; 'that *Jeſus brought the people of Iſrael out of Egypt.*' But to this Ives gave no anſwer, how often ſoever he was called upon for it. And this was no great wonder, ſince it was well known that there were ſuch among the Baptiſts who favoured the Socinian princi-ples. But Ives, that he might not appear altogether mute, came on again with a queſtion, viz. 'Do ye believe that Chriſt in his 'human nature is in heaven?' This made G. Whitehead ſay to the auditory, 'Ye have heard the charge againſt us, and the 'diſtinction that hath been made between *ſeeing* and *ſeeing* of 'Chriſt, as namely, between the ſpiritual *ſaving ſight* of the Lord's 'Chriſt, and the *ſeeing* of his outward man, perſon, or body. In 'this laſt ſenſe it could never be intended that it was not viſible to 'the outward eye; but it was the ſpiritual rock which all Iſrael 'drank of, and as he was before Abraham was, and as glorified 'with the Father before the world began; and as Chriſt himſelf 'ſaid to Philip, *He that ſeeth me, ſeeth my Father alſo*; and only 'ſaints, or children of light, could truly ſay, *we have ſeen his*

'*glory*

'*glory as the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* 1674.
'In all which conſiderations, or ſenſes of *ſeeing*, the Lord's Chriſt 'was only ſeen ſpiritually, and not with carnal eyes.' This Ives granted that ſo it might be left: yet preſently after, inſtead of proving the Quakers no chriſtians, he aſked again, 'Do ye believe 'or own that Chriſt is in heaven with his human nature?' To which Penn anſwered, 'We do believe the man Chriſt Jeſus to be 'glorified in heaven.' Which anſwer Ives refuſing to accept, becauſe it was not in the terms of his queſtion, Penn aſked, 'What 'difference doſt thou make between the manhood and human 'nature of Chriſt?' 'None,' returned Ives, 'if you mean candid-'ly.' To which Penn replied, 'I do mean and ſpeak candidly; 'we do believe that holy manhood to be in heavenly glory.'

Now ſince it began to grow dark, the Baptiſts deſired to leave off, and to reſume the matter at another time; as was done alſo: but the parties did not agree for all that; for though the Baptiſts continued to aſſert that the Quakers were no chriſtians, yet theſe had abundance of reaſons to maintain the contrary; and this they did ſo effectually, that thoſe of the other party, under a pretence of the meeting-place being overcharged with people, and that the gallery gave way, broke up the meeting, without a final concluſion.

Perſecution in this year was not very ſharp at London, but for all that, active in other places, ſo that I do not want matter to make a relation of it: but to ſhun prolixity, I'll mention but one caſe. Perſecution continues.

One Robert Tillet in Buckingham, ſick of a conſumption, and believing his death to be nigh at hand, deſired ſome of his friends to viſit him. At this invitation ſome came to his houſe, yet not above the number of fourteen perſons; and two informers went and acquainted a juſtice of the peace thereof, who recorded this ſmall aſſembly as a ſeditious meeting, and fined the ſick man twenty pounds for this pretended tranſgreſſion; and ſo his goods were ſeized, and ſix cows taken from him. And one Robert Smith, being overheard by the informers to have ſpoken five or ſix words, was fined alſo twenty pounds as a preacher; which fine was afterwards extorted from ſome others then preſent. A viſit of ſome friends to R. Tillet in Buckingham near his death, recorded as a ſeditious meeting, and fines levied accordingly.

The peace between England and Holland was concluded this year at the inſtance of Spain, but the war between Holland and France continued ſtill. Peace with Holland.

I now paſs over to the year 1675: about the beginning whereof G. Fox came to London, whilſt the parliament was ſitting, who adviſed the king to the ſuppreſſing of the growth of popery; but in the mean-while the Quakers bore the chiefeſt ſhock; for their religious meetings were ſtiled ſeditious conventicles. 1675. Parliament adviſe the king to ſuppreſs the growth of popery.

After G. Fox had been at the yearly-meeting of his friends at London, he left the city, and went to Lancaſter, and from thence to Swarthmore, where, having a dwelling-place of his own, he ſtaid about two years to reſt himſelf, having contracted diſtempers by hardſhips and impriſonments, which had much weakened his body. Being there, he underſtood that four young ſtudents at Aberdeen were convinced at a diſpute held by Robert Barclay and After yearly-meeting G. Fox goes to Swarthmore, where he reſts himſelf about two years.

1675. George Keith, with ſome of the ſcholars of that univerſity: and being viſited by ſome of the neighbourhood, among others came alſo to him colonel Kirby, his old perſecutor, who now carried himſelf very lovingly, and bid him welcome into the country. Yet notwithſtanding this appearance of kindneſs, ſome time afterwards he ordered the conſtables of Ulverſtone to tell G. Fox, 'that they muſt have no more meetings at Swarthmore, for if 'they had, they were commanded by him to break them up; 'and they were to come the next Sunday after.' But this threatening did not make G. Fox afraid; for he, with his friends had a meeting on that firſt-day of the week, and none came to diſturb them. During his abode at home, when he did not travel to and fro in the country, as he uſed to do, to edify his friends by his miniſtry, he ſupplied this with his pen, and exhorted them by writing, where he could not do it by word of mouth: beſides he wrote other ſerviceable treatiſes, for he was a diligent man.

Four young ſtudents of Aberdeen convinced.

In the mean-while perſecution for the worſhip of God did not ceaſe altogether: the act againſt ſeditious conventicles gave opportunity to the malicious to diſturb the religious meetings of the Quakers, who never met in a clandeſtine manner, but always publickly; and on this account fines were extorted from them: to which may be added, that oftentimes they were ſtill very ill treated, and moſt grievouſly abuſed, as among the reſt at Long-Claxton in Leiceſterſhire, where ſome women were dragged by the neck along the ſtreet; and among theſe a widow, the ſkin of whoſe neck was rubbed off by this rudeneſs; and an ancient woman, above ſeventy, was violently caſt down to the ground: ſome of the men were dragged by the hair, and others by their legs, beſides the many blows given them, and ſome were trodden upon till the blood guſhed out of their mouths and noſes. Yet all this they bore patiently, without making any reſiſtance; whereby it happened ſometimes that ſome who had not the gift of preaching, reached others by their patient ſuffering, ſhewing by their meek behaviour, that their works did agree with their chriſtian profeſſion: and though many were robbed of all they had, even clothes and beds not excepted, yet they continued ſteadfaſt, without fainting: though often it was called a meeting when ſome were come together, not properly to perform religious worſhip, as hath been related already.

Cruelties exerciſed at Long-Claxton in Leiceſterſhire.

At Kirby Muckloe, where ſome were come to the houſe of John Penford, to provide for their poor, the prieſt of the pariſh, called John Dixon, informed againſt them by letter to Wenlock Stanly of Branſton, who ſent three of his ſervants to take inſpection of the ſaid meeting; and though theſe looking into the book, in which the charitable diſtributions were entered, found that this meeting had been only to conſider of the neceſſities of the poor; yet ſeveral were fined, and Penford himſelf twenty pounds for his houſe, and ten pounds for the preacher, when there was never an one there; but they having heard him ſpeak, this was counted ſufficient to make him paſs for a preacher. Now though he and Richard Woodland appealed for juſtice, yet the court poſitively denied their appeal, unleſs they would firſt take the oath of allegiance.

J. Dixon prieſt at Kirby Muckloe, informs againſt ſome met about the care of the poor, on which ſevere fines are recovered.

giance. This was the old ſnare, ſo that the hearing of the matter was denied, and treble damages given againſt them. 1675.

At Lewes in Suſſex, the prieſt William Snat became himſelf an informer, and went ſeveral times to the Quakers meetings there, and from thence to the juſtice Henry Shully, to whom he declared on oath, in whoſe houſe the meeting had been, and who had preached; and this was ſo groſs, that once he gave a falſe information, with reſpect to the houſe: but the gain proceeding from this work, how abominable ſoever, did ſhine ſo alluringly, that his kinſman, James Clark, entered upon this informer's office, which any one could eaſily do, without making ſuit for it.

W. Snat prieſt at Lewes, gives falſe information, ſo his kinſman, J. Clark, takes up the trade.

In Norfolk, the rage of the perſecutors was ſuch, that ſome having been bereaved of all, were obliged, even in winter-time, (as amongſt the reſt Joſeph Harriſon, with his wife and children) to lie on ſtraw; and yet they, unwearied, did not leave frequenting their religious meeting: nay, even the dead were not ſuffered to reſt, for outragious barbarity came to that pitch, that Mary, the wife of Francis Larder, being dead and buried, was, by order of one Thomas Bretland, dug up again, whereby the coffin was broken, which they tied together, and carrying it away, expoſed the corps in the market-place. Thus this deceaſed woman was no more ſuffered to lie quiet in her grave, than in her ſick bed, where the day before her death ſhe had been threatened, by order of one Chriſtopher Bedingfield, to have her bed taken from under her while living. Now the reaſon of this taking up the corps was, that though her huſband was one of thoſe called Quakers, yet ſhe not being properly a member of that ſociety, it was taken ill that ſhe had been buried in a plain way, without paying to the prieſt his pretended due, for the ordinary ſervice over the dead.

In Norfolk ſome bereaved of all, in particular J. Harriſon;

And a dead body taken up again, and expoſed in the market-place.

In Somerſetſhire thirty-two perſons were fined for having been at a burial: the like happened in the county of Derby, where Samuel Roe (his wife being deceaſed) was fined twenty pounds, becauſe his friends met in his houſe to conduct the corps to the grave. Of this the prieſt John Wilſon was informer to the juſtice of the peace John Loe; and out of the houſe of the ſaid Samuel Roe, was taken the value of thirty pounds; ſo that the ſhare of the informer was no leſs than ten pounds, ſince, according to law, his due was a third of the ſpoil. I could here relate ſeveral inſtances of great adverſities, and ſad miſchiefs, that befel cruel perſecutors: but not to expatiate too far, I have ſilently paſſed by many remarkable caſes.

In Somerſetſhire 32 fined for being at a burial; And in Derbyſhire, from S. Roe, 30l. value taken, for friends meeting in his houſe, to go to the burial of his wife.

Yet in general terms I may ſay, that many of the perſecutors, both juſtices, informers, and others, came to a miſerable end; ſome being by ſudden, or unnatural death, and others by lingering ſickneſſes, or diſtempers, or by foul and ſtinking diſeaſes, taken out of this life; whilſt ſome, who by ſpoil had ſcraped much together, fell to great poverty and beggary; whoſe names I could ſet down, and mention alſo time and place, and among theſe ſome rapacious eccleſiaſticks, who came to a ſad end; but I ſtudiouſly omit particularizing ſuch inſtances, to avoid the appearance of grudging and envy. Some of thoſe that had been ſo active in ſpoil, ſignified themſelves, the terrible remorſe of conſcience they felt,

Sad end of many perſecutors.

1675. felt, becauſe of their having perſecuted the Quakers; inſomuch that they roared out their gnawing grief, mixed with deſpair, under the grievous pains they ſuffered in their body. And it was judged by many a very remarkable caſe, that one Chriſtopher Glin, prieſt at Butford, who had acted with very indiſcreet zeal againſt the Quakers, having about the year 1663, read his text in the pulpit, and then intending to read his ſermon, was on a ſudden ſtruck with blindneſs, and continued blind till he died. But none of the perſecutors ſeemed to take notice, or to regard ſuch inſtances; for they let their rage looſe againſt the Quakers, who for all that continued in patience, though they did not think it unlawful, to give notice of the grievous oppreſſion their friends ſuffered, to thoſe that were in authority, leſt they might have excuſed themſelves as ignorant of theſe violent proceedings. Therefore it was not omitted to publiſh in publick print, many of thoſe crying inſtances that have been related here, and to preſent them to the king and parliament, with humble addreſſes to that purpoſe. But all this found but ſmall entrance. King Charles it ſeems was not to be the man that ſhould take off this yoke of oppreſſion: this work was reſerved for others. His brother James that ſucceeded him, made a beginning thereof, with what intention heaven knows; and William III. that excellent prince, brought it to perfection as far as it was in his power.

Prieſt C. Glin a perſecutor ſtruck blind in the pulpit.

The glory of reſcuing from perſecution, reſerved to William III.

This year deceaſed at ſea William Bayly, coming from the Weſt-Indies, in the ſhip called the Samuel of London, in the latitude of forty-ſix degrees and thirty-ſix minutes: he had been a teacher among the Baptiſts, and had read much in the books of Jacob Behmen, but could not find thereby true ſatisfaction to his ſoul. And being afterwards entered into ſociety with the Quakers, ſo called, he became a zealous preacher among them. When in this laſt voyage he was grown ſick, and felt death approaching, he bid John Clark, maſter of the ſaid veſſel, remember him to his dear wife and little ones, and alſo to G. Fox, G. Whitehead, and others; and being filled with joy, began to ſing, ſaying, 'The 'creating word of the Lord endures for-ever!' He took ſeveral that were about him by the hand, and exhorted them, to fear the Lord, and not to fear death: 'Death,' ſaid he, 'is nothing 'in itſelf; for the ſting of death is ſin. Tell the friends at Lon-'don, that would have been glad to have ſeen my face, I go to 'my Father, and their Father, to my God, and their God. Re-'member my love to my dear wife; ſhe will be a ſorrowful widow: 'but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me.' And having ſpoken ſomething concerning his outward buſineſs to the maſter, he ſaid in regard of his wife and children, 'I have left 'them no portions, but my endeavour hath been to make God 'their Father. Shall I lay down my head upon the waters? well, 'God is the God of the whole univerſe; and though my body ſink, 'I ſhall ſwim a top of the waters.' Then taking leave of the company, he ſaid, 'I ſee not one of you, but I wiſh you all 'well.' And one aſking, 'how it was with him?' he anſwered, 'I am perfectly well.' After having ſpoken many more ſenſible words, about four in the morning he departed quietly, as if he had

Account of the death of W. Bayly, formerly a Baptiſt teacher, and great reader of Jacob Behmen.

had fallen aſleep. His wife Mary, the ſame that had formerly been at Adrianople, and ſpoken with the emperor of the Turks, gave an excellent teſtimony in writing concerning him; and John Crook, in a preface to W. Bayly's works, ſaid of him, (the truth of which I know by my own experience) 'As he was bold and 'zealous in his preaching, being willing to improve his time, as 'if he had known it was not to be long amongſt us; ſo was he 'as valiant in ſuffering for his teſtimony, when called thereunto. '——Methinks I ſee how once I ſaw him ſtand at the bar to plead 'his innocent cauſe, like holy Stephen, in the ſenate-houſe, when 'the threats of his perſecutors reſembled the ſhowers of ſtones, '(falling upon that bleſſed martyr) crying out with a hideous 'noiſe, "Take him away, gaoler," &c. and yet all this while he 'changed not his countenance, except by the additional orna-'ments of ſome innocent ſmiles. Sometimes by cruel perſecutors 'he hath been thrown down, and dragged upon the ground by the 'hair of his head, and his mouth and jaws endeavoured to be 'rent and broke aſunder, ſo that the ground whereon he lay, was 'ſmeared with his blood; yet, as if this butchering had not been 'enough to make him a fit ſacrifice for the ſhambles of their cru-'elty, a heavy groſs bodied perſecutor ſtamped upon his breaſt 'with his feet, endeavouring to beat the breath out of his body: 'and when this perſecutor had done his pleaſure, he commanded 'the gaoler to take him away, and put him in ſome naſty hole 'for his entertainment and cure. And had not the God of Iſrael 'been his phyſician there, he had been taken from us long ere 'this.' Thus far John Crook.

1675. His wife the ſame perſon that viſited the grand ſeignior at Adrianople, as already mentioned. J. Crook's teſtimony of him.

At the beginning of this year 1676, died at London, Matthew Hide, who had made it his buſineſs, during the ſpace of about twenty years, publickly to contradict the Quakers in their meetings, and to diſturb them in their worſhip of God, thinking, from a blind zeal, that he did God an acceptable piece of ſervice, by zealouſly oppoſing what he judged to be hereſy. Now how much ſoever this man was bent againſt them, yet he ſhewed this moderation, that in his gain-ſaying he did not behave himſelf furiouſly, but appeared to be well-meaning, although he erred exceedingly, and often hindered the preaching of miniſters among the Quakers; which induced W. Penn ſometimes to pray to God very earneſtly for him, and to tell him in the preſence of many auditors, "that God would plead with him by his righteous 'judgments; and that the time would come he ſhould be forced 'to confeſs to the ſufficiency of that light he then oppoſed, and 'to acknowledge that God was with thoſe called Quakers.'

1676. The penitent behaviour and death of M. Hide, an eminent oppoſer of the Quakers nigh twenty years.

This ſame Hide being by ſickneſs brought to the brink of death, deſired that G. Whitehead, and ſome of his friends, might be ſent for; and to one Cotton Oade, who aſked him, 'if he had 'any thing to ſay to clear himſelf, concerning his having ſo often 'oppoſed the friends called Quakers, in their declarations and 'prayers?' he ſaid, 'that he was ſorry for what he had done; 'for,' added he, 'they are the people of God.' G. Whitehead then, though it was late in the evening, being come to him with ſome others, ſaid, 'I am come in love and tenderneſs to ſee thee.'

1676. To which Hide returned, 'I am glad to ſee you;' and Whitehead again, 'If thou haſt any thing on thy conſcience to ſpeak, I would 'have thee to clear thy conſcience.' To this Hide replied, 'What 'I have to ſay, I ſpeak in the preſence of God: as Paul was a per-'ſecutor of the people of the Lord, ſo have I been a perſecutor of 'you his people, as the world is, who perſecute the children of 'God.' More he ſpoke, but being very weak, his words could not well be underſtood. Then G. Whitehead reſumed, 'Thy un-'derſtanding being darkened, when darkneſs was over thee, thou 'haſt gainſaid the truth and people of the Lord; and I knew that 'that light which thou oppoſedſt, would riſe up in judgment 'againſt thee. I have often, with others, laboured with thee, to 'bring thee to a right underſtanding.' To which Hide ſaid, 'This I 'declare, in the preſence of God, and of you here, I have done 'evil in perſecuting you, who are the children of God, and I am 'ſorry for it: the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhew mercy unto me, and the 'Lord increaſe your number, and be with you!' After ſome pauſe, G. Whitehead ſaid to him, 'I would have thee, if thou 'art able to ſpeak, to eaſe thy conſcience as fully as thou canſt. 'My ſoul is affected to hear thee thus confeſs thy evil, as the Lord 'hath given thee a ſenſe of it. In repentance there is mercy and 'forgiveneſs; in confeſſing and forſaking ſin, there is mercy to be 'found with the Lord, who in the midſt of judgment remembers 'mercy, that he may be feared.' Hide being in great anguiſh, and ſtriving for breath, ſaid, a little after, 'I have done evil in 'oppoſing you in your prayers; the Lord be merciful unto me! 'and as I have been an inſtrument to turn many from God, the 'Lord raiſe up many inſtruments to turn many to him!' G. White-head reſumed, 'I deſire thou mayſt find mercy and forgiveneſs at 'the hand of the Lord: how is it with thy ſoul? doſt not thou 'find ſome eaſe?' 'I hope I do,' anſwered Hide, 'and if the Lord 'ſhould lengthen my days, I ſhould be willing to bear a teſtimony 'for you, as publickly as I have appeared againſt you.' His wife then ſaid, 'Tis enough; what can be deſired more?' 'If,' queried Whitehead, 'the Lord ſhould not lengthen out thy days, 'doſt thou deſire what thou ſayſt ſhould be ſignified to others?' 'Yes,' anſwered Hide, 'I do, you may; I have ſaid as much as I 'can ſay.' After ſome ſilence, he being much ſtraitened for breath, Whitehead ſaid, 'If this company be weariſome unto 'thee, we may withdraw.' To which he returned, 'You may 'uſe your freedom.' G. Whitehead then taking leave of him, ſaid, 'I ſhall leave thee to the Lord, deſiring he may ſhew mercy 'and forgiveneſs unto thee, as I hope he will!' Upon which Hide replied, 'The Lord be with your ſpirits!'

All this was ſpoken to G. Whitehead and his friends, in the preſence of Hide's wife, and ſome others of his acquaintance, about two hours before his death: and thus he gave manifeſt proofs of a ſincere repentance; for Elizabeth his wife, having perceived him to be much troubled in his mind, had aſked him, 'if he would ſpeak with ſome of the Quakers?' and he ſmiting his hand on his breaſt, ſaid, 'With all my ſoul.' After G. White-head and his friends were gone, it being the ſeventh day of the

week

week, he desired several times, 'that he might live till morning, 'and might bear on that day,' (viz. the first-day of the week) 'a testimony for the truth, he had on that day so often opposed;' yet he signified, 'that he had found some ease to his spirit.' He also exhorted his wife, who conversed much with people that were great in the world, to use the plain language of the Quakers. And after some more words to this purpose, spoken by him with good understanding, he stretched himself out, and died very quietly—an evident token of God's unspeakable mercy, who wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live; and who entirely knowing the real disposition of man's heart, forgives sin by mere grace, without any merit in man, but for his own sake, as he hath said himself; *I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.* The truth of which saying very plainly appeared in the converted thief on the cross, though his impenitent fellow sufferer hardened his heart against it. 1676. Isa. xliii. 25.

In this year, while G. Fox was at Swarthmore, died William Lampit, the priest of Ulverstone, who formerly had been a great friend to Margaret now the wife of G. Fox, but grew so envious against the friends she was in society with, that he said in the year 1652, 'he would wage his life upon it, that the Quakers would 'all vanish, and come to nought within half a year.' But on his death-bed he said to one of his hearers, who came to visit him, 'I 'have been a preacher a long time, and thought I had lived well; 'but I did not think it had been so hard a thing to die.' Death of priest Lampit: A rash saying of his formerly.

At Norwich now great spoil was made upon the Quakers, for their religious assemblies. Erasmus Cooper coming once into the house of Anthony Alexander, said to his wife, who was big with child, 'he came to seize all she had.' 'All!' said she, 'and that 'for seven pounds fine? that's hard.' But he slighting what she said, replied, 'he would not leave her a bed to lie on; and then began to break the doors with a pick-ax; he and his companions behaving themselves so desperately, that it drew tears from some of the neighbours who beheld it; and the warranted spoilers forced Alexander's man to help them; which made Alexander say, 'that 'it was a most unreasonable thing, to require a servant to assist in 'the taking his master's goods:' for which the warden, Robert Clerk snarled at him, saying, 'They are our goods.' To the house of Samuel Duncon the aforesaid officers came also, and with them the informer Charles Tennison, and the hangman: here they staid several days and nights, and kept Samuel's wife, who was big with child, as a prisoner in her own house, not suffering her to speak with any, so much as at the door, nor any to come to her. And after they had broken up all the locked doors, they took away to the value of about forty-three pounds in goods; and so insolent the informers were, that one did not stick to say, 'I'll 'make the mayor wait upon me as often as I will, at my pleasure.' Nay, this wicked crew were become so powerful, that none durst oppose them, for fear of falling into disgrace with the court, since they were encouraged by such as were in high stations, and probably at the instance of the Papists, or popishly affected. The constable, Barbarous usage by E. Cooper, at the house of A. Alexander at Norwich. The said Cooper, with Tennison, an informer, &c. seize about 43 pounds worth of goods at S. Duncon's. Insolence of informers.

1676.

Hard caſe of W. Poole, a conſtable.

conſtable, Norwich, efficacious

William Poole, coming this ſummer into the meeting at with an informer, who made him come, and hearing preaching there, cried, with tears in his eyes, 'What 'ſhall I do? I know the power of God is among you; and told the informer, 'that if there was a curſe hung over any people 'upon the earth, it was over the informers.' And Tenniſon, the informer, who had aſſiſted in taking away Samuel Duncon's goods, being afterwards committed to priſon for debt, confeſſed, 'he ne-'ver proſpered, ſince he took in hand that work;' and ſaid, 'if 'he was at liberty, he would never meddle with it more.'

Confeſſion of Tenniſon in diſtreſs.

The actions of juſtice Thoroton, a perſecutor in Nottingham-ſhire.

In Nottinghamſhire alſo great ſpoil and havock was made, to which the juſtice, Robert Thoroton, was greatly inſtrumental; for at Sutton he gave forth a warrant to ſeize the goods of two perſons, one of which was a woman, who having in a meeting ſpoken five or ſix words, which, according to the teſtimony of ſome officers that were preſent, were not at all like preaching, was however informed againſt as a preacher, and ſo by the ſaid Thoroton fined twenty pounds; and ſhe being unable to pay, the one half of the fine was charged upon her, and the other half upon John Fulwood. At another time Thoroton gave order to ſeize the goods of William Day, a miller, becauſe he having been at a meeting at Sutton in the ſtreet, the fine of a pretended preacher, that was unable, was charged upon him; though Day proved, and the officers who kept the friends out of their meeting-place, declared alſo, that thoſe words which were called preaching, were no more than an anſwer to what another had ſpoken. But for all that, Thoroton, to protect and to gratify the informer, ſaid, 'Though but one word was ſpoken, it is ſufficient.' A poor wo-man at South-Collingham, who was already bereaved of almoſt all that ſhe poſſeſſed, and ſince by her friends provided with a bed and other neceſſaries, was alſo deprived of this little, becauſe ſhe continued to frequent meetings. Matthew Hartly, a poor man, who lived by ſpinning of wool, was likewiſe, for frequenting the meeting there, bereaved of what he had; and ſo it was with many others, whoſe names and ſirnames I could mention, if I had a mind to enlarge. And if their friends had not taken care of them, and other impoveriſhed families, who had loſt all by ſpoil, many might have periſhed.

Sufferers, J. Fulwood, W. Day,

A poor wo-man at South-Collingham,

M. Hartly, &c.

At Hereford great miſ-chief done, chiefly by rude boys, encouraged by the mayor A. Seward, the college prieſts, two juſtices, a prebend, &c.

In the town of Hereford the meetings were alſo diſturbed from time to time, chiefly by boys, who threw among thoſe that were met, not only ſtones and excrements, but burning ſquibs; and uſed all manner of inſolency and miſchief they could think of, againſt theſe harmleſs people, either by breaking the glaſs win-dows, or the forms and ſeats. One of the leaders of this turbulent company, was the ſon of one Abraham Seward, who about this time was elected mayor; but when complaints were made to him of the outragious actions of the ſaid wicked crew, he pretended to be ignorant of his ſon's doings, and for all that, threatened thoſe that came to him, with the execution of the law upon them, if they did not leave off to keep meetings. And as it was well known that the chief maſter of the town-ſchool was diſpleaſed at the extravagant inſolency of ſome of his ſcholars, ſo it was reported

alſo,

alſo, that he was forbidden to correct them for it; and that the college prieſts had ſet them on, and ſaid they would bear them out in what they did; for ſome of thoſe brutiſh boys were choriſters. Two friends went to the juſtices, Robert Simons and Thomas Simons, to acquaint them with the exceſſive abuſes they met with; but the juſtices not at all regarding their complaint, the ſaid Robert endeavoured to draw ſome confeſſion of a meeting from one of them, intending, as he himſelf ſaid, immediately to have fined him, if he had confeſſed; but he was wary. Now ſince the inſolency of the boys was thus encouraged by authority, it was no wonder it continued there a whole year. At length eight men were taken from the meeting, by the aforeſaid mayor, Abraham Seward, and carried to the town-hall; and in their paſſage along, he ſaid, 'they ſhould never meet there more.' To which a friend going with him ſaid, 'We are a people gathered 'by the power of the Lord, and therefore the power of man cannot 'ſcatter us.' Being come to the town-hall, the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to them, on which they ſaid, 'We 'are chriſtians, therefore cannot break the command of Chriſt, 'which forbids to ſwear at all; but to render juſt and lawful 'allegiance to the king, we do not deny nor refuſe.' And they perſiſting in their refuſal to ſwear, were committed to priſon. The next day after, one Walter Rogers, a prebend, walking by the meeting-houſe, and obſerving how it was broken, ſaid to ſome, 'that they were very good boys, and had done their work better 'than he thought they had.' 1676.

J. Sayton of Nottingham, fined twenty pounds, brings an appeal to the quarter-ſeſſions, and on trial is acquitted, which much enrages juſtice Whaley.

At one of the quarter-ſeſſions in Nottingham, one John Sayton appeared, who being fined twenty pounds for ſuffering a conventicle at his houſe, in the pariſh of Blyth, came to appeal for juſtice. The witneſs produced againſt him, ſaid, 'I was there 'on that day, and there were ſeveral people met, but were all ſilent, 'and no words ſpoken amongſt them; but I did not ſee John 'Sayton there:' and that the ſaid John Sayton was above ſixty miles from home the ſame day, for which he was fined twenty pounds, was made appear in open court by ſubſtantial evidence. Then the council for the appellant ſaid, 'In the firſt place, for as 'much as there was neither preaching, praying, nor reading, as 'their own witneſs doth teſtify, therefore it was no conventicle. 'Secondly, being they cannot prove he was there, therefore how 'can it be judged, that he did either wittingly or willingly conſent 'to that meeting; if they could make it a conventicle?' To this the informer's council objected, 'that although there was neither 'preaching, praying, nor reading, yet it was evident enough that 'they met under a pretence of religious exerciſe, and ſeeing there 'were more than five, and not of John Sayton's family, therefore 'it muſt needs be a conventicle. And as to the ſecond, ſeeing 'they cannot prove he was there, we muſt leave it to the conſci-'ences of the jury, whether he did willingly conſent to that meet-'ing or no.' After the council had ſpoken on both ſides, Peniſton Whaley, one of the juſtices, who ſat in the chair as judge of the court, ſtood up and ſaid to the jury, 'Although there was no 'viſible exerciſe that can be proved, yet the Quakers ſay, they

1676. 'worſhip God in ſpirit and truth; and we know their manner is to 'ſit ſighing and groaning, &c.' The jury returning, and being aſked by the court, 'Do you find it for the king, or for the appel-'lant?' anſwered, 'For the appellant.' This ſo diſpleaſed the ſaid juſtice Whaley, that he bid them, 'Go forth again.' But one of the jurymen ſaying, 'they were agreed, and they had conſider-'ed the thing very well;' he thereupon fell into ſuch a rage, that he ſaid, 'You deſerve all to be hanged; for you are as ill as high-'waymen.' Perhaps he himſelf was either an informer, or a ſpecial friend to ſuch, and therefore was ſorry that the jury deprived him of the booty, or a ſhare of it.

Perſecution in Merionethſhire.

There was now great perſecution in all parts of England; neither did it go better in the principality of Wales. Nine perſons being taken priſoners, and brought this ſummer to the aſſizes held for the county of Merioneth, in the town Bala, upon an indictment for not reſorting to their pariſh churches, the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to them, Kemick Eyton and Thomas Walcot being judges; and upon their refuſal of taking theſe oaths, the ſaid judges declared it as their opinion in open court, 'that in caſe the priſoners would refuſe the oaths the 'ſecond time, they ſhould be proſecuted as traitors, the men to 'be hanged and quartered, and the women to be burnt.' But this threat could not make them afraid; for at the next aſſizes, the oaths being tendered them again, they continued in refuſing, though they ſolemnly acknowledged allegiance to the king as ſupreme magiſtrate; and thereupon were remanded to cloſe impriſonment, where Edward Rees, one of them, being above ſixty years of age, and not able to bear the cold, died about the height of the froſt, not having been allowed the uſe of fire.

The barbarous opinion of K. Eyton, and T. Walcot, Welſh judges.

E. Rees kept from fire in the height of froſt, dies a priſoner.

Some time before it happened within the corporation of Poole, in Montgomeryſhire, that the juſtice David Maurice, coming into a houſe where a ſmall number of people were peaceably met, and all ſilent, required them to depart. Hereupon Thomas Lloyd, one of the company, began to ſpeak a few words, by way of defining true religion, and what true worſhip was; and what he ſaid was ſo reaſonable, that the ſaid juſtice approved of it as ſound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet notwithſtanding he fined the ſaid Thomas Lloyd in twenty pounds for preaching.

T. Lloyd ſpeaking a few words to juſtice Maurice, fined twenty pounds.

This year died in priſon John Sage, being about eighty years of age, after having been in priſon at Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, almoſt ten years, for not paying of tithes. And it appeared, that ſince the reſtoration of king Charles, above two hundred of the people called Quakers, died in priſons in England, where they had been confined becauſe of their religion. I could relate abundance of occurrences this year, if I had a mind to extend my work, but I ſtudy brevity; yet cannot omit to mention, that in this year, in the iſland of Barbados, in the Weſt-Indies, a law was made to prevent Negroes coming into the meetings of the Quakers, which was of this tenor:

J. Sage near ten years a priſoner at Ivelcheſter, dies there. Above 200 Quakers died in priſon ſince the reſtoration.

WHEREAS

1676.

A law made at Barbados, to prevent negroes coming to Quakers meetings.

WHEREAS of late, many negroes have been ſuffered to remain at the meetings of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the ſafety of the iſland may be much hazarded: Be it enacted, that if at any time after publication hereof, any negro, or negroes, be found with the people called Quakers, at any of their meetings, as hearers of their preaching, he or they ſhall be forfeited, one half to ſuch as ſhall ſeize, or ſue for him or them, if belonging to any of the Quakers; and the other moiety to the publick uſe of the iſland; provided that if he or they be ſeized, ſuch as ſeize, ſhall bring their actions upon this ſtatute, within three months, againſt the owner of the negro, or negroes. Wherein the defendant having ten days ſummons, ſhall appear, plead, and come to trial at the firſt court after ſummons, or judgment to be given by nihil dicit, and execution immediately to iſſue. And if ſuch negro, or negroes, do not belong to any of the perſons preſent at the ſame meeting, any perſon, or perſons, may bring an action upon this ſtatute, againſt any of the perſons preſent at the ſaid meeting, at the election of the informer, and ſo recover ten pounds for every negro, or negroes preſent at the ſaid meeting as aforeſaid, to be divided as aforeſaid, and in ſuch actions, proceedings to be as aforeſaid. And no perſon whatſoever, ſhall keep any ſchool, to inſtruct any child in any learning, unleſs within one month after the publication hereof, he firſt take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, before ſome juſtice of peace of the pariſh where the party lives, and have a certificate thereof, or have a ſpecial licenſe from the governor, on pain of three months impriſonment, and forfeiture of 3000 lb. of Muſcovado ſugar, the one moiety to the informer, and the other to the publick uſe of the iſland, to be recovered as aforeſaid. And no perſon whatſoever, who is not an inhabitant and reſident of this iſland, and hath been ſo for twelve months together, ſhall hereafter publickly diſcourſe, or preach at the meeting of the Quakers, on pain of ſix months impriſonment, and forfeiture of 1000 lb. Muſcovado ſugar, the one moiety to ſuch as ſue for it, the other to the publick uſe of the iſland, to be recovered as aforeſaid: provided that all actions upon this ſtatute, be brought within ſix months after the offence.

Read, and paſſed the council the 21ſt of April, 1676, and conſented to by his excellency the governor the ſame day.

EDWYN STEED, *deputy-ſecretary.*

Although in the beginning of this ſtatute, the inſtructing of the negroes in the doctrine of the Quakers, is repreſented as a thing whereby the ſafety of the iſland might be much hazarded, yet the ſequel ſhews that this was not the matter, but that it was endeavoured to deprive the Quakers of their due liberty. What was the iſſue hereof I am unacquainted with.

This year Robert Barclay wrote a letter to the heer Adrian Paets, with whom he had ſome diſcourſe when the ſaid heer returned from Spain, where he had been ambaſſador for the ſtates of the United Provinces. This Paets having a ſtrange opinion of the doctrine

1676.

R. Barclay writes a letter in Latin, to the heer Adrian Paets concerning the doctrine of the Quakers.

doctrine of the Quakers, had a good while ago wrote a letter * to Chriſtian Hartzoeker, at Rotterdam, about their doctrine; and having afterwards diſcourſed with Barclay concerning the inward and immediate revelation of the ſpirit of God; this induced Barclay to write a letter on the ſaid ſubject in Latin, to the aforementioned heer, wherein he made a more large reply to his arguments, than he had done by word of mouth. This letter being ſent over from Scotland to Holland, was delivered by Benjamin Furly at Rotterdam, to the ſaid heer Paets, with a deſire that he might be pleaſed to return an anſwer to it, which he promiſed he would. But he continuing deficient in the caſe, Furly at laſt publiſhed the ſaid letter in print, but without mentioning the name of him to whom it was written, only his character, viz. 'Cuidam 'Legato.'

In this letter was ſet down firſt the objection of the heer Paets, to wit, 'That ſince the being and ſubſtance of the chriſtian reli-'gion conſiſteth in the knowledge of, and faith concerning the 'birth, life, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt Jeſus, he 'conſidered the ſubſtance of the chriſtian religion as a contingent 'truth; which contingent truth was matter of fact; and matter 'of fact could not be known but by the relation of another, or by 'the perception of the outward ſenſes: becauſe there are naturally 'in our ſouls no ſuch ideas of contingent truths, as there are concern-'ing neceſſary truths, viz. "That God is, and that the whole is "greater than the part." And ſince it might without abſurdity 'be ſaid, that God cannot make a contingent truth to become a 'neceſſary truth; neither can God reveal contingent truths or 'matters of fact, but as contingent truths are revealed; and mat-'ters of fact not being revealed but by the outward ſenſes, the 'concluſion drawn from thence is, that men are not obliged to be-'lieve God producing any revelation in the ſoul concerning matter 'of fact, whether of a thing done or to be done, unleſs there be 'added ſome miracles obvious to the outward ſenſes, by which the 'ſoul may be aſcertained, that ſuch revelation cometh from God.' All theſe arguments Barclay anſwered very circumſtantially, premiſing firſt, 'That it was falſely ſuppoſed that the eſſence of the 'chriſtian religion conſiſted in the hiſtorical faith and know-'ledge of the birth, death, life, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt. 'That faith and hiſtorical knowledge is indeed a part of the chriſ-'tian religion, but not ſuch an eſſential part, as that without 'which the chriſtian religion cannot conſiſt; but is an integral part, 'which goes to the completing of the chriſtian religion, as the 'hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without 'which nevertheleſs a man may exiſt, but not an entire and 'complete man.' Yet he agrees, 'That the hiſtorical knowledge 'of Chriſt is commonly manifeſted to us by the holy ſcripture 'as the means;' but nevertheleſs he aſſerts, that 'God could 'without ſuch an outward mean manifeſt the ſaid hiſtorical know-'ledge to our minds;' and alſo, that 'a contingent truth may 'be known by a ſupernatural knowledge.' And he ſaith, 'that 'when

* To be found in the book called, 'Præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum epiſtolæ eccleſiaſticæ '& Theologicæ. Amſtelodami apud Franciſcum Halmam. 1704.'

1676.

'when God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by 'divine immediate revelation, he then ſpeaks as to the ear of the 'heart of the inward man.' And that, 'as when any natural idea 'is excited in us, we clearly know it; ſo alſo when a ſupernatu-'ral idea is raiſed, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea.' He alſo holds forth, 'what properly is the inward, ſupernatural 'ſenſe in man;' and then he diſtinguiſheth between contingent and neceſſary truths, and ſhews how a divine revelation may be known to be ſuch, ſaying, 'that natural and ſpiritual ſenſes are 'diſtinguiſhable by their objects,' and demonſtrating, 'how 'godly men may know they are in the favour of God, and how 'the wicked feel the wrath of God as fire.' He alſo relates, 'after 'what manner the ſpiritual ſenſes diſtinguiſh the good and the 'evil;' and he confeſſeth, 'there is in all men, as well the godly as 'ungodly, ſome ſort of idea of God, as of a moſt perfect being:' but he aſſerts, 'that the ſupernatural idea of God differeth much 'from the natural; and that in all men there is a ſupernatural 'idea of God.' He alſo ſhews, 'wherein the motions of the mind 'differ from thoſe of the body; and that there are ideas as well of 'ſupernatural, as of natural things.' And ſhewing from whence the errors of falſe likeneſſes of reaſon proceed, he ſays, 'that the 'natural reaſon cannot perceive ſupernatural things.' He alſo aſſerts, 'that the revelations to the prophets were by inward inſpi-'rations in their minds; and that they were moſt certainly per-'ſuaded that they were divinely inſpired, even without any out-'ward miracle: and that it is by the inſpiration of the ſame 'divine ſpirit, by which the prophets propheſied, that we do be-'lieve their words and writings to be divine, concerning contin-'gent truths, as well paſt as to come.' Moreover he inquires, 'whe-'ther faith comes by outward hearing?' and he ſhews, 'how the out-'ward ſenſes may be deceived; nay, that often they are vitiated, 'both by outward caſualties and natural infirmities, whereunto 'the godly are no leſs ſubject than the wicked.'

All this is treated at large by Barclay, as may be ſeen in the ſaid letter; and ſeveral years after, when the heer Paets was at London, being one of the commiſſioners for the Dutch Eaſt-India company, Barclay ſpoke with him again, and ſo repreſented the matter, that he readily yielded, 'that he had been miſtaken in his notion of the 'Quakers; for he found they could make a reaſonable plea for 'the foundation of their religion.' And thereupon R. Barclay tranſlated the ſaid letter into Engliſh, as follows:

MY FRIEND,

ALBEIT I judge I did fully anſwer to all thy arguments in that conference we had, concerning the neceſſity and poſſibility of inward immediate revelation, and of the certainty of true faith from thence proceeding: nevertheleſs, becauſe after we had made an end, and were parting, thou wouldſt needs remit to my further conſideration the ſtrength of thy argument, as that in which thou ſuppoſedſt the very hinge of the queſtion to lie: that I might ſatisfy thy deſire, and that the truth might more appear, I did further conſider of it; but the more I weighed it, I found it the weaker.

1676. And therefore that thou thyſelf mayſt make the truer judgment of it, I thought meet to ſend thee my further conſiderations thereon; (which I had done ere now, had not I both at London and elſewhere been diverted by other neceſſary occaſions) wherein, I doubt not but thou wilt perceive a full and diſtinct anſwer to thy argument. But if thou canſt not as yet yield to the truth, or thinkeſt mine anſwer in any part to be defective, ſo that there yet remains with thee any matter of doubt or ſcruple, I do earneſtly deſire thee, that as I for thy ſake, and out of love to the truth, have not been wanting to examine thy argument, and to tranſmit to thee my conſiderations thereon; ſo thou mayſt give thyſelf the trouble to write and ſend me what thou haſt further to ſay; which my friend N. N. who delivers thee this, will, at what time thou ſhalt appoint, receive from thee, and tranſmit to me thy letter; that at laſt the truth may appear where it is.

And that the whole matter may the more clearly be underſtood, it will be fit in the firſt place, to propoſe thy argument, whereby thou oppoſeſt the immediate revelation of God in the ſaints; thence concluding, thou haſt fully overturned the foundation of the people called Quakers—which argument of thine is:

A. P's objection againſt immediate revelation ſtated by way of argument.

'That ſince (as thou judgeſt) the being and ſubſtance of the 'chriſtian religion conſiſteth in the knowledge of, and faith con-'cerning the birth, life, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of 'Chriſt Jeſus,' thou conſidereſt 'the ſubſtance of the chriſtian reli-'gion as a contingent truth; which contingent truth is matter of 'fact.' Whence thou reaſoneſt, 'That—

'Matter of fact cannot be known, but by the relation of another, 'or by the perception of the outward ſenſes; becauſe there are 'naturally in our ſouls no ideas of contingent truths, ſuch as 'are concerning neceſſary truths: to wit, that God is; and that 'the whole is greater than the part—And ſince it may without 'abſurdity be ſaid, That

'God cannot make a contingent truth to become a neceſſary truth; 'neither can God reveal contingent truths, or matters of fact, 'but as contingent truths are revealed: and matters of fact are 'not revealed, but by the outward ſenſes.'——From whence thou concludeſt, 'That

'Men are not even obliged to believe God producing any revelation 'in the ſoul concerning matter of fact, whether of a thing done, 'or to be done, unleſs there be added ſome miracles obvious to 'the outward ſenſes, by which the ſoul may be aſcertained, 'that that revelation cometh from God.'

The proofs of the arguments.

And this thou endeavoureſt alſo to prove from the ſcripture, Rom. x. where the apoſtle ſaith, *Faith cometh by hearing:* and becauſe the apoſtle ſpeaketh afterwards of thoſe who were ſent in the plural number; thence thou concludeſt, 'That to be ſpoken of 'outward preaching by the miniſtry of men:' and ſince the apoſtle uſes a queſtion, ſaying, *How ſhall they believe unleſs they hear?* thou gathereſt from the induction and connexion of the text,

that

that the apoſtle treats only of outward hearing; thence concluding, 'that without outward *hearing*, *faith* cannot be produ-'ced:' and therefore, that there can be no 'immediate revelation 'by the ſimple operation of the ſpirit in the mind, unleſs there be 'ſomewhat propoſed to the outward ſenſes.' 1676.

Before I proceed to a direct anſwer to this argument, ſome things are neceſſary to be premiſed:

The chriſtian religion conſiſts not in the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt.

Firſt then; that it is falſely ſuppoſed, 'that the eſſence of the 'chriſtian religion conſiſts in the hiſtorical faith and knowledge of 'the birth, death, life, reſurrection and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt.' That faith and hiſtorical knowledge is indeed a part of the chriſtian religion; but not ſuch an eſſential part, as that without which the chriſtian religion cannot conſiſt; but is an integral part, which goes to the completing of the chriſtian religion, as the hands or feet of a man are integral parts of a man, without which nevertheleſs a man may exiſt, but not an intire and complete man.

The hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt is not commonly manifeſted to us, but by the holy ſcripture.

Secondly, if by immediate revelation be underſtood ſuch a revelation of God, as begets in our ſouls an hiſtorical faith and knowledge of the birth of Chriſt in the fleſh, without the means of the holy ſcripture, we do not contend for ſuch a revelation, as commonly given, or to be expected by us, or any other chriſtians. For albeit many other evangelical truths be manifeſted to us by the immediate manifeſtation of God, not uſing the ſcripture as the means; yet the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt is not commonly manifeſted to us, nor to any others, but by the holy ſcripture, as the means, and that by way of a material object: even as when we ſee the perſon of Peter or Paul to our viſive faculty immediately, yet not without the medium of that perſon concurring as a material object to produce that ſight; while the light of the ſun concurs, as the formal object of that viſion or ſight; ſo that when we livingly and ſpiritually know the hiſtory of the birth of Chriſt in the fleſh, the inward revelation or illumination of God, which is like the ſun's light, proceeding from the divine Sun, doth ſhine in the eye of the mind, and by its influence moves the mind to aſſent unto the 'hiſtorical truth of Chriſt's birth, 'life,' &c. in the reading or hearing the ſcripture, or meditating therein.

* God can manifeſt the hiſtorical truth of Chriſt to our minds without the ſcripture.

Thirdly, * nevertheleſs we do firmly aſſert, that God can moſt eaſily, clearly, and certainly manifeſt to our minds the 'hiſtorical 'truths of Chriſt's birth,' &c. when it ſo pleaſeth him, even without the ſcripture, or any other outward means. And becauſe this argument ſeems to be formed againſt the poſſibility of ſuch a revelation, therefore I ſhall proceed to diſcuſs it: but firſt thou mayſt mind, that the prophets who foretold Chriſt's coming in the fleſh, and being to be born of a virgin, and afterwards to ſuffer death, did know theſe truths of fact by the inward inſpiration of God, without outward means: for which ſee 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. Now that which hath been may be.

A contingent truth may be known by ſupernatural knowledge.

Fourthly, this argument doth at moſt conclude, that we cannot know naturally any truth of fact, but by the relation of another without us, or by the perception of the outward ſenſes; becauſe there

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are naturally in our minds no ideas concerning contingent truths, (and every truth of fact is a contingent truth) as there are of neceſſary truths. This then proveth, that we cannot naturally know any contingent truth but by the relation of another, or perception of the outward ſenſes: but that hindereth not, but we may know a contingent truth by a ſupernatural knowledge, God ſupplying the place of an outward relator; who is ſo true, that he may, and ought to be believed, ſince God is the fountain of truth.

The form of revelation is the voice of God inwardly ſpeaking to the mind of man.

Fifthly, when God doth make known unto men any matter of fact by divine, immediate revelation, or inſpiration, God ſpeaketh as to the ear of the heart of the inward man, or as by his finger writing it therein, two things are to be conſidered in ſuch an immediate revelation.

To Materiale: The matter of fact, or thing revealed, which is contingent.

To Formale: The form or mode, how the revelation is made: which form is an inward, divine, and ſupernatural revelation, which is the voice or ſpeech of God, inwardly ſpeaking to the ear of the inward man, or mind of man, or a divine writing, ſupernaturally imprinted therein. Now as to the material part, or the thing and matter revealed, this is indeed a contingent truth, and of itſelf is not manifeſt to the mind; but becauſe of the form, that is, becauſe of the divine mode, and ſupernatural inward operation, the matter is known to be true. For that divine and ſupernatural inward operation, which the mind doth feel and perceive in itſelf, is the voice of God ſpeaking unto man; which by its nature and ſpecifick property is as clearly diſtinguiſhed and underſtood to be the voice of God, as the voice of Peter or James is known to be the voice of ſuch men. For every being as a being is knowable, and that by its own ſpecifick nature, or property proceeding from its nature; and hath its proper idea, by which it is diſtinguiſhable from every other thing, if ſo be its idea be ſtirred up in us, and clearly propoſed to us.

The ſpeaking of God in man is a ſupernatural being, known by its virtue.

Sixthly, now as ſome beings are natural, ſome ſupernatural, ſo ſome ideas are natural, ſome ſupernatural: and as when any natural idea is excited in us, we clearly know it; ſo alſo when a ſupernatural idea is raiſed, we clearly know that whereof it is the idea. But the voice of God ſpeaking to the mind of man, is a ſupernatural being, and ſtirreth up in us a ſupernatural idea, by which we clearly know that inward voice to be the voice of God, and not the voice or operation of another, or of any evil ſpirit, or angel; becauſe none of theſe have a ſupernatural idea, as the voice of God, and his divine operation, hath: for it is full of vigour, virtue, and divine glory, as ſaith the pſalmiſt, who had often experience of it; and we alſo in our meaſures are witneſſes thereof, for the voice of God is known to be his by its divine virtue.

What the inward ſupernatural ſenſe in man is.

Seventhly, the ſenſes are either outward or inward; and the inward ſenſes are either natural or ſupernatural: we have an example of the inward natural ſenſe in being angered or pacified, in love and hatred; or when we perceive and diſcern any natural truth, (ſuch as the natural maxims, to wit, that the whole is greater than the part, &c.) or when we deduce any concluſion by the

the ſtrength of natural reaſon, that perception alſo in a larger ſenſe, may be called an inward ſenſe. But an example of an inward ſupernatural ſenſe is, when the heart or ſoul of a pious man feels in itſelf divine motions, influences, and operations, which ſometimes are as the voice or ſpeech of God; ſometimes as a moſt pleaſant and glorious illuſtration or viſible object to the inward eye; ſometimes is a moſt ſweet ſavour or taſte; ſometimes as an heavenly and divine warmneſs, or (ſo to ſpeak) melting of the ſoul in the love of God. Moreover this divine and ſupernatural operation in the mind of man, is a true and moſt glorious miracle; which when it is perceived by the inward and ſupernatural ſenſe, divinely raiſed up in the mind of man, doth ſo evidently and clearly perſuade the underſtanding to aſſent to the thing revealed, that there is no need of an outward miracle: for this aſſent is not becauſe of the thing itſelf, but becauſe of the revelation propoſing it, which is the voice of God. For when the voice of God is heard in the ſoul, the ſoul doth as certainly conclude the truth of that voice, as the truth of God's being, from whom it proceeds. 1676.

Theſe things being thus premiſed, I now proceed to a direct anſwer. For what is ſaid, 'that God cannot make a contingent 'truth to become a neceſſary truth,' I agree; but when any contingent truth is manifeſt to us by the immediate revelation of God, there is in it two things to be conſidered, to wit, the thing revealed, which is contingent; and the revelation itſelf; which, upon the ſuppoſition that it is a divine revelation, is no contingent truth, but a moſt neceſſary truth. And this all mankind will ſay, that this propoſition, 'every divine revelation is neceſſarily true,' is as clear and evident, as that propoſition, 'that every whole is greater 'than its part.' Contingent and neceſſary truths diſtinguiſhed.

But thou wilt ſay; 'How knoweſt thou that a divine revelation 'is a divine revelation?' I anſwer, how knoweſt thou, that a whole is a whole, and a part is a part? Thou wilt ſay, 'by the 'natural idea excited in me of a whole, and not of a part.' I anſwer again; even ſo a divine revelation is known to be ſuch, by a ſupernatural idea of divine revelation ſtirred up in us, and that by a divine motion, or ſupernatural operation. But it is no wonder that men, who have no experience of ſupernatural ideas, or at leaſt do not heed them, do deny them; which is, as if a man naturally blind denied light or colours; or a deaf man ſounds, becauſe they experience them not. Therefore we cannot diſſemble, that we feel a fervent zeal, even divinely kindled in us, againſt ſuch an abſurd opinion, as affirms, 'That God cannot aſcertain us of 'his will in any contingent truth, but by propoſing it to the out-'ward ſenſes.' This opinion does in a manner turn men into brutes, as if man were not to believe his God, unleſs he propoſe what is to be believed to the outward ſenſes, which the beaſts have common with us; yea, it derogates from God's power, and imputes weakneſs to him, as if he could not do that, which not only both good and evil angels can do, but which the meaneſt creatures can do, and the moſt unſenſible. As for inſtance: the heat of the fire, the coldneſs of the air, and water, work upon us; yea, if a pin How a divine revelation is known to be a divine revelation.

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Natural and ſpiritual ſenſes diſtinguiſhed by their objects.

prick us, we feel it, and that by the outward ſenſe; becauſe the objects are outward and carnal. But ſince God is a moſt pure and glorious ſpirit, when he operateth in the innermoſt parts of our minds by his will, ſhall not he and his will be clearly felt according to his nature, that is, by a ſpiritual and ſupernatural ſenſe? For as the nature of God is, ſo is the nature of his will, to wit, purely ſpiritual, and therefore requireth a ſpiritual ſenſe to diſcern it; which ſpiritual ſenſe, when it is raiſed up in us by a divine operation, doth as clearly and certainly know the voice or revelation of the will of God, concerning any thing which God is pleaſed to reveal, however contingent, as the outward ſenſe knows and perceives the outward object. And it is no leſs abſurd, to require of God, who is a moſt pure ſpirit, to manifeſt his will to men by the outward ſenſes, elſe not to be credited, as to require us to ſee ſounds, and hear lights and colours. For as the objects of the outward ſenſes are not to be confounded, but every object is to have its proper ſenſe; ſo muſt we judge of inward and ſpiritual objects, which have their proper ſenſe, whereby they are to be perceived. And tell me, how God doth manifeſt his will concerning matters of fact, when he ſends his angels to men? ſince angels (as is commonly received) have not outward ſenſes, or at leaſt not ſo groſs ones, as ours are. Yea, when men die, and appear before the tribunal of God, whether unto eternal life or death, how can they know this, having laid down their bodies, and therewith their outward ſenſes? And nevertheleſs this truth of God is a truth of fact, as is the hiſtorical truth of Chriſt's birth in the fleſh. And which is yet more near: how do good and holy men even in this life moſt certainly know, that they are in the favour and grace of God? No outward revelation doth make this known unto them; but *the ſpirit* (as ſaith the apoſtle) *beareth witneſs with our ſpirits, that we are the children of God.* For the mere teſtimony of a human conſcience, without inward teſtimony of the holy ſpirit, cannot beget in us a firm and immovable teſtimony of our ſonſhip, becauſe the heart of man is deceitful; and if the teſtimony thereof were true, at moſt it is but a human teſtimony, which begetteth in us only a human faith: but that faith, by which holy men believe they are the ſons of God, is a divine faith, which leans upon a divine teſtimony of the holy ſpirit, witneſſing in them, that they are the ſons of God. Moreover, when a good man feels in himſelf that undeclarable joy of the holy ſpirit, concerning which the holy ſcripture ſpeaks, and which is the common privilege of the ſaints, how or whence feels he this joy? Truly, this argument concludes no leſs againſt this heavenly ſpiritual joy, which is begotten in the ſouls of the ſaints by the holy ſpirit, than it does againſt the immediate revelation of God: for there is no natural idea of this ſpiritual joy, elſe mere natural men, yea ſuch as are profane and ungodly, would feel it as much as the godly: but becauſe it is a ſupernatural thing, therefore it can have no true idea but what is ſupernatural. Moreover, whence is it that profane men feel ſometimes in themſelves the wrath of God as fire, when all things, as to the outward, go as proſperouſly with them as with the godly, and oftentimes

How good men know they are in favour with God.

How profane men do feel the wrath of God as fire.

times more proſperouſly ? for there is no natural idea in men of this inward wrath of God. There is alſo an inward grief oftentimes raiſed up in wicked men from the ſenſe of this wrath of God, which very much vexeth and tormenteth their minds ; and nevertheleſs this grief hath no natural idea in us : for oftentimes wicked men feel not this ſorrow ; for God ſometimes is, as it were, ſilent, while the wicked ſin, as in Pſal. l. 1676.

All which things do moſt clearly demonſtrate, that there are in men ſupernatural ideas of ſupernatural beings ; which ideas are nevertheleſs not perceived by us, unleſs they be ſtirred up by ſome ſupernatural operation of God, which raiſeth up in us ſupernatural and ſpiritual ſenſes ; which by their nature are as diſtinguiſhable from the natural ſenſes, whether inward or outward, as the natural ſenſes are diſtinguiſhed one from another by their ſpecifick difference. Of which ſpiritual ſenſes the ſcripture ſpeaks frequently, as Heb. v. and xiv. where is ſpoken of the ſpiritual ſenſes in general, by which the ſpiritual man hath the diſcerning of good and evil : which good is of a ſpiritual nature, and conduceth to feed in us a ſpiritual and divine life ; and the evil is of that kind, by which the ſpiritual life is in us hurt ; to wit, ſins, whether carnal or ſpiritual : all which cannot be diſcerned but by ſuch who have ſpiritual ſenſes ſtirred up in them, as ſaith the apoſtle. In other places the ſcripture alſo ſpeaketh of theſe ſpiritual ſenſes in particular ; as of the ſpiritual ſeeing, Pſal. xxxiv. 9 ; of the ſpiritual hearing, Pſal. lxxxv. and ix ; of ſpiritual taſting, Pſal. xxxiv. 8 ; of ſpiritual ſmelling, Cant. i. 3 ; of ſpiritual touching, Acts xvii. 8 ; and in many other places of ſcripture we read of thoſe ſpiritual ſenſes in particular. Yea, it is the promiſe of the goſpel, that the glory of God ſhall be ſeen of holy men, ſuch as are clean of heart, even in this life : Iſa. xxxiii. 17. Mat. v. 8. which were fulfilled in the primitive chriſtians, ſee John i. 14. 1 John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 Cor. iii. 18. and chap. iv. 6.

Spiritual ſenſes diſcerning good and evil.

But what is this viſion of God and divine glory, which the ſouls of the ſaints enjoy in this life, which is only as the earneſt or firſt fruits of that more abundant glorious viſion in the life to come, concerning which the ſcripture ſo much declareth, which is the higheſt happineſs of the immortal ſoul ? for this argument ſeemeth to do no leſs injury to the ſaints, than to rob them of this moſt glorious treaſure both in this life, and that to come. For there is in us no natural idea of this divine glory, (as there is not of God himſelf) which is anywiſe proportionable unto ſo great happineſs, which the ſcripture ſo much declareth of, by which the godly are rewarded partly in this life, and plenarily in that which is to come. We confeſs indeed, there is in all men, as well the godly as ungodly, ſome ſort of idea of God, as of a moſt perfect Being ; and that therefore this propoſition, 'there exiſteth a moſt perfect Being,' doth as clearly appear to human underſtanding, as that 'the whole is 'greater than the part:' and therefore this propoſition, 'that a moſt 'perfect Being exiſteth,' ought to be numbered among the principles, that of themſelves are manifeſt. But this idea of God is as manifeſt to the ungodly, as to godly men ; yea, it is clearly perceived

The exiſtence of a moſt perfect Being aſſerted.

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The ſupernatural idea of God differs from the natural.

There is then either no ſuch viſion of God, neither in this life, nor in that to come; or there is a ſupernatural idea of God in us, by which we are made capable of this viſion: which ſupernatural idea of God differeth much from that natural idea of God, which Carteſius and his followers ſo much talk of; albeit others long before Carteſius did obſerve this natural idea of God, and ſpoke of it. But the happineſs of the ſaints conſiſts not in contemplating this natural idea of God, elſe the wicked would be as happy as the godly, yea, the very Devil, as the moſt holy angel; ſince as is ſaid, both the Devil and moſt wicked men do as clearly perceive this natural idea of God, as the moſt holy men or angels.

There is in all men a ſupernatural idea of God.

If the ſcripture then be true, there is in men a ſupernatural idea of God, which altogether differs from this natural idea—I ſay, in all men; becauſe all men are capable of ſalvation, and conſequently of enjoying this divine viſion. Now this capacity conſiſteth herein, that they have ſuch a ſupernatural idea in themſelves: for if there were no ſuch idea in them, it were impoſſible they ſhould ſo know God; for whatſoever is clearly and diſtinctly known, is known by its proper idea; neither can it otherwiſe be clearly and diſtinctly known. For the ideas of all things are divinely planted in our ſouls; for, as the better philoſophy teacheth, they are not begotten in us by outward objects, or outward cauſes, but only are by theſe outward things excited or ſtirred up: and this is true, not only in ſupernatural ideas of God, and things divine, and in natural ideas of the natural principles of human underſtanding, and concluſions thence deduced by the ſtrength of human reaſon; but even in the ideas of outward objects, which are perceived by the outward ſenſes: as that noble chriſtian philoſopher Boetius hath well obſerved; to which alſo the Carteſian philoſophy agreeth. For when I ſee any outward object, whether it be a man, or horſe, or bird, the outward object does not treat in my eye, nor yet in my mind, the idea of thoſe things; for the outward object does nothing but imprint in our ſenſible organs a corporeal motion. Now there is nothing in a corporeal motion that can form in us the ideas of thoſe things; for all ideas are of a ſpiritual nature: now nothing that is corporeal can produce that which is ſpiritual, becauſe the leſs excellent cannot produce the more excellent, elſe the effect would exceed its cauſe; which is againſt all ſound reaſon, that it ſhould bring forth what were of a higher and more excellent kind. Therefore all ideas, whether of natural or ſpiritual things, are divinely implanted in our minds; which nevertheleſs do not always appear, but ſometimes appear, and ſometimes are as it were hid in us, and ſometimes are ſtirred up in us by cauſes outward or inward, and again do as it were ſleep and ſhun our obſervation, and ſeem not to be otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed by our minds, but as thoughts and perceptions of the mind from the mind itſelf; that is, as the mode from the ſubject, or as a bodily motion from the body, whereof it

Boetius a chriſtian philoſopher.

The motions of the body and mind diſtinguiſhed.

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is the motion: for as is the relation of a bodily motion to a body, ſo is the relation of a thought or perception of the mind to the mind. In this nevertheleſs they differ, that the mind can move itſelf, and operate in itſelf; which a body cannot do: but as a body can be moved by another, ſo alſo can the mind after its manner be moved by another, and that both by outward and inward cauſes, but chiefly by God himſelf, in whoſe hand all ſouls and creatures are. But of theſe things there is enough ſaid at preſent; and I hope I have not thus far impertinently philoſophiſed.

Supernatural ideas deducible from the natural.

As there are then natural ideas concerning the things of the natural world; as for inſtance, ideas of light and colours, ideas of voice and ſounds, ideas of ſavouring and ſmelling, ideas of taſting and feeling, as of heat and cold, of grief and joy; it follows alſo, that there are ideas of ſupernatural things, concerning the divine and ſupernatural things of the divine and ſupernatural world; as ideas of thoſe things above-mentioned in the ſpiritual world. And as the natural ideas are ſtirred up in us by outward and natural bodies, ſo thoſe divine and ſupernatural ideas are ſtirred up in us by a certain principle, which is a body in naturals in relation to the ſpiritual world, and therefore may be called a divine body: not as if it were a part of God, who is a moſt pure ſpirit, but the organ, or inſtrument of God, by which he worketh in us, and ſtirreth up in us theſe ideas of divine things. This is that fleſh and blood of Chriſt, by which the ſaints are nouriſhed; which is a myſtery to all unregenerated and mere natural men, never to be reached by them, while they remain in that ſtate.

The fleſh and blood of Chriſt, by which the ſaints are nouriſhed

Now if there be ſuch ſupernatural ideas, there are alſo ſenſes, or perceptive faculties, by which thoſe ideas are perceived; for thoſe are two relatives that ſuppoſe and infer one another: but in wicked men thoſe ſenſes or faculties do as it were ſleep, as the viſive faculty of a blind man; but in the godly they are ſtirred up. Now by theſe divine and ſpiritual ſenſes, which are diſtinct and diſtinguiſhable from all the natural faculties of the ſoul, whether of imagination, or natural reaſon, ſpiritual minded men do behold the glory and beauty of God, in reſpect whereof, and for which all the glory of this world is deſpicable to them; yea, even as droſs and dung. And they alſo hear God inwardly ſpeaking in their ſouls, words truly divine and heavenly, full of virtue and divine life; and they ſavour and taſte of divine things, and do as it were handle them with the hands of their ſouls. And thoſe heavenly enjoyments do as really differ in their nature from all falſe ſimilitudes, and fictitious appearances of them, which either the mind of man by its own ſtrength can imitate, or any evil ſpirit to deceive man can counterfeit; as a true man differs from the dead image of a man; or true bread, honey, wine, or milk, doth from the mere picture of thoſe things. And albeit either the imagination of man, or ſubtilty of the Devil, may counterfeit the likeneſſes of theſe enjoyments, by which men may be deceived, and no doubt many are deceived; that doth not hinder, but that thoſe divine enjoyments are clearly perceived in ſuch, in whom the divine and ſpiritual ſenſes are truly opened, and the true ſupernatural ideas of thoſe things truly raiſed up.

The beauty of God makes the glory of this world deſpicable.

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The cauſe of miſtakes by falſe likeneſſes of reaſons.

And if there be at any time a miſtake, the divine illumination is not the cauſe of that miſtake, but ſome evil diſpoſition of the mind; as happeneth in thoſe things relating to natural reaſon. For there are many falſe appearances of reaſon, which differ as much from true reaſon, as thoſe falſe and pretended revelations, and diabolical inſpirations, from ſuch as are truly divine. Now, how many men who would be eſteemed philoſophers, are miſerably deceived by thoſe falſe likeneſſes of reaſon, judging their falſe reaſons to be the true ſimilitudes of things, and ſolid ratiocinations? which nevertheleſs moveth no man of ſound reaſon, to reject ſound and ſolid reaſon, as doubtful and uncertain. For even ſound natural reaſon is an excellent gift of God, and very uſeful to mankind, when uſed in its proper place: but let none think to comprehend by their natural reaſon, things that are of a divine and ſupernatural kind. And as we uſe to do, when any one is deceived by falſe appearances of reaſon, we endeavour to reduce them to contemplate the firſt natural ideas of natural things, and to meditate therein; which is as a teſt or touchſtone, by which all the appearances and likeneſſes of reaſon are to be examined; if they contradict them, to be rejected: ſo alſo when any one is deceived by his own imagination, or the cunning of Satan, thinking any evil inſpiration of the Devil to be a true divine revelation; he that is ſo deceived, is to be reduced to the natural ideas of things, (if ſo be that pretended revelation doth contradict them, for no true divine revelation can contradict the true natural ideas) or to the ſupernatural ideas of divine things, which are moſt ſimple, clear, and obvious to the minds of men, if they will turn their minds to the divine ſeed in them; or at leaſt thoſe ideas are readily and eaſily ſtirred up. For as in natural ideas, ſo in ſupernatural, ſome are more eaſily raiſed than others; for there is a certain order, both of natural and ſupernatural ideas, whereby they are gradually excited. Nor is there any mortal man, in whoſe mind, at ſome time or other, there is not ſtirred up ſome idea that is truly ſupernatural and divine, and who hath not felt in himſelf both the wrath and judgment of God for his ſins; and alſo ſome tender and gentle taſte of God's love and goodneſs, by which wicked men are invited to repentance. Now that which is thought to be a divine revelation, and is felt to contradict any divine and ſupernatural idea, which is clearly perceived in the ſoul; it is a manifeſt token that it is not a divine revelation, but either a falſe imagination, or the wicked ſuggeſtion of ſome evil ſpirit.

Natural reaſon comprehends not things ſupernatural.

The ſupernatural ideas of divine things are moſt clear and obvious to the mind.

God hath declared his will even of contingent truths in the ſcripture.

But to proceed: If we will hear the ſcripture (as all chriſtians ought) it teſtifies to us, that God hath declared his mind and will even concerning contingent truths to come, in the prophets; as that of the firſt to the Hebrews doth evidently declare: *God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners* ſpoke to our *fathers* in *the prophets*. Yea, let us hear the prophets themſelves, Hoſea, chap. i. ſaith plainly, *That the word of the Lord was made in him* (as it is in the Heb.) Habakkuk alſo ſays, *As he was ſtanding on his watch to ſee what Jehovah would ſpeak in him.* And it is ſo manifeſt, that the moſt heavenly revelations are by inward illuſtrations

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and inſpirations, in the very minds of the prophets; that it is ſtrange how any that believe the ſcripture ſhould doubt of it. And if it happened at any time, ſuch revelations were made in the natural imaginations of the prophets, or any of their inward natural ſenſes, then it may be confeſſed, they could not be infallibly certain they came from God, unleſs they alſo felt God in the divine and ſupernatural ſenſes, by which they did moſt nearly approach to him, from theſe ſuperior and moſt inward ſenſes, working upon the lower and leſs noble faculties of the mind. But which ever way the prophets were certain, that they were inſpired of God, even when they foretold contingent truths to come, it is without doubt, they were moſt certainly perſuaded that they were divinely inſpired, and that frequently without any outward miracle. For John the Baptiſt did no miracle; and many propheſied, where there appeared no miracle: as in the ſcripture may be obſerved. And we alſo by the inſpiration of the ſame divine ſpirit, by which the prophets propheſied, do believe their words and writings to be divine concerning contingent truths, as well paſt as to come; elſe that faith, by which we believe the ſcripture, would not be divine, but merely human. And thence we need no outward miracles to move us to believe the ſcriptures; and therefore much leſs were they neceſſary to the prophets who wrote them. For we ſee in many places of the prophets, where they declare prophecies as revealed to them of God, there is not a word mentioned of any outward miracle, as that by which alone they were certain of it.

Revelations were in the minds of the prophets by inward inſpirations,

Which were moſt certain, without any outward miraculous demonſtrations.

Moreover, the falſeneſs of this argument doth appear, in that the ſcripture doth declare many contingent truths to have been revealed to the prophets in dreams: now as natural and wicked men do not ſee what they dream by a real perception of the outward ſenſes, but by inward ideas which are preſented to the mind, and perceived by it; ſo it is alſo in divine revelations of this nature. Of which we have a clear example in Joſeph, the huſband of the bleſſed virgin, who, when he obſerved his wife with child, was told in a dream, that ſhe had conceived by the Holy Ghoſt. Now I would know, to which of Joſeph's outward ſenſes was this revealed? or what miracle had he to induce him to believe? which could neither be proved, (ſo as to make an infallible application to Mary) by the teſtimony of the ſcripture; and which, being againſt the order of nature, did choke his reaſon. The ſcripture mentions no miracle in this matter; and yet no doubt Joſeph had highly ſinned, had he not believed this revelation, and notwithſtanding rejected his wife as an adultereſs. But if thou ſayeſt, that according to thy hypotheſis there muſt have been a miracle; that is only to beg the queſtion: and how falſe this hypotheſis is, the apoſtle ſhews clearly, 1 Cor. ii. 14. *The natural or animal man knoweth not, receiveth not the things of God.* Now divine revelations are of this nature; if either chiefly or only thoſe things were to be judged by the outward ſenſes, it would contradict the apoſtle. For natural men, yea, the moſt wicked, have the uſe of the outward ſenſes as true and exact as the moſt godly. And whereas the apoſtle adds, *for they are ſpiritually diſcerned,*

Divine revelations by dreams.

The outward ſenſes cannot diſcern the things of God, for they are ſpiritual.

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diſcerned, puts the matter out of all queſtion: for thence it abundantly appears, that this diſcerning is not by the outward ſenſes, according to the following verſe; for the apoſtle ſaith, *the ſpiritual man judgeth all things:* this then muſt be done by ſome ſenſes or properties peculiar to the ſpiritual man, and in which he excels the natural man, which is not in the outward ſenſes, as all do know; therefore the perception of ſpiritual things cannot be by the outward ſenſes, either as the chief or only means, as is falſely contended for.

Whether faith comes by outward hearing.

Now as to theſe words of the apoſtle, Rom. x. that *faith comes by hearing;* Zuinglius obſerved well, that the apoſtle intended not to affirm faith to come by the hearing of the outward word: neither do the following words prove it, *How ſhall they believe unleſs they hear? And how ſhall they hear without a preacher? And how ſhall they preach unleſs they be ſent?* For the apoſtle uſes theſe words, not as his arguments, but as objections which might be formed; as the ſame apoſtle uſes in other places; to which objections he anſwers in the ſame chapter, as appears ver. 18. *But I ſay, have they not* all *heard? Yes, truly, their voice went into all the earth:* that is, of the Father and Son, or the Father in the Word; which Word is not only near us, but (according to the ſame apoſtle in the ſame chapter) *in* our *mouths, and in* our *hearts.* But further thou canſt conclude nothing from this, but that faith is begotten by outward hearing only, and no otherwiſe: for this is the ſtrength of thy argument, that ſince faith cannot be without outward hearing, therefore nothing can certainly be believed, but where ſomewhat is propoſed to the outward hearing. For if thou acknowledge faith can be begotten any otherwiſe than by hearing, thou loſeſt the ſtrength of thy argument: and if that argument hold, 'that faith comes only by outward hearing,' thou deſtroyeſt the whole hypotheſis; for having before affirmed, 'that 'outward miracles are ſufficient to render one certain of the truth of 'any revelation;' thoſe miracles, whether it be the healing of the ſick, or the raiſing of the dead, would avail nothing; becauſe thoſe (as for the moſt part all miracles) are obvious to the ſight, not to the hearing: and if it be not by outward hearing only, thou canſt conclude nothing from this place.

A certain perſon placing the certainty of every thing in the outward ſenſes.

But I the more wonder thy uſing of this argument, conſidering the diſcourſe we had together before we entered upon this debate: for when we were ſpeaking of the opinion of a certain perſon, who denied the certainty of every thing, but what was diſcerned by the outward ſenſes, thou condemnedſt it as moſt abſurd; but why I cannot conceive, ſince there is no great difference betwixt thoſe two opinions: the one ſaith, 'there can be no great certainty con-'cerning any truths, whether they be neceſſary, or contingent, 'but by the perception of the ſenſes;' the other affirms the ſame of contingent truths, though not of neceſſary truths. But among the number of contingent truths thou eſteemeſt what belongs to chriſtian religion; for thou reckons the neceſſary truths only to belong to natural religion. This then is all the difference, that that other perſon ſays, there is no certainty of any religion, neither natural nor chriſtian, but by the perception of the outward

ſenſes:

ſenſes: but thou ſayſt though thou eſteemeſt the certainty of natural religion to be without them, yet not of the chriſtian religion. But again, ſince thou eſteemeſt, that not natural religion, but the chriſtian religion is neceſſary to ſalvation, thou muſt neceſſarily conclude, that thoſe truths which are neceſſary to ſalvation, are only known and believed by the benefit of the outward ſenſes: in which concluſion (which is the ſum of all) thou yieldeſt the matter to that other perſon. 1676.

But laſtly: if all the certainty of our faith, hope, and ſalvation, did depend upon the infallibility of outward ſenſes, we ſhould be moſt miſerable; ſince theſe ſenſes can be eaſily deceived, and by many outward caſualties, and natural infirmities, whereunto the godly are no leſs ſubject than the wicked, are often vitiated; and there are (as the ſcripture affirms) falſe miracles, which, as to the outward, cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the true! Of which we cannot infallibly judge by the outward ſenſes, which only diſcern what is outward. Outward ſenſes can be deceived.

There is a neceſſity then to have recourſe to ſome other means.

From all which it does appear, how fallacious and weak this argument is: but thanks be unto God, who would not that our faith ſhould be built upon ſo uncertain and doubtful a foundation. And whoever hath known true faith, or hath felt the divine teſtimony of God's ſpirit in his ſoul, will judge otherwiſe, neither will be moved by ſuch reaſonings. I pray God therefore to remove theſe clouds, which darken thy underſtanding, that thou mayſt perceive the glorious goſpel of Chriſt! this is that ſaving word of grace, which I commend thee unto; and that God may give thee a heart inclinable to believe and obey the truth, is the deſire of,

From the priſon of Aberdeen in Scotland, where I am confined for the ſake of the teſtimony of Jeſus, November 24, 1676.

Thy faithful friend,

R. BARCLAY.

This letter a year ago, at the deſire of my friend R. B. *I delivered into the hands of the aforenamed ambaſſador, deſiring his anſwer in writing, which he then promiſed; but not having as yet done, it was ſeen meet to be publiſhed.*

Rotterdam, the 28th of March, 1678.

B. F.

A brief and diſtinct ſolution of the argument which the ambaſſador aforeſaid uſeth againſt Robert Barclay's Theſis, whereby he attempts to evince, that not the inward revelation of the Holy Spirit, but the outward by the ſcripture, is the principal rule and foundation of our faith, at leaſt to us Europeans, *who have the ſcriptures.*

AS to his argument, as it was tranſmitted to us, if he conſiders the ſtrength and ſubſtance of it, thus it ſtands: 'The 'hiſtory of the outward coming, nativity, death, reſurrection 'and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, is either neceſſary to their ſalva- 'tion, to whom the ſcriptures came, or it is not neceſſary, viz. 'to be known and believed: if we ſay the ſecond, namely, that

1676. 'that hiſtory is not neceſſary to be known and believed in order to 'the ſalvation of us Europeans who have the ſcriptures, then it 'will follow that we are not chriſtians, becauſe we deny that true, 'eſſential, and conſtitutive character of the chriſtian religion, 'which conſiſts in believing that Chriſt was ſent into the world, 'born of the virgin Mary, dead and buried, roſe again the third 'day, aſcended into heaven, where He ſitteth at the right-hand of 'the Father, &c. But if we ſay the firſt, viz. that the knowledge 'and faith of the hiſtory are neceſſary to our ſalvation, then it 'will follow, that the ſcripture, and not the inward revelation of 'the holy ſpirit, is the principal rule and foundation of that 'hiſtorical faith and knowledge.'

Now this he endeavours to prove, both from ſome other principles of the Quakers, ſo called, and from R. B's ſixth theſis, after this manner:

'That,' ſaid the ambaſſador, 'is the principal rule and foundation 'of our faith, which is the only medium or mean, whereby 'that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are brought unto us: but, 'according to the Quakers, and the ſixth theſis, the ſcripture is the 'only medium or mean, whereby that hiſtorical knowledge and 'faith are brought unto us: therefore, according to the Quakers, and 'the ſixth theſis, the ſcripture is the principal rule and foundation 'of our faith.'

The minor he proves thus: 'The author of the theſis (ſays he) 'confeſſeth in his ſixth theſis, that there is a people, to whom 'God, by ſome inevitable accident, hath made that hiſtorical 'knowledge and faith impoſſible: and the reaſon, why that hiſto-'rical knowledge and faith are impoſſible to that people, is, becauſe 'they are deſtitute of the ſcriptures, and live in thoſe corners of 'the world, whereunto the outward preaching of the hiſtory never 'came; from which argument it will follow, that the ſcriptures 'are the only medium or mean, whereby the hiſtorical know-'ledge and faith of Chriſt came to any people.'

For the clearer underſtanding the ſolution of this argument, ſome things worthy obſervation are to be conſidered:

1. Firſt then obſerve, that the force of this argument at moſt intends to prove this, viz. That the ſcripture is the principal rule and foundation of hiſtorical faith and knowledge; but we with good reaſon diſtinguiſh between hiſtorical and ſaving knowledge, and between hiſtorical and ſaving faith; becauſe many may have an hiſtorical knowledge and faith, who have not that which is ſaving. Yea, it is poſſible, that a man by the inward revelation of the holy ſpirit, may have an hiſtorical knowledge and faith, who yet may not have that faith which is ſaving; becauſe ſaving faith hath regard to God, not preciſely, as revealing ſome outward hiſtory concerning God and Chriſt, but as revealing very God and Chriſt by his grace, goodneſs, mercy, and power, ready and willing to ſave us, according to his unſpeakable good-will towards us; by which ſaving faith we reſt upon God through Chriſt, our light and life, as upon our moſt merciful Father; which faith can neither exiſt, nor be conceived without love to God, humility before God, denial and diffidence of ſelf; and

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therefore ſuch a faith is ſaving. But hiſtorical faith, though wrought in the hearts of men by the inward revelation and operation of the holy ſpirit, may be without that divine love, humility and ſelf-denial: wherefore, preciſely conſidered in its own nature, it is not ſaving. 'Twas this kind of knowledge and faith which wicked Balaam had, who ſaw and knew many hiſtorical futurities, and believed them, but had not ſaving faith.

2. Obſerve, ſecondly, that the knowledge and faith neceſſary to ſalvation, are to be underſtood two ways; either by a neceſſity antecedent, or in way of priority, or by a neceſſity conſequent, or in way of poſteriority. Neceſſity antecedent, or in way of priority, is, when ſomething is abſolutely neceſſary to our ſalvation, that we both know and believe it; and becauſe it is neceſſary, God doth therefore reveal it to us; of which ſort are ſuch principles as theſe, viz. that God follows men with his love and goodwill; that he invites and perſuades them to come unto him; that he is ready to ſhew favour to men, and pardon their ſins, if they ſincerely repent themſelves of their paſt miſpent life, and lead a new one for the time to come; that God hears the prayers of thoſe that are truly humble and ſuppliant; that he is a glorious rewarder of all that live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly; that he is a moſt juſt avenger againſt all thoſe who deſpiſe his grace and love, and repent not of their ſins, &c. All which, in ſome degree, are to all men, even to thoſe who are deſtitute of the ſcriptures, revealed by that inward evangelical light, which enlightens all men. Neceſſity conſequent, or in way of poſteriority, is, when ſomething is not abſolutely neceſſary to our ſalvation, but after a certain ſort, or under ſome reſpect, condition and limitation; of which kind are thoſe things which are not revealed, becauſe they are neceſſary; but becauſe they are revealed, they are neceſſary to be believed by us: for example; if God ſhould reveal to any man, that it was his will and command, he ſhould go to Rome to reprove tyranny and ſuperſtition; certainly this revelation were neceſſary to be believed to that man's ſalvation, by a neceſſity conſequent, becauſe that faith is an act of obedience; and to obey God is neceſſary to ſalvation.

3. Obſerve in the third place, that among thoſe things that are neceſſary to be believed to ſalvation by a neceſſity conſequent, there are ſome things, though not abſolutely neceſſary, yet are they very profitable, and conducive means to our ſalvation; of which ſort are the hiſtorical knowledge and faith concerning God, the creation and government of the world, Chriſt's taking fleſh, and dying therein for our ſins, &c. whether that hiſtorical knowledge come to us, either by the ſole inward revelation of the holy ſpirit, without the medium or mean of ſcripture, or alſo by both, to wit, both by the inward inſpiration of the holy ſpirit, and by the ſcriptures; which two mediums or means, do ſometimes concur in producing in men hiſtorical knowledge and faith concerning God and Chriſt, as is ſaid before, but in a different manner. The outward revelation, as 'tis called, of ſcripture, is a medium or mean, by way of material object, in producing that hiſtorical knowledge and faith: but the inward

inſpiration

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Theſe things conſidered, we affirm, that though the ſcriptures are ordinarily and commonly a certain medium or mean, by way of material object or condition, for the producing of hiſtorical knowledge and faith in us, and that, commonly ſpeaking, a neceſſary mean too, as being that without which God doth not ordinarily reveal the outward hiſtory of God and Chriſt; yet we utterly deny that in true chriſtians, the ſcripture, or outward hiſtory in the ſcriptures, is the principal motive, foundation, or principal rule of that hiſtorical faith, much leſs of ſaving faith, to the producing of which, the letter of the ſcripture doth very frequently (as to many of its acts, if not all) not concur or co-operate, either as a material object, or as a neceſſary condition, which is wont commonly to be called in the ſchools, 'Cauſa ſine quâ non,' or a cauſe or condition without which a thing cannot be done, though it doth not influence the effect.

Now for a direct ſolution of the argument aforeſaid, we anſwer, That the hiſtorical knowledge and faith concerning Chriſt's being born, dead, buried, &c. to us Europeans, who have the ſcriptures, are neceſſary to ſalvation, that is to ſay, by a neceſſity conſequent, or in way of poſteriority, as was before explained; which aſſertion of ours, nevertheleſs, militates not againſt the ſixth theſis, which granteth, that that hiſtorical knowledge and faith are impoſſible to thoſe who live in thoſe corners of the world, where the knowledge of the hiſtory is wanting; which impoſſibility is not abſolutely to be underſtood, but after a ſort, and in ſome reſpect; becauſe without doubt God doth ordinarily communicate that hiſtorical knowledge unto men, by the medium or mean of the ſcriptures; yet not as by the principal medium or mean, much leſs as by the only one: becauſe certainly that inward motion of the holy ſpirit wrought in our hearts, moving and inclining us objectively to aſſent unto, and believe the ſcriptures,

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is the principal motive in reſpect of the object, for which we believe the ſcriptures, and therefore is the foundation and principal rule of our hiſtorical faith alſo. 1676.

Wherefore we anſwer unto the minor propoſition of the laſt ſyllogiſm, by plainly and directly denying that minor propoſition, viz. 'That the ſcriptures are the only medium or mean for attaining to 'the knowledge of the hiſtory:' they are indeed one certain medium or mean, and that neceſſary; but they are not the only nor principal. An example for the illuſtration hereof, occurs in natural and outward viſion: for when I ſee a white or red roſe, that white or red roſe is the material object of my ſight, and one neceſſary medium for the producing of that ſight; yet that roſe is not the only medium or mean; for the light is another, no leſs neceſſary, concurring to produce my ſight, by way of formal object, by means of which I ſee that roſe repreſented under ſuch or ſuch a colour and figure. Moreover, in that he aſſerts, 'theſe inward motions 'wrought by the holy ſpirit in the hearts of believers, are ſo un-'diſcernable by us, that believers cannot clearly and infallibly 'diſtinguiſh them from their own private and proper motions:' this he ſuppoſes, but proves not. And therein he is deceived, either through his inexperience, or want of that due waiting, and attention to thoſe motions in the divine illumination of Chriſt, wherewith he hath enlightened both him [the ambaſſador] and all men coming into the world. But our experience, together with the experience of the holy prophets and apoſtles, is a ſtronger motive to induce us to believe, that divine inward revelation is ſufficiently clear and convincing by its own light and evidence, than his own bare and jejune ſuppoſition to the contrary, by reaſon of his want of experience or attention.

As to the Latin, we have not been very curious in this writing, by reaſon of haſte; yet have briefly anſwered the argument as a friend communicated it to us by letter; if he hath omitted any thing in his tranſmiſſion, or we may ſeem not to have underſtood, or touched the ſtrength of the argument, let it be remitted to us; and we, through divine aſſiſtance, ſhall anſwer it at large.

GEORGE KEITH, and
ROBERT BARCLAY.

This ſolution was delivered to the ſaid ambaſſador not long before the epiſtle cited, page 613, *and at page* 17 *in the appendix to Sewel's Dutch hiſtory.*

A brief enodation of an argument propoſed by another perſon:

MOREOVER as to what relates to another perſon's argument againſt that part of R. B's ſecond theſis, which aſſerts, 'That 'divine inward revelation is that which is evident and clear of it-'ſelf, moving the well-diſpoſed underſtanding by its own evidence,' &c. to the end of the theſis.

The argument is thus formed: 'Such an evidence as is aſſerted 'in the theſis, is deſtructive of faith, becauſe it is not the evi-'dence of faith.' He proves the antecedent by the words of the

1676. apoſtle, *faith is the evidence of things not ſeen*, Heb. xi. 1. By which words the apoſtle ſeems to intimate, 'That faith hath not 'this kind of evidence; for if it were of things ſeen, it would 'contradict the apoſtle.'

The ſolution of this argument is eaſy; for evidence is three-fold.

The firſt is the evidence of things ſenſible, appertaining to the outward ſenſes.

The ſecond is the evidence of things intellectual, but natural, appertaining to natural reaſon.

The third is the evidence of things ſpiritual and ſupernatural, as they are propoſed to the underſtanding, by the inward illumination and revelation of the holy ſpirit.

The firſt evidence may be called the evidence of ſenſe, or animal evidence.

The ſecond, the evidence of reaſon, or rational evidence.

The third, the evidence of faith, or ſpiritual evidence.

But faith is the evidence of things not ſeen, that is, neither viſible by the outward ſenſes, or by natural reaſon; yet theſe things hinder not, but that faith may be the evidence of things not ſeen by the underſtanding of a man, not as operating in its own natural way, but as divinely elevated and aſſiſted by the inward illumination and operation of the holy ſpirit. Wherefore, though things appertaining to faith may be very obſcure, and as it were mere darkneſs, both to the outward ſenſes, and natural reaſon; yet they have their evidence, if duly propoſed to an underſtanding divinely enlightened. Is it not ſaid in the ſame chapter to the Hebrews concerning Moſes, that by faith he ſaw God? That is to ſay, not by the outward eye, nor by the eye of natural reaſon; but by the eye of faith.

The curious may ſee the original Latin (from which the preceding are tranſlated) in the appendix to William Sewel's Dutch hiſtory of the Quakers.

THE TENTH BOOK.

1677. G. Fox viſits J. Reckleſs, formerly ſheriff of Nottingham, thence paſſes thro' Leiceſterſhire, &c. and with W. Dewſbury comes to the yearly-meeting at London.

THE year 1677 was ſcarce begun, when G. Fox, though the roads were yet covered with ſnow, travelled again. After he had paſſed many places, and preached in the meetings of his friends, he came to York, and going from thence to Nottingham, went to the houſe of John Reckleſs, who was ſheriff there when G. Fox preached the firſt time in that town; and was impriſoned on that account: but he taking G. Fox into his houſe, had been ſo reached by what he ſpoke, that he embraced the doctrine he held forth, and never departed from the profeſſion thereof. From hence G. Fox paſſed through Leiceſterſhire, Derbyſhire,

byſhire, Warwickſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Bedfordſhire, where he met with William Dewſbury, and ſo came again to London, where having aſſiſted at the annual meeting, 1677.

He, with William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, &c. went over to Holland, to ſee his friends there, and to edify them with his gift. William Penn and Robert Barclay travelled up into Germany; and ſince R. Barclay the year before had ſpoken with the princeſs Elizabeth of the Palatinate, daughter of Frederick king of Bohemia, and ſiſter of Sophia, late dutcheſs of Hanover, mother of George king of Great-Britain, W. Penn had alſo written two letters to her from England, which ſhe anſwered by this following:

Fox, Penn, Barclay, Keith, &c. go over to Holland.

Penn and Barclay travel into Germany.

Herford, May 2, 1677.

THIS, friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wiſhes for my obtaining thoſe virtues which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. What I have done for his true diſciples is not ſo much as a cup of cold water: it affords them no refreſhment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the dutcheſs of L. as I have expreſſed at the ſame time unto B. F. But ſince R. B. deſired I ſhould write it, I could not refuſe him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it ſhould expoſe me to the deriſion of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

Princeſs Elizabeth's letter to W. Penn.

Your affectionate friend
ELIZABETH.

G. Fox alſo from Amſterdam wrote a letter to this virtuous princeſs, wherein he commended her modeſt and retired life, and exhorted her to piety and godlineſs: to which ſhe anſwered with this letter:

DEAR FRIEND,

I CANNOT but have a tender love to thoſe that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friends viſit, have been both very welcome to me. I ſhall follow their and your counſel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining ſtill,

Her anſwer to G. Fox's letter from Amſterdam.

Herford, the 30*th of Auguſt*, 1677.

Your loving friend,
ELIZABETH.

This correſpondence gave occaſion to William Penn and Robert Barclay to paſs towards Herford, a town on the frontiers of Paderborn, and to give the ſaid princeſs, who reſided there, a viſit. With her lived Anna Maria, counteſs of Hornes; and in one of the chambers of the princeſs, William Penn and Robert Barclay had a meeting with the princeſs, the counteſs, and ſeveral others to their great ſatisfaction. And the counteſs, who was one of Labadie's adherents, ſignified to William Penn, that ſhe wiſhed a meeting

Penn and Barclay viſit the princeſs, and have meetings in her apartment with the counteſs of Hornes, a French gentlewoman, &c.

1677. meeting might be had where the inferior ſervants might freely appear. William Penn not refuſing this, the princeſs conſented to it; and, after the meeting, (where ſhe was not preſent, that ſo her ſervants might have a more free acceſs) ſhe expreſſed much ſatisfaction in having had that good opportunity. And then ſo earneſtly invited William Penn and Robert Barclay, (who lodged at an inn) to ſup with her, that they, not being well able to refuſe the invitation, yielded to it. There was then with her a French woman of quality, who, having had before a very ſlight opinion of the Quakers, now became deeply broken, and very affectionately kind and reſpectful to William Penn and Robert Barclay. The next day was the firſt of the week; and it being agreed with the princeſs to have another meeting, William Penn deſired that not only as many of her own family, but as many of the town as would willingly be there, might be admitted. To this ſhe yielded; and thus William Penn and Robert Barclay had a large opportunity to preach effectually, and to diſcharge themſelves. After the meeting was done, the princeſs came to William Penn, and taking him by the hand, ſhe ſpoke to him of the ſenſe ſhe had of the power and preſence of God that had been among them; and thus going on, ſhe broke forth into an extraordinary paſſion, crying out, 'I cannot ſpeak to you, my heart is full!' clapping her hand upon her breaſt. This affected William Penn not a little, yet he ſpoke a few words to her, by way of admonition; and then taking his leave of her, ſhe ſaid, 'Will you not come hither 'again? pray call here as ye return out of Germany.' To this he returned, 'We are in the hand of the Lord, and being at his plea-'ſure, cannot ſo fully diſpoſe of ourſelves.' Solemn leave then being taken, Robert Barclay returned to Amſterdam, and William Penn went to Paderborn, and ſo by the way of Caſſel (where he ſpoke with the aged and learned Dureus) to Francfort. Here he found ſeveral perſons of note, with whom he had ſeveral times a meeting, and once at the houſe of a young gentlewoman, noble of birth, called Johanna Eleonora Merlane, who ſaid to him, 'Our quarters are free for you; let all come that will come; and 'lift up your voices without fear.'

Take their ſolemn leave. Barclay returns to Amſterdam, while Penn goes to Francfort, &c. where he has a meeting at J. E. Merlane's, a virgin of noble birth.

Departing thence, William Penn came to Chriſheim, a village near Worms, where then lived ſome of his friends, who afterwards went to Pennſylvania, and ſettled themſelves there. Whilſt William Penn was in the Palatinate, he wrote an exhortatory epiſtle* to Elizabeth, princeſs Palatine, and Anna Maria, counteſs of Hornes; and then went to Heidelberg, the chief city of the Palatinate, to ſpeak with the prince elector, Charles Ludowick, brother to the ſaid princeſs Elizabeth; but the ſaid prince then happened to be out of town; and ſince his chief meſſage was to deſire the prince that the Quakers at Chriſheim might be treated more mildly; (for tithes were exacted from them, not only by the parſon of the village, but alſo by the popiſh prieſts of Worms; and the vaught, or mayor of the town, endeavoured to reſtrain their due liberty of religious meeting together) he from thence took occaſion to write a letter in their favour to the ſaid prince, † becauſe he

W. Penn comes to Chriſheim, writes to the princeſs Elizabeth and counteſs of Hornes, and to the elector Palatine.

* See Penn's travels in Holland, &c. 3d impreſſion, p. 77. † Ibid, p. 84.

he had not been able to ſpeak to him. Returning afterwards to Chriſheim, and preaching there in a meeting of his friends, he was overheard by the vaught, or chief officer, who ſtood at the back-door that he might not be ſeen, who was ſo well pleaſed with what he heard, that he afterwards told the parſon, 'that it was 'his work, if the Quakers were hereticks, to diſcover them to be 'ſuch; but for my part,' continued he, 'I heard nothing but 'what was good: and therefore I won't meddle with them.' For the parſon had buſied himſelf to perſuade the vaught that it was his duty to ſuppreſs hereſy; but the vaught made it appear that he had no mind to perſecute for religion's-ſake. W. Penn having now cleared his conſcience, returned by way of Francfort, Cologn, Cleves, &c. to Amſterdam, where at Cologn he received a letter from the princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to that he had written to her from the Palatinate; the ſaid letter was as followeth:

1677.

Then returns by Francfort, Cologn, Cleves, &c. to Amſterdam.

The $\frac{4}{14}$ *of September*, 1677.

DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE received your greetings, good wiſhes, and exhortations, with much joy, and ſhall follow the latter as far as it will pleaſe our great God to give me light and ſtrength. I can ſay little for myſelf, and can do nothing of myſelf; but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end, and that I ſhall not ſhrink for his fire; I do long for it: and when he aſſures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the croſs I meet therein. I am alſo glad to hear the journey hath been proſperous, both in the conſtitutions of your bodies, to withſtand the badneſs of the weather, and in the reception you had in Caſſel, Francfort, and Chriſheim. Nothing ſurpriſed me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect ſo much ingenuity, having lately wrote a book, entitled, 'Le veritable Chretien,' that doth ſpeak in another way. I wiſh to know what reception you have had at Frederickſburg, and if this find you at Cleves, I wiſh you might take an occaſion to ſee the two paſtors of Mulheim, which do really ſeek the Lord, but have ſome prejudice againſt your doctrine, as alſo the counteſs there. It would be of much uſe for my family to have them diſabuſed; yet God's will be done in that, and all things elſe concerning

The princeſs's letter to W. Penn.

Your loving friend in the Lord Jeſus,

ELIZABETH.

Whilſt William Penn made this journey into Germany, George Fox was gone to Hamburgh and Frederickſtadt, to viſit his friends there; and Penn being returned to Amſterdam, went from thence to Frieſland, and met G. Fox as he was coming back to Holland, at Leewarden, from whence he made a ſtep to Wiewart, where a ſociety of the Labadites dwelt. Here he ſpoke with the famous Anna Maria Schurman, the gentlewomen Somerdykes, the French paſtor Peter Yvon, and others. After ſome diſcourſe from both ſides, when Yvon had given a relation concerning John de Labadie, how he was bred among the Jeſuits, and deſerted them, and embraced the proteſtant religion, and how becoming diſſatisfied with

G. Fox gone to Hamburgh and Frederickſtadt. At Leewarden meets W. Penn, who goes thence to Wiewart, where he has diſcourſe with the famous A. M. Schurman;

1677. the formal proteſtants, he, with ſome that adhered to him, had ſeparated themſelves from the vulgar aſſemblies; Anna Maria Schurman began to ſpeak, and gave an account of her former life; 'of her pleaſure in learning, and her love to the religion ſhe was 'brought up in, but confeſſed ſhe knew not God or Chriſt truly 'all that while. And though from a child, God had viſited her at 'times, yet ſhe never felt ſuch a powerful ſtroke, as by the mi-'niſtry of John de Labadie; and then ſhe ſaw her learning to be 'vanity, and her religion like a body of death; and there-'fore reſolved to deſpiſe the ſhame, deſert her former way of living 'and acquaintance, and to join herſelf with this little family, that 'was retired out of the world.' This, and much more, ſhe ſpoke in a ſenſible frame, and with a ſerious mind, not without ſome trembling. And then one of the Somerdykes gave alſo an ample relation, concerning her inward ſtate, and how ſhe had been reached by the preaching of Labadie; and how before that time ſhe had mourned becauſe of the deadneſs and formality of the vulgar chriſtians, and ſaid within herſelf; 'O the pride, the luſts, the 'vain pleaſures in which chriſtians live! can this be the way to hea-'ven? is this the way to glory? are theſe followers of Chriſt? O no! 'O God, where is thy little flock! where is thy little family, that will live 'intirely to thee, that will follow thee? make me one of that number.' Then ſhe told, 'how, being pricked to the heart when ſhe heard 'Labadie preach, ſhe had reſolved to abandon the glory and pride 'of this world;' and further ſaid, 'that ſhe counted herſelf happy 'to have joined with this ſeparated family.' After ſome others had likewiſe given an account of their change, William Penn alſo gave a circumſtantial relation, 'how he had been gradually drawn 'off from the vanity and pride of life; what adverſities he had met 'with in the univerſity at Oxford, becauſe of his not joining with 'the debauchery committed there; and how, after having lived 'ſome time in France, he had been convinced by the effectual mi-'niſtry of Thomas Loe, and ſo came to be joined with the deſpiſed 'Quakers.' This his relation he concluded with a ſerious admonition how they ought to go on, and to grow in the true fear of God. At parting, one of the paſtors aſked him, 'if the truth roſe 'not firſt amongſt a poor, illiterate, and ſimple ſort of people?' 'Yes,' anſwered William Penn; 'and it is our comfort that we 'owe it not to the learning of this world.' To which the paſtor returned, 'Then let not the learning of this world be uſed to de-'fend that which the ſpirit of God hath brought forth; for ſcho-'lars now coming among you, will be apt to mix ſchool learning 'amongſt your ſimpler and purer language, and thereby obſcure 'the brightneſs of your teſtimony.' W. Penn having anſwered to the purpoſe, took his leave, and travelled by way of Groeninghen to Embden, where the Quakers at that time were perſecuted ſeverely with impriſonments and baniſhments: but I wave the relation thereof, becauſe it hath long ago been publiſhed in print, and the magiſtrates there, being afterwards moved to pity by the perſecution the proteſtants ſuffered in France, came to a better reſolution, as may be mentioned in the ſequel.

the Somerdykes, P. Yvon, &c. See this diſcourſe much more at large in W. P's travels.

A paſtor's caution to W. P. concerning the firſt riſe of truth.

W. P. travels to Embden, where he diſcourſes with burgomaſter Andrews, about the perſecution of the Quakers.

Whilſt

When W. Penn came to Embden, he went to ſpeak with the burgomaſter Andrews at his houſe, and aſked him, 'if he and the 'ſenate had not received a letter in Latin * from an Engliſhman 'about two years ſince, concerning their ſeverity towards the peo- 'ple called Quakers?' The burgomaſter ſaid, 'he had.' W. Penn then 1677.

* Which being tranſlated into Engliſh, runs thus, and deſerves the ſerious conſideration of all magiſtrates.

To the COUNCIL *and* SENATE *of the city of* EMBDEN:

The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is God of all the families of the earth, incline your hearts to juſtice, mercy and truth.

THE noiſe of your ſevere treatment of ſeveral perſons that are inhabitants of your ſtate, reproachfully termed QUAKERS, hath reached theſe parts, and filled ſeveral with compaſſion and ſurpriſe: compaſſion to hear of the miſeries § of men innocent and upright, againſt whom you have nothing to object, but the pure exerciſe of their conſcience to God: ſurpriſe, that you, a proteſtant ſtate, ſhould employ your civil power to deter, puniſh and grievouſly afflict men for anſwering the convictions of their conſciences, and acting according to the beſt of their underſtandings. Methinks you ſhould not be oblivious of your own condition in the loins of your anceſtors, who, you think, with great reaſon and juſtice ſtrenuouſly advocated the cauſe of liberty of conſcience againſt the popes bulls and the Spaniſh inquiſition; how did they antichriſtian all force on conſcience or puniſhment for non-conformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the Diets of Norimburg and Spira, are pregnant proofs in the caſe; and your practice doth not leſſen the weight of their reaſons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindneſs, let me ſay, injuſtice.

§ Our account ſays, ſome were cruelly beaten by order; others baniſhed; ſome put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; ſeveral fined greater ſums of money it is thought than they had to pay;

Proteſtants (and ſuch you glory to be thought) got their name by proteſting againſt impoſition; and will you turn impoſers? They condemned it; and will you practiſe it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the beaſt; and can you repute it the care of a chriſtian magiſtracy? I mean, that perſons muſt not live under your government, unleſs they receive your mark in their forehead or right-hand; which in plainer terms is, to ſubmit their conſciences to your edicts, and to aſk your leave, what religion they ſhould be of. Remember, that *Faith is the gift of God;* and, that *What is not of faith is ſin.* Nothing can be more unreaſonable, than to compel men to believe againſt their belief, or to trouble them for practiſing what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtleſs take yourſelves to be chriſtians, and would eſteem it no little injury to be otherwiſe repreſented; yet what more unchriſtian, than to uſe external force, to ſway the conſciences of men about the exerciſe of religious worſhip.

Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord and author of the chriſtian religion, cenſured his own diſciples, that would have had fire from heaven to deſtroy thoſe that conformed not to what their bleſſed maſter taught; are you ſurer of your religion? are you better chriſtians? or, have you more chriſtian authority, than they that were the choſen witneſſes of Jeſus? However remember, they called but for fire from heaven; and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them?—them, I ſay, that are of your own people, merely for their religious diſſent from you? Doubtleſs, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiſer than Solomon, it reflects greatly upon your modeſty and prudence, that you ſhould find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones to effect ſo ill a deſign. Beſides, you do not ſay, you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing further to be revealed; have a care, therefore, that you perſecute not angels, by being harſh to that which you call ſtrange: think not ill, much leſs ſpeak, and leaſt of all act that which is ſo againſt what you do not perfectly underſtand. I am well perſuaded, that thoſe you inflicted ſuch ſevere penalties upon, mean well in what they believe, (to be ſure much better than you think they do, or elſe you are extremely to blame) and that the reaſon of their preſent diſtance from you is, not to introduce or inſinuate dangerous or exotick opinions, but to live a life of more holineſs, purity, and ſelf-denial, than before: they do not think that you walk up to your own principles; and have reaſon to believe that the power of godlineſs is much loſt among you; and having long lain under a decay and languiſhing of ſoul for want of true ſpiritual nouriſhment, they have now betaken themſelves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themſelves for divine ſatisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things neceſſary for them to know; as the bleſſed apoſtle ſpeaks: and they find the joys of the Holy Ghoſt in ſo doing. And I am perſuaded, they are not leſs peaceable, ſober, juſt and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as conſiſtent with the proſperity of civil ſociety; and I am ſure, it is both found and confeſt among us here by ſome men of quality, learning and virtue. Further, be pleaſed to conſider with yourſelves, that you juſtify the ancient perſecutions of the chriſtians and firſt reformers, whoſe ſuperiors thought as ill of them, as you do of theſe men; nay, you ſhow the Papiſts what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by; if you would have liberty, give it: you know that God's witneſs in your hearts dictates this to you as an immutable law.

Could

1677. then replied, 'I am that man, and am conſtrained in conſcience 'to viſit thee on their behalf,' &c. The burgomaſter deported himſelf with more kindneſs than was expected, and gave ſome faint hope of alteration; but it appeared ſufficiently that the ſenate

Could you give faith, it were more excuſable for you to puniſh ſuch as ſhould reſiſt; but ſince that is impoſſible, the other is unreaſonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they can't be, unleſs they turn hypocrites: that is the higheſt pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preſerve one ſoul to God: inſtead thereof it offers violence unto conſcience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reaſon, or being deſtroyed for acting according to them: but what greater diſproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and priſons, fines, and baniſhments? They inform no man's judgment, reſolve no doubts, convince no underſtanding: the power of perſuaſion is not to be found in any ſuch barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of chriſtianity. This courſe deſtroys the bodies and * eſtates of men, inſtead of ſaving their ſouls: were they in the wrong, it would become you to uſe God's weapons, his ſword of the ſpirit, that ſaveth the creature, and ſlayeth the evil in him; this courſe tends to heart-burnings and deſtruction; I am ſure it is no goſpel-argument.

* And property, which they repute themſelves guardians of, is hereby loſt.

I beſeech you for the ſake of that Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſuffered ſo patiently for his own religion, and ſo ſharply prohibitted making other men to ſuffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exerciſe power over mens conſciences. My friends, conſcience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: 'tis to uſurp his authority, and boldly aſcend his throne, to ſet lords over it. Were their converſation ſcandalous, and deſtructive to the good of your ſtate, you were to be held excuſable: but verily, no man of mercy and conſcience, can defend your practice upon poor men ſo peaceable and inoffenſive. Gamaliel will riſe up in judgment againſt you, if you perſevere in this courſe. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of perſecutors? In much love I entreat you, but as becomes chriſtian men and true proteſtants, leave men to their particular perſuaſions of affairs relative to the other world, which have no ill aſpect on the affairs of this; but vice hath an evil conſequence as to both: therefore puniſh vice, and affect truth and righteouſneſs; and bend not your civil power to torment religious diſſenters, but to retrieve good life, lamentably loſt amidſt the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtleſs magiſtracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be a terror to evil-doers, and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for aſſuming infallibility to herſelf, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the ſame preſumption or worſe: for either you do exerciſe that ſeverity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourſelves, your principles deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you puniſh people for not conforming to what you yourſelves deny any certainty about: and how do you know but you compel them to that which is falſe, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not eaſily avoided, as well as that this inhuman practice will ſtrain your profeſſion, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your poſterity.

Remember that they are men as well as yourſelves, born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourſelves: the different perſuaſion of their conſciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the ſame right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the leaſt forfeited any of thoſe human advantages, the great charters of nature and ſcripture have conferred upon them: and the opulency of your neighbours, and proſperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconſiſtent with policy; howbeit, you have now tried the ſincerity of their procedure by what you have already inflicted, and they ſuſtained: let the time paſt ſuffice, and make them not ſacrifices for their conſcientious conſtancy. If they are in the wrong, 'tis more than they know: will you perſecute men for being what they muſt be, if they will be true to themſelves? this were great violence; rather commiſerate, than thus violently compel them. I beſeech you, ſeek ſome cheaper way to accommodate yourſelves, than by their deſtruction, who are ſo very remote from ſeeking yours. Oh! the day will come, wherein one act of tenderneſs about matters of conſcience, ſhall find a better reward, than all the ſeverity by which men uſe to propagate their perſuaſions in the world; and there is great reaſon for it, ſince the one flows from the Saviour, the other, from the Deſtroyer of men. In fine, Let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand, whoſe reward is with him; and he will recompence every man, family, ſtate, kingdom and empire, according to the nature of their works, committed in this mortal body; at whoſe bar it ſhall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and being unmerciful to tender conſciences, you admitted men of different judgments to dwell quietly among you; truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; his ſun ſhineth on all; his rain falls on all; he gives life and being to all; his grace viſits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh: and though ſuch you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make ſuch broad tokens of your diſpleaſure. Oh! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you ſo lately eſcaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already thus

ſharply

ſenate was not as yet ſo diſpoſed, for perſecution continued there yet a long while. 1677.

After W. Penn had ſtaid ſome time at Embden, he took a turn again to Herford, where he was received very kindly by the princeſs Elizabeth, and the counteſs of Hornes; and more than once he had a meeting in her chamber; and the princeſs was ſo reached and affected by his ſpeaking, that ſhe ſaid, 'I am fully con-'vinced; but oh, my ſins are great!' This gave occaſion to W. Penn to ſpeak to the princeſs and the counteſs apart, with reſpect to their particular conditions; which made a deep impreſſion on their minds, eſpecially the counteſs's. Being much preſſed by the princeſs to ſtay and ſup with her, he yielded; and the counteſs, from a ſerious ſenſe of her compliance with the world, told him, 'Il faut que je rompe, il faut que je rompe, i. e. I muſt break 'off, I muſt break off.' And at another time with a weighty countenance ſhe cried out, 'O the cumber and entanglements of 'this vain world! they hinder all good.' Once the princeſs ſaid to them, 'It is a hard matter to be faithful to what one knows. I 'fear that I am not weighty enough in my ſpirit.' At another time ſhe told him; 'Among my books I have records that the 'goſpel was by the Engliſh firſt brought from England into Ger-'many; and now it is come again.' Thus this excellent princeſs ſignified how highly ſhe valued the preaching of the goſpel to her by W. Penn, and how much ſhe eſteemed his labour and miniſtry. When he took his leave of theſe eminent perſons, having taken the princeſs by the hand, which ſhe received with a weighty kindneſs, being much broken in ſpirit, he wiſhed 'the bleſſing and peace of 'Jeſus with and upon her:' and then exhorting the counteſs, ſhe frequently beſeeched him, 'to remember her, and implore the 'Lord on her behalf.'

W. Penn goes again to Herford, viſits the princeſs, counteſs, &c. and takes a ſolemn leave again.

Next taking waggon for Weſel, from thence he travelled to Duiſburg, Duſſeldorp, and Cologn, and then back again to Duſſeldorp, to ſee if he could get an opportunity at Mulheim to ſpeak with the counteſs of Falkenſtein, who was reported to be a very religious perſon, and therefore in his former journey he had endeavoured to viſit her, but in vain; for the count of Bruch, and Falkenſtein her father, kept her as it were under a confinement, becauſe ſhe was of a religious temper; and therefore he called her a Quaker, though ſhe did not at all converſe with any of the Quakers. He had alſo uſed W. Penn very roughly; when being neceſſitated to paſs by his caſtle, he being lord of that country, aſked him and his friends, 'from whence they were, and whither they went?' To which they anſwered, 'that they were Engliſhmen, come from Holland, 'and going no further in thoſe parts than his town Mulheim:'

Then travels to Weſel, &c. intending to viſit the counteſs of Falkenſtein at Mulheim, but doth not ſee her, and is roughly treated by her father.

ſharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodneſs to you prevail with you, to expreſs clemency to others, that ſo the great God of the whole earth, even the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who reſpects not the perſons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment, may ſhow you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

London, December 14, 1674.

Your friend with the greateſt integrity in the univerſal principle of love and truth,

WILLIAM PENN.

1677. but they not pulling off their hats, the count called them Quakers, and ſaid, 'We have no need of Quakers here. Get you out 'of my dominions, you ſhall not go to my town.' And he commanded ſome of his ſoldiers to ſee them out of his territory. Thus W. Penn, and thoſe with him, were neceſſitated to lie that night in the open air. But the next day he wrote a letter * to the ſaid count, and therein told him, 'For thy ſaying, "We want no "Quakers here," I ſay, under favour, you do; for a true Qua-'ker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh 'out his ſalvation with fear and trembling.'

* Penn's travels, 3d impreſſion, p. 115.

He then goes to Duiſburgh, &c. and ſo by Utrecht to Amſterdam, whither G. F. was alſo come again.

W. Penn being come to Mulheim, could now no more find opportunity to ſpeak with the counteſs, than the firſt time he was in thoſe parts; and therefore he went to Duiſburgh, Weſel, and Cleves, where having had conferences with ſome religious people, he returned by way of Utrecht to Amſterdam, where G. Fox was alſo come back again.

W. Penn and G. F. have a diſpute with Dr. G. Abraham, chief of the Socinian Menneſts in thoſe parts.

Here W. Penn and G. Fox had a conference and diſpute with Dr. Galenus Abraham, an eminent Baptiſt teacher, and ſome of that perſuaſion. Galenus aſſerted, 'that no body now-a-days 'could be accepted as a meſſenger of God, unleſs he confirmed his 'doctrine by miracles.' W. Penn wanted no arguments to contradict this, ſince the chriſtian religion had been once already confirmed by miracles, and that therefore this now was needleſs among chriſtians. G. Fox now and then ſpoke alſo ſomething to the matter; but he being ſomewhat ſhort breathed, went ſeveral times away, which ſome were ready to impute to a paſſionate temper; but I well know that therein they wronged him. This diſpute was indeed a troubleſome buſineſs; for the parties on both ſides were fain to ſpeak by an interpreter, which generally was performed ſo imperfectly, that at laſt the conference was broke off, without coming to a deciſion, although many weighty arguments were objected againſt the poſition. Certainly it cannot be denied, that John the Baptiſt was ſent of God to preach repentance, and yet in ſacred writ it is ſaid poſitively, *John did no miracle; and yet many believed in him.* And although there were ſome among the prophets that wrought miracles, yet we don't find in the holy ſcriptures that Jonah, who was indeed a notable preacher of repentance, did any miracle, and nevertheleſs the Ninevites believed him, and deprecated thoſe judgments he denounced, unleſs they repented. Of ſeveral other true prophets, we find not the leaſt mention of any miracles they did; but, on the contrary, the ſcriptures ſignify, that poſſibly falſe prophets might ariſe, and give ſigns or wonders; and that the doing of miracles could not always be a proof, or ſure evidence that any one was ſent of God, appears plainly from what our Saviour himſelf ſaid, viz. that among thoſe to whom he ſhould one day ſay, *Depart from me*, would be ſuch that ſhould ſay, *Have we not in thy name caſt out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works?* And what ſhall we think of the ſorcerers of Egypt? did not they ſeem to do the ſame wonders as Moſes and Aaron did? and yet thoſe wonders wherewithal they deceived Pharaoh and his men, were in nowiſe wrought by a divine power. Now ſince it appears plainly from the holy ſcriptures,

The author's obſervations on the ſubject of the diſpute.

God's meſſengers not tied to confirm their miſſion by miracles.

Deut. xiii. 1, 2.

Mat. vii. 22.

tures, and Chriſt himſelf ſaid, *There ſhall ariſe falſe prophets, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders*, we might with good reaſon ſuſpect the doctrine of one, who now-a-days wrought miracles, on purpoſe to make what he denounced paſs for truth. 1677. Mat. xxiv. 24.

This being duly conſidered, it ſeems to be very abſurd, to require miracles again for confirmation of the ſame goſpel which once hath been confirmed by miracles, and to deſire that the truth of what once hath been declared by the apoſtles, and ſtrengthened by wonderful works, ſhould be ſealed a new birth with outward wonders. But it would indeed have been another caſe, if a new goſpel was preached, and that any pretended to give forth new holy ſcriptures; for then it might be ſaid with ſome reaſon, that it was neceſſary that this new goſpel ſhould be made credible, and confirmed by viſible miracles. But where no other goſpel is preached, than what hath been once delivered to the chriſtians by the firſt promulgators of the chriſtian religion, and where this is not done amongſt heathens, but amongſt chriſtians, or at leaſt ſuch as bear the name, there it cannot in juſtice be required to confirm this doctrine once more with miracles, the rather becauſe, as hath been ſhewed already, the doing of miracles may not always paſs for an irrefragable proof of one's being really pious and godly. To this may be added, that the miracles which Chriſt and his apoſtles wrought, to give credit to the appearing of the Son of God in the fleſh, may be conſidered as types and figures of thoſe ſpiritual wonders which ſhould be wrought in the ſouls of people, when Chriſt was to be ſeen the ſecond time, and to appear by his ſpirit, to the ſalvation of thoſe who wait for him; for the eyes of the mind being blinded, muſt be opened and enlightened by him; and many that are dead in ſin and treſpaſſes, ſhall by him be raiſed and made alive. This I think may ſuffice to ſhew, that the poſition of Dr. Galenus could not ſtand the teſt: but whatever was objected, he continued to maintain his opinion.

Not long after this diſpute, G. Fox and W. Penn returned to England, where, having ſuſtained a violent tempeſt at ſea, they arrived ſafely at Harwich. Paſſing from thence to London, W. Penn there received the following letter from the princeſs Elizabeth, in anſwer to his: G. F. and W. P. after a violent ſtorm, arrive ſafe at Harwich, and ſo come to London.

Herford, Oct. 29, 1677.

DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counſel to follow it as much as lies in me, but God's grace muſt be aſſiſtant, as you ſay yourſelf; he accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires moſt, I mean to do all in and by his Son, I ſhall be in no better condition than at this preſent. Let me feel him firſt governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myſelf. Remember my love to G. F. B. F. G. K. and dear Gertrude.* Princeſs Elizabeth to W. Penn.

If

* This was Gertrude Dericks, who had viſited the princeſs, and afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Criſp.

1677. If you write no worſe than your poſtſcript, I can make a ſhift to read it. Do not think I go from what I ſpoke to you the laſt evening; I only ſtay to do it in a way that is anſwerable before God and man: I can ſay no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

Your true friend,

ELIZABETH.

P. S. I almoſt forgot to tell you, that my ſiſter writes me word, ſhe had been glad you had taken your journey by Oſenburg, to return to Amſterdam. There is alſo a Droſſard of Limbourg, near this place, to whom I gave an exemplar of R. B's apology, very deſirous to ſpeak with ſome of the friends.

Yet another letter W. Penn received from the ſaid princeſs, in anſwer to one he wrote from the Briel, at his paſſage towards England, which was as followeth:

To the princeſs ELIZABETH, *ſalvation in the croſs. Amen.*

DEAR AND TRULY RESPECTED FRIEND,

W. Penn to the princeſs. MY ſoul moſt earneſtly deſireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which ſtandeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as 'tis done in heaven. O dear princeſs, do it! Say the word once in truth and righteouſneſs, *Not my will, but thine be done, O* GOD! Thy days are few, and then thou mayſt go to judgment. Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement haſt thou made? let it prove and ſhew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all, that love it, to God. O that thou mayſt be able to give an account with joy!

She died about four years after.

I could not leave this country, and not teſtify the reſentments I bear in my mind, of that humble and tender entertainment thou gaveſt us at thy court: the Lord Jeſus reward thee; and, ſurely, he hath a bleſſing in ſtore for thee. Go on, be ſteadfaſt, overcome, and thou ſhalt inherit. Do not deſpond; one that is mighty is near thee; a preſent help in the needful time of trouble. O let the deſire of thy ſoul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him. *O wait upon the Lord, and thou ſhalt renew thy ſtrength! The youth ſhall faint, and the young men ſhall fail, but they that truſt in the Lord ſhall never be confounded.*

I wiſh thee all true and ſolid felicity, with my whole ſoul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayſt not loſe, but keep in that divine ſenſe, which, by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princeſs, my ſincere and chriſtian ſalutation: Grace, mercy, and peace, be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jeſus.

Thy buſineſs I ſhall follow with all the diligence and diſcretion I can, and by the firſt give thee an account, after it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to bring me ſafe to London. All my brethren are well, and preſent thee with their dear love, and the reſt with thee that love Jeſus, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou haſt taught me to forget thou art a princeſs, and therefore I uſe this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifeſt; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleaſeſt, the ſalutation of my dear love to

A. M. de Hornes,

A. M. de Hornes, with the incloſed. Dear princeſs, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her, which (conſidering thy circumſtances) may not yet be required of thee. Let her ſtand free, and her freedom will make the paſſage eaſier unto thee. Accept what I ſay, I entreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and reſpect, in which I write ſo plainly to thee. Farewel, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can ſay, 1677.

Thy great lover, and reſpectful friend,

W. PENN.

I refer thee to the incloſed for paſſages. We viſited Gichtel and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings at Amſterdam. Vale in æternum.

To this letter the princeſs returned the following anſwer:

DEAR FRIEND, *This 17th Nov. 1677.*

I HAVE received a letter from you, that ſeemeth to have been written at your paſſage into England, which I wiſh may be proſperous, without date, but not without virtue to ſpur me on to do and ſuffer the will of our God. I can ſay in ſincerity and truth, *Thy will be done*, O God, becauſe I wiſh it heartily; but I cannot ſpeak in righteouſneſs until I poſſeſs that righteouſneſs which is acceptable unto him. My houſe and my heart ſhall be always open to thoſe that love him. Gichtel has been well ſatisfied with the conferences between you. As for my buſineſs, it will go as the Lord pleaſeth, and I remain in him, The princeſs's anſwer.

Your affectionate friend,

ELIZABETH.

G. Fox now being come to London, received there letters from New-England, with an account of the cruel proceedings of the magiſtrates againſt his friends there; for perſecution being hot in Old England, it made thoſe in New-England the worſe; inſomuch, that they did not only whip the Quakers that were there, but alſo ſome maſters of ſhips that were no Quakers, only for bringing ſome of that perſuaſion thither. But about that time the Indians made an inroad upon the Engliſh, and ſlew three-ſcore of their men; and having taken one of their captains, they flead off the ſkin of his head, while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph. Perſecution being hot here, makes it worſe in New-England. The Indians make an inroad, and kill many.

Now ſince the people called Quakers, were alſo much perſecuted in Scotland, they drew up an account of their ſufferings, and delivered it to the king in the beginning of this year; but whether they got any eaſe thereby, I cannot tell. Quakers perſecuted in Scotland.

In the latter part of this year G. Fox travelled through many places of England; in the mean-while I'll again make ſome mention of the perſecution there. At Plymouth about this time, thoſe called Quakers, were generally kept out of their meeting-houſe, and then performing their worſhip in the open ſtreet, as a duty they owed to God, and for the omiſſion of which they judged no

1677. man could be diſpenſed with, they ſuffered exceedingly, not only in winter, by the ſharpneſs of the weather, but alſo in ſummer; for it was more than twelve months that they thus kept their meetings in the open ſtreet, being grievouſly abuſed by the rabble and the ſoldiers; for beating and punching ſeemed not ſufficient; fiery ſquibs and burning coals were thrown among them, and filthy excrements caſt down upon them out of a window; beſides, fines were extorted for their having been at the meeting, on the account of one Richard Samble, who was fined as preacher, for having been on his knees at prayer, which fine was laid upon four of them that were at the ſaid meeting.

Abuſive behaviour of the rabble and ſoldiers at Plymouth.

R. Samble fined.

At Franchay, in Glouceſterſhire, the juſtice, John Meredith, behaved himſelf exceedingly furious in diſturbing the Quakers meetings; for he himſelf did not only beat them, but more than once drew his knife to mark them, as he called it, had he not been reſtrained by his ſervants, who, for all that, could not prevent his taking ſome by the hair of their head, and pulling them away: nay, the havock and ſpoil which was made, was ſo extravagant, that from one Thomas Holbrow, an ancient blind man, they took his bed from under him, ſo that he and his wife lay about a quarter of a year on ſtraw; and when his friends provided him with ſome clothing againſt winter, part of that was alſo taken from him; for ſuch plundering now went on with a full career; and the baſeſt men were authorized to deprive others of their goods, if there was but a juſtice that favoured ſuch.

Violent behaviour of juſt. Meredith in Glouceſterſh.

Sufferings of T. Holbrow, an ancient blind man.

At Bayton in Suffolk, Edmund Bally was by warrant from juſtice Burwel, deſpoiled of what he had, both within doors and without, his goods having been diſtrained five times; and though he was fain to lie on ſtraw, yet he was not left unmoleſted, for they came in the night, armed with piſtols, and broke open his door, threatening to deſtroy him. It happened there alſo, that a poor blind widow, on her ſick bed, was viſited by ſome perſons, and this was made a conventicle, and they were fined, and warrants iſſued out by the aforeſaid juſtice to make diſtreſs on their goods. In many other places things went no better; but I may not detain my reader with every particular.

All taken from E. Bally of Bayton, by warrant from juſtice Burwel, who alſo fined a viſit to the ſick as a conventicle.

The death of W. Dobſon, almoſt always a priſoner.

This year died in priſon William Dobſon, of Brightwell, in Berkſhire, having been ſpoiled of his goods from time to time, during the ſpace of thirteen years, and almoſt always in priſon too, till his hard ſufferings ended with his life.

Prince of Orange marries Mary, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York.

It was alſo in this year that William III. prince of Orange, came from Holland into England, and there entered into matrimony with the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York, which in proceſs of time made way for him to the throne of Great-Britain. He accompliſhed his marriage there on the 4th of November, being his birth-day; and not long after returned to Holland with his ſpouſe.

1678. G. F. and G. W. preſent to the parliament an account of

1678. About the beginning of the year 1678, G. Fox came to London, and the parliament ſitting at that time, he and G. Whitehead preſented to them an account of the grievous ſufferings of their friends, by laws made againſt the Papiſts; and they were not without hopes of obtaining ſome eaſe, becauſe ſeveral of the members of

that

that auguſt aſſembly ſeemed to favour them: but the parliament was ſuddenly prorogued, whereby a ſtop was put to their endeavours. 1678.

friends ſufferings by laws againſt Papiſts.

G. Fox then travelling through many places, came home to Swarthmore in the latter part of the year; and ſince many of his friends at this time were under great perſecution, and in priſon, he wrote the following epiſtle to them:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

G. F's epiſtle to comfort his ſuffering friends.

WHO are ſufferers for the Lord Jeſus ſake, and for the teſtimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you, and ſupport you in all your trials and ſufferings, and give you patience, and content in his will, that ye may ſtand valiant for Chriſt and his truth upon the earth, over the perſecuting and deſtroying ſpirit, which makes to ſuffer, in Chriſt, who bruiſes his head, in whom ye hath both election and ſalvation. And for God's elect ſake, the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world; as may be ſeen throughout the ſcriptures of truth; and they that touch them, touch the apple of God's eye, they are ſo tender to him. And therefore it is good for all God's ſuffering children to truſt in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they ſhall be as Mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Chriſt their rock and ſalvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and the apoſtles, and of God's people now, and to the end; glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends; and do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exerciſe that gift; and the Lord ſtrengthen you in your ſufferings, in his holy ſpirit of faith. Amen.

Swarthmore, the 5th of the 12th month, 1678. GEORGE FOX.

Perſecution was now very hot in many places. At Bawnaſſe, in Weſtmoreland, it happened that thoſe of the ſociety called Quakers, being religiouſly met together, were much abuſed by the rude people; and beſides other inſolencies that were committed, a dog being thrown among them, one John Thompſon ſaid to this wicked crew, 'that they ought to behave themſelves civil and 'moderate;' and for ſaying ſo, he was informed againſt as a preacher, and on that account fined twenty pounds. Mary Tod, a poor ancient widow in Yorkſhire, having had a meeting at her houſe, was alſo fined twenty pounds by juſtice Francis Driffield; and when the informers told him that her goods were not worth ſo much, he ordered them to take all that they could find: this they did, and did not leave her a bed to lie on; nay, took away all her clothes.

J. Thompſon of Weſtmoreland fined for ſpeaking to the rude rabble.

Cruelty of juſtice Driffield to Mary Tod of Yorkſhire.

This year the ambaſſadors of the king of France, and thoſe of the united Netherlands, with thoſe of ſeveral other potentates, were met at Nimeguen, to treat about a general peace; and therefore Robert Barclay wrote an epiſtle to them in Latin, to exhort them to this good work: the epiſtle, together with his apology for the true chriſtian divinity, in Latin, was delivered to each of the ſaid ambaſſadors,

R. Barclay writes an epiſtle to the ambaſſadors at Nimeguen,

1678. ambaſſadors, viz. a book for every one of them, and one for their principals. George Fox alſo wrote an exhortatory epiſtle to them, which being tranſlated and printed in Latin, was alſo ſent to them; and before this year came to an end, the peace was concluded.

which with his apology in Latin, is delivered to each of them, &c.

In the mean-while perſecution went on in England, and thoſe that were envious did not want a ſpecious pretence to gild their malice; for about this time a plot of the Papiſts being diſcovered, there ſeemed a neceſſity to watch againſt ſeditious aſſemblies; inſomuch, that thoſe who had no mind to perſecute, were in a manner conſtrained to it. Of which an inſtance was ſeen in the year 1679, at caſtle Dumington in Lieceſterſhire; for John Evat having been fined for a meeting at his houſe, and goods enough to anſwer not being found, the conſtable, and three other officers, were fined each five pounds, becauſe they had been backward to take away the ſaid Evat's goods. But the eccleſiaſticks ſhewed themſelves more covetous, to get what they pretended to be their due; and one Michael Reynolds, at Farringdon in Berkſhire, was this year deſpoiled of cattle, barley, and beans, for tythes, to the value of more than ninety-ſeven pounds, and all this only for one year.

Popiſh plot diſcovered.

1679.

A conſtable, &c. fined for backwardneſs in taking the goods of J. Evat. Goods to more than the value of 97 l. taken from M. Reynolds of Farringdon, for tythes.

Thus honeſt men were oppreſſed, which gave occaſion to a certain writer of that time, who in print gave many inſtances of that nature, to ſay, 'Truly the Papiſts may laugh, becauſe of their victory, now they have got a law whereby one proteſtant fights 'againſt another.' This was chiefly levelled againſt conventicles; for thereby many families were impoveriſhed, becauſe often they were robbed of thrice as much as the fine amounted to; and the baſeſt means that could be thought of were uſed to enrich the perſecutors with the ſpoil of the innocent: for it happened that four of thoſe called Quakers travelling on the way, this was deemed a tranſgreſſion, by adding a fifth to their number, who was not of their ſociety. And thus the informers, ſome of whom were often whores, or wives of informers, made a meeting of it, and this paſſed; ſo great was the power of theſe profligates; and on this account the goods of the ſaid four perſons were diſtrained. More abominable actions of that kind I could mention, if I did not think it might ſeem tedious. Such deſpoiling was permitted now to any naughty fellow, and this made them ſo inſolent, that one John Hill, conſtable at Walſingham, in Norfolk, when he was ſhewed the injuſtice of the warrant he had, ſaid, 'Juſtice, or no, 'I'll take it for all that.'

Four perſons travelling on the way, have their goods diſtrained as for a conventicle.

Encouragement given to informers, makes them very inſolent.

At Norwich lived one William Wat, who for ſeveral years had carried on the trade of informing, but whatever he got by it turned to no account; and often he was ſeized with ſuch fits of weakneſs, that he could not ſtand on his legs; but this year, in October, the hand of God fell ſo heavy upon him, that it put a period to his life. He had ſupped at night, and was as well, according to his wife's relation, as ever; but, on a ſudden, he ſunk down to the ground, and his daughter crying aloud, he ſeemed to look at her, and ſo died without more ado: but what was looked upon as a very ſtrange thing, his corps ſtunk ſo grievouſly, that none were willing to carry it, and the overſeers of the poor were neceſſitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

Sudden and remarkable end of W. Wat, an informer, at Norwich.

Far

1679.

Short hint of the convincement, and pious death of Iſaac Pennington.

Far otherwiſe was the exit of Iſaac Pennington, an eminent miniſter and author among thoſe called Quakers, and a man of an acute wit, and great endowments, who, in the year 1658, on Whitſunday, ſo called, being in a meeting at the houſe of John Crook in Bedfordſhire, was ſo reached by the preaching of G. Fox, that he, who before that time had contradicted the Quakers with his natural wiſdom, now embraced their doctrine as truth, and did not ſtick to make publick profeſſion of it, for which he afterwards ſeveral times ſuffered impriſonments during the ſpace of many years; but he continued ſteadfaſt to the end, without fainting, and died piouſly in October at his houſe near Goodneſtone in Kent, from whence his corps was carried to Buckinghamſhire where he formerly lived, and was honourably interred there.

G. F. wrote queries to the pope, &c. which being tranſlated into Latin by the author, were with his letter ſent to Rome.

Some time before, G. Fox had written ſome queries to the pope and the Papiſts, which, being tranſlated into Dutch, and printed, I was deſired by him to tranſlate into Latin, and to ſend them to Rome to the pope. * This I did at his deſire, but never received, or heard of any anſwer to them. This

* Theſe queries in Latin, with what the author W. S. wrote to the pope on that occaſion, are to be ſeen in the appendix to the Dutch hiſtory, which being tranſlated into Engliſh, the reader may take as follows:

To INNOCENT XI. Pope of Rome, S.

GREAT PRELATE!

THOU wilt perhaps at firſt ſight admire that the writing incloſed ſhould be ſent to thee; but know it was done at the command of the author, and not undeſervedly: for if thou rightly weigheſt and conſidereſt the matter, thou muſt with us acknowledge, that it would be very unworthily done to keep this little treatiſe from thy view, which hath been already printed in the Dutch language, and carries the pope's name in the frontiſpiece. Nor wilt thou be able to deny, that thou art not only not injured hereby, but that we have alſo performed a duty that we owed thee, in tranſmitting theſe queſtions which properly belong to thee. But if thou pleaſeſt to read them and return an anſwer, thou wilt both oblige the author, and alſo remove the ſuſpicion of error from your religion, in the ſight of all chriſtendom; provided thou canſt give a clear anſwer to the objections, not only in word, but in deed alſo.

I write this at the requeſt of certain of my friends called Quakers.

Amſterdam, the 23d day of the month called April, 1679. W. SEWEL.

Some QUESTIONS preſented to the Papiſts, and the pope of Rome, as the ſupreme head of their church, and commended to their conſideration by George Fox.

FRIENDS,

1. HOW comes it to paſs, that the pope and cardinals grant not to the proteſtants living in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, that liberty of meeting together for the right performing of divine worſhip, which ye yourſelves enjoy in England, Holland, and other places, where the proteſtants have the chief power?

Would not the pope and his miniſters perſecute, deliver to the inquiſition and burn them, if they ſhould at any time ſet up as many meetings in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, as ye yourſelves enjoy in many places in proteſtant countries?

Is the royal law of God thus fulfilled, which teacheth, to do to all men whatſoever we would have done to ourſelves? Mat. vii. 12. Would ye have thoſe things done to you by proteſtants, which ye have done to them? but if not, where then are the royal law and goſpel among you? God forbid, that we ſhould deny liberty to any one that acknowledgeth God, and believeth in his Son, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. It ſeems therefore very ſtrange to us, that the pope and Papiſts do deny the ſame liberty in the prementioned places, which they themſelves enjoy among the proteſtants; becauſe it is not only contrary to reaſon, but always to law and goſpel: for the apoſtle affirmeth, that *he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him that was born after the ſpirit*, Gal. iv. 29. Have not the Papiſts therefore openly ſhewn in themſelves the fleſhly birth, which is contrary to reaſon, law and goſpel?

2. Where did Chriſt or his apoſtles ever command men to bow themſelves to images, and to worſhip them, and keep holydays? Where did they command holydays to be appointed in remembrance

1679. Popiſh plot.

This year there was a great commotion in England about a plot carried on by the Papiſts againſt the life of the king, who made his brother, the duke of York, go beyond ſea for ſome time; for the parliament ſuſpecting him, a motion was made in the houſe of commons to exclude him from the ſucceſſion to the crown; but this project was quaſhed.

In

remembrance of themſelves, and the ſame to be honoured? Why do ye not tell us where in the goſpels, epiſtles, or in the revelation, any ſuch thing was commanded thoſe churches, which were in the time of the apoſtles and primitive chriſtians?

Where, I ſay, did Chriſt or his apoſtles give command to whip, hang, or burn men; or to ſpeak as gently as may be, at leaſt to impriſon any becauſe they diſſented from them, and could not adhere to their religion?

3. Where ever did Chriſt or his apoſtles in the primitive churches command that candles ſhould be lighted at noon-day? Well, ſhew us where it is written, whether it be in the goſpels, or epiſtles: is not, therefore, the Roman church degenerated from the church of the primitive times? Is ſhe not fallen from ſpiritual weapons to carnal? Hath ſhe not revolted from that purity and virginity, wherein ſhe witneſſed in time paſt Chriſt to be the head of the churches?

4. Did the churches of ancient time make choice of a private man, and account him for head of the univerſal church? Where ever did the primitive church command infants to be ſprinkled with water? Did not Chriſt ſay, *Teach all nations, baptizing them*, &c. Mat. xxviii. 19. ought they not therefore to be taught before they are baptized? Are ye not degenerated from that faith which Chriſt is the author and finiſher of, and which purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over ſin and evil, which ſeparate from God, and by which we have acceſs to God, and wherewith he is well pleaſed? Are ye not degenerated from the light, truth, grace, power and ſpirit, wherein the apoſtles were?

5. Have ye not degenerated from the ancient church, becauſe ye ſuffer not the people to read the holy ſcripture in their mother tongue? for doth not the apoſtle ſay, *And when this epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe that it be alſo read in the church of the Laodiceans*, Col. iv. 16. and elſewhere, *I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holy brethren*, 1 Theſ. v. 27. Yea, did not Chriſt alſo ſay, *O fools, and ſlow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have ſpoken*, Luke xxiv. 25.

How can it poſſibly be, that your common people ſhould believe thoſe things which Chriſt, the prophets and apoſtles have ſpoken, unleſs it be granted them to read or recite the ſame in their own tongue, to the end they might both hear and underſtand them by the ſpirit which gave them forth? why then do ye take away the uſe of the holy ſcriptures from the common people? Are ye afraid leſt the truth ſhould appear manifeſt, whereby they might ſee and believe what is written in the law and prophets, and by Chriſt and his apoſtles? Had not the Jews the law and the prophets in their mother tongue, that their children might read them? ought not therefore all chriſtians likewiſe to have the New Teſtament, that makes mention of Chriſt and his apoſtles, in their mother tongue? but if not, why do ye not ſhew us where Chriſt or his apoſtles have forbidden it?

6. But what do ye not ſay of the ſacrament of the altar, as 'tis called? why have ye ſlain many, and burnt others alive in England, France, the Low Countries, and other places, becauſe they could not approve or receive it? Ye aſſert it as a thing certain, that the bread and wine, as ſoon as ye have conſecrated them, are made Chriſt, yea, whole Chriſt, conſiſting of ſoul, ſpirit, fleſh, blood and bones. Beſides ye boldly affirm, that all who receive that ſacrament, do receive whole Chriſt, and, that after your conſecration, that very thing becomes immortal and divine.

Wherefore, come, O pope, cardinals, and prieſts, let us take a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread, and equally divide the wine into two baſons, and cut the bread into two parts; then let the pope, cardinals or prieſts conſecrate one part, which they pleaſe; which being done, let us lay up the conſecrated and the unconſecrated together, in ſome cloſe place, and ſecure the ſame with ſeven locks and keys on your part, and with as many on ours, both Papiſts and proteſtants keeping watch over it. But if it plainly appear, that the conſecrated bread and wine are immortal and divine, and loſe nothing of their virtue and ſavour, nor grow mouldy or ſour, as though they had been unconſecrated, then we will come over to you: but if they loſe their property, quality and ſavour, and both parts of the bread do alike grow mouldy, then it will be reaſonable for you to come over to us, and confeſs that your ſacrament of the altar, ſo called, is neither Chriſt nor his fleſh, nor any thing immortal, or divine; for his 'fleſh ſaw no corruption,' Acts ii. 27, 31.———xiii. 35, 37. and his precious blood, which delivers from ſin and corruption, cannot be corruptible.

Let trial then be made hereof; but let judgment be left to juſt and equal arbitrators, both Papiſts and proteſtants, and that in a place where the proteſtants may have the ſame power that ye have: for it would be unjuſt to make this trial or experiment, where ye have the whole adminiſtration of the commonwealth, and an equal liberty is denied the proteſtants. This thing will make the truth manifeſt, and turn to the honour of God; for ye have ſhed much blood upon this occaſion.

Wherefore

1680.

The ſevere proceedings of F. Bacon againſt G. Whitehead, and T. Burr, of Ware.

In the beginning of the year 1680, it happened, that George Whitehead and Thomas Burr coming to Norwich, and preaching there in the meeting of their friends, were taken priſoners, as 'twas ſaid, under a frivolous pretence, as if G. Whitehead might have been a Jeſuit; and being brought before juſtice Francis Bacon, who then was recorder of the city, he after ſome odd examination, demanded of them, as preachers, the fine of twenty pounds

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Wherefore ſuffer your Chriſt, whom ye have made, to be tried, that it may be ſeen whether he be the true Chriſt, or antichriſt; whether he be the true God, or a falſe one? for it would be ſomewhat hard that Baal's prophets ſhould outdo you, for they were willing to have their god tried, though they had before ſlain many of the people of God, becauſe they would not worſhip their god, as ye alſo have often done. 1 Kings xviii. 13, and xix. 14, 18.

Come ye forth therefore publickly, and make trial; that it may appear at length to all chriſtendom, whether yours be the divine and immortal Chriſt and God, or no? or is not rather that mortal aud corruptible chriſt, which ye yourſelves have made, and for whoſe ſake ye have ſlain multitudes of the people of God, becauſe they could not believe or comply with you?

7. Further, where did Chriſt or his apoſtles ever ſpeak to the ſaints of purgatory, wherein men ſhould be purged from their ſins after death? ſhew us where it is written in the New Teſtament. Is it not therefore a plain denying that Chriſt's blood purgeth from all ſin, to tell the people a fable of a certain purgatory to purge them from ſins after death? Is it not likewiſe a denying of Chriſt's baptiſm with the Holy Spirit, and of ſpiritual circumciſion, and faith in Chriſt, which purgeth in this life, and giveth the victory?

Did not Chriſt anſwer ſome that deſired fire might come down from heaven and conſume thoſe that would not receive him; *Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of?* Did not he rebuke them, ſaying, that he *came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them?* Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

Ye therefore who have deſtroyed ſuch a vaſt number of men and women for their diſſenting from you about rites and ceremonies, and taken away their lives by ſuch kind of inſtruments, racks and fires, as were never ſent down from heaven, but deviſed and invented by yourſelves; are ye not worſe than they, who deſired fire to be called from heaven to deſtroy mens lives? and ſeeing Chriſt told them, that they knew not what manner of ſpirit they were of, do ye know what manner of ſpirit ye are of, who have deviſed ſo many ways and torments for the killing of men, and have actually made uſe of them?

With what front can ye perſuade us to commit our ſouls, bodies and lives to you, who know not of what ſpirit ye are children, neither have the mind of Chriſt, who ſaid, he *came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them?*

Are ye not all therefore, as many as take away mens lives for worſhip deviſed by you, obnoxious to the rebuke of Chriſt? for when did Chriſt or any of his apoſtles ever give command, or by their example teach, that any one that was diſobedient to them, or rejected their doctrine and religion, ſhould be perſecuted and impriſoned, or puniſhed by any carnal weapons? Tell us where any thing of this kind is contained, either in the four evangelical hiſtories, or in the epiſtles written to the chriſtian churches?

Did ever Chriſt or his apoſtles go to the rope-makers to buy whips and halters, to whip and hang men for diſſenting from them as ye have done? Did they ever go to the blackſmiths to make chains, fetters, bolts and locks? or to the gunſmiths to buy guns and muſkets? or to the ſword-cutlers to buy ſwords and halberts? Did they ever build priſons, or get holes and vaults dug, to force men by ſuch means to their religion? ſhew us an example and precept given by Chriſt or his apoſtles, which commands and makes the uſe of ſuch weapons and inſtruments lawful.

But if ye cannot make proof thereof, it is neceſſary for you to confeſs and acknowledge, that ye are fallen and degenerated from the true chriſtian weapons, which the apoſtles and primitive chriſtians uſed, ſaying, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*, that is, ſpiritual, 2 Cor. x. 4.

G. FOX.

To INNOCENT XI. *Pope of Rome, S.*

The author's ſecond letter to the pope.

BEHOLD, great prelate, a few queſtions written for the ſake of thee, and thy adherents, a copy whereof we ſent thee by the poſt, about three months ago; but being uncertain whether it was delivered into thy hands or no, we thought good to write the queſtions over again, and ſend them to thee, that it might not belong to us that thou doſt not read them. For we think it convenient, that thou ſhouldſt earneſtly concern thyſelf to inſpect what was printed in Dutch, and inſcribed to the pope and his adherents, which if thou ſhalt pleaſe to do, and alſo vouchſafe thy pains in anſwering them both by fact and writing, it will ſatisfy the author's deſire, and remove a doubt or ſcruple out of many perſons minds. Farewel.

Amſterdam, the 24th of the month called July, 1679.

This I have written in the name of ſome of my friends called Quakers.

WILLIAM SEWEL.

1680. a man; which they refuſing, he aſked them, 'whether they 'would take the oath of allegiance?' and they anſwering, that they could take no oath, for conſcience-ſake, he ſaid, 'if they 'could neither pay the fines, nor take the oath, he would commit 'them to gaol.' They having ſhewed that they were no vagrants, but men of competent eſtates, that had ſettled habitations, as was well known, Bacon ſaid, 'De non apparentibus, et non exiſtenti-'bus eadem eſt ratio: i. e. Of things not appearing, and things 'not in being, there is the ſame reaſon.' Juſt as if he had ſaid, Your eſtates that are at London, where G. Whitehead lived, and Ware, where T. Burr dwelt, appear not at Norwich, and therefore they are not in being. Now though they ſhewed the abſurdity of this ſtrange kind of logick, yet Bacon would not harken to it, but called them ſeducers, and ſeditious, and told them, 'there 'was a ſtatute yet in force, that was made in queen Elizabeth's 'days, to hang ſuch perſons as they were.' And they aſking him, 'if he could proſecute them upon that law, or execute it upon 'them?' he anſwered, 'Yes, if the king ſhould give order to have 'it put in execution, I would do it, and have you hanged, if you 'would not abjure the realm.' From this it may appear what a violent man this recorder was, and that the priſoners could not expect any good treatment from him. So night being come, he ſent them to the gaol.

About a month after, at the quarter-ſeſſions, they were called into the court of judicature to be tried; and being brought to the bar, George Whitehead ſaid, 'We have been five weeks in pri-'ſon, 'tis meet the court ſhould know for what; pray let our 'mittimus be produced.' But the recorder, who ſat as judge in the court, ſaid, 'There's no need of your mittimus to be read 'here: I'll give an account of the cauſe.' And then he told the court, 'how they had gathered together a company of about two 'hundred, and that officers went from him to diſſipate them, but 'could not; that thereupon he ſent the ſheriff, who took them 'away; and that they being brought before him, he proffered 'them, if they would pay their fines, he would not commit them; 'and that they refuſing, he tendered the oath of allegiance to 'them, which they not being willing to take, he ſent them to gaol.'

And though G. Whitehead with good reaſon ſaid, 'that they 'being Engliſhmen, had a right to travel in any part of the na-'tion:' and T. Burr added, 'that he being a perſon that was con-'cerned in trading in corn, by the law of England he might tra-'vel from place to place about his concerns;' yet this ſo diſpleaſed the recorder, that he ſaid, 'Had not you better have been turning 'your malt at home, than to come here to preach? the ſcripture 'ſays, *God added to the church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved*; but ye 'draw from the church: and,' ſaid he further, 'the church of 'England will never be at quiet, till ſome of you be hanged.' G. Whitehead then ſhewing how unreaſonably the recorder behaved himſelf, and that a judge ought not thus to inveigh againſt the priſoners, and threaten them, alledging to that end a notable inſtance, how in the caſe of Humphrey Stafford, an arch traitor, the chief juſtice Huſſey had been unwilling, in compliance with

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the king's deſire, to declare his opinion concerning him before he was judicially proceeded againſt. The recorder then aſked, 'What 'king's reign was that in?' 'In king Henry VII's,' replied George Whitehead, 'I perceive you are read,' returned the recorder. And ſo he was indeed; and he defended his cauſe ſo well in the court, that the magiſtrates ſeemed at a loſs; for he ſhewed ſo evidently that he was unjuſtly committed to priſon, that the mayor (to whom, and to the juſtices he had appealed) ſaid, 'You have 'appealed to me; truly we are tradeſmen, and no lawyers: we 'leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law, and we 'muſt acquieſce in his judgment.' If I ſhould repeat here all that was ſpoken pro and contra, ſo as I find it extant, I ſhould be fain to be almoſt as large as I have been in the relation of the trials of John Crook and William Penn; and therefore I'll only ſay briefly, that after much reaſoning the recorder tendered the oath of allegiance again to them, that ſo by their refuſal he might get occaſion to premunire them. But this recorder, before the whole proceſs came to an end, being turned out by the magiſtrates, it did not come to that pitch; though it was a good while yet before the aforeſaid George Whitehead and Thomas Burr were releaſed, after they had ſhewn the illegality of their commitment; firſt, by more than one warrant from the recorder, and afterward, to colour the error the better, by an order from the quarter-ſeſſions. 1680.

Friends ſufferings ſince the reſtoration preſented to king and parliament.

This year thoſe called Quakers at London, publiſhed a brief relation of the ſufferings of their friends, ſince the king's reſtoration, and preſented it to the king and parliament, ſhewing therein, how many had been fined by the biſhop's courts, robbed of all they had, put into priſons, and there died; the number of which was computed to be two hundred and forty-three perſons, many whereof had been ſo grievouſly beaten and wounded, becauſe of their frequenting religious aſſemblies, that they died of their hurts and wounds. There came forth alſo a printed account of the unjuſt proceeding of the informers, and how at their inſtance, without a juridical proceſs, the accuſed were bereaved of their goods, the unlawfulneſs of which was plainly ſhewn from the books of eminent lawyers.

Proceedings of the informers printed.

G. F. comes to London about the time of the yearly-meeting.

G. Fox now travelled through many places, and came to London about the time of the annual meeting; and travelling afterwards again into the country, he returned into the ſaid city, and ſtaid there the moſt part of the winter.

Bill of excluſion of the D. of York paſſes the houſe of commons, but is rejected by the lords.

The parliament was then very buſy with enquiring into the plot carried on by the Papiſts; and the houſe of commons eſpecially was very active in the caſe, ſo that a bill, to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion to the crown, paſſed after the third reading: but this was oppoſed in the houſe of lords; for by a majority, among which were the biſhops, who would not conſent to the excluſion, the bill was rejected. Now ſince ſome ill-natured Epiſcopalians were very forward to place the Quakers amongſt the plotters, G. Fox gave forth the following declaration:

G. F's declaration againſt plotting.

IT is our principle and teſtimony, to deny and renounce all plots and plotters againſt the king, or any of his ſubjects; for we have the ſpirit of Chriſt, by which we have the mind of Chriſt,

1680. who came to ſave mens lives, and not to deſtroy them: and we would have the king and all his ſubjects to be ſafe. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to ſave and defend him and them, by diſcovering all plots and plotters (which ſhall come to our knowledge) that would deſtroy the king or his ſubjects: this we do ſincerely offer unto you. But as to ſwearing and fighting, which in tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot do, ye know, that we have ſuffered theſe many years for our conſcientious refuſal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we deſire you to relieve us, and free us from thoſe ſufferings; and that ye will not put upon us to do thoſe things, which we have ſuffered ſo much and ſo long already for not doing; for if you do, ye will make our ſufferings and bonds ſtronger, inſtead of relieving us.

GEORGE FOX.

He writes alſo to the magiſtrates, &c. againſt perſecution.

Not long after he alſo wrote a paper to all rulers and magiſtrates in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to diſſuade them from perſecution for religion. His labour ſeemed not altogether ineffectual with the parliament, for, about the beginning of the year 1681, the houſe of commons reſolved,

1681. Reſolution of the houſe of commons againſt executing the penal laws on diſſenters,

'That it is the opinion of the houſe, that perſecution of proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the ſubjects, a weakening of the proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of this kingdom.'

Yet perſecution continues.

But though the houſe of commons came to this reſolution, yet it did not ſtop perſecution; for as long as the laws (by virtue whereof they perſecuted) were not repealed, which could not be done without the concurrence of the houſe of lords and the king, thoſe that were malicious continued in their old way, which laſted yet three or four years.

G. Fox is ſued for tithes, yet had engaged not to meddle with his wife's eſtate.

George Fox now alſo came into ſome trouble; ſince he and his wife were ſued for tithes, though ſhe had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time no tithe had been paid nor demanded. Of this George Fox had certificates; but ſince they would not accept them without an oath, it made his caſe the more difficult. He propoſed the matter to four judges at London, and found one more moderate than the others; which put a ſtop to what her enemies deſigned. And the judges wondered when they heard that he had made promiſe in writing, not to meddle with his wife's eſtate.

Parliament diſſolved, and a new one is alſo diſſolved.

This year the king diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one, to ſit at Oxford, and ſo it did; but for all that he could not make it comply with his demands, and ſo he diſſolved this alſo.

P. of Orange comes into England and returns.

Some time after he deſired the prince of Orange to come over, who thereupon came from Holland into England, and after a ſhort ſtay, returned to the Hague.

King Charles the II. grants a large tract of land in America to W. Penn and

It was alſo in this year that the king gave a country or great tract of land in America to William Penn, with a patent under the great ſeal, to him and his heirs in perpetuum, ſince the king owed him ſtill a conſiderable ſum for the ſervices of his father the admiral ſir William Penn. This tract of land on the river Delaware,

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from the fortieth degree to the three and fortieth, with all the iſles belonging to it, the king gave to William Penn, with full power to erect a new colony there, to ſell lands, to create magiſtrates, to make laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and power to pardon crimes: and in the patent the king declared that this tract of land henceforth ſhould bear the name of Pennſylvania. This favour of the king William Penn chiefly owed, I think, to James, then duke of York, who being chief admiral of England, ſir William Penn, the father, on his dying bed deſired him to protect his ſon againſt his enemies, who, becauſe of his religion, were like to fall hard upon him. This the duke promiſed, and performed; and therefore it was not without reaſon that William Penn afterwards, when the ſaid duke had aſcended the throne, ſhewed himſelf ready to be ſerviceable to him in all that he thought might be beneficial to the kingdom. William Penn now went with much company to America, and having ſeen the land given him, he founded there the chief city Philadelphia, and ſome other towns. And that he might the more peaceably enjoy the country, he purchaſed from the Indians ſo much land, that he became proprietor of a country twice as big as all the United Provinces, as he himſelf once told me: and this colony increaſed ſo ſuddenly, that after a few years at Philadelphia, there were built ſix hundred brick houſes.

1681. his heirs, and gives it the name of Pennſylvania.

William Penn's father was deceaſed long before, and on his dying bed he declared that he had a gracious God, and he gave marks of a true chriſtian diſpoſition of mind: he alſo gave his ſon ſeveral wholeſome admonitions how to behave himſelf in this world. He complained much of the wickedneſs of the times, and was heard at ſundry times to ſay, 'Wo to thee, O England! God 'will judge thee, O England! great plagues are at thy door, O 'England!' he alſo ſaid, 'God hath forſaken us. We are infatu-'ated; we will ſhut our eyes. We will not ſee our true intereſt 'and happineſs: we ſhall be deſtroyed.' When he was near death, and took his leave of his relations, he ſaid to William Penn, 'Son 'William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of 'preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make 'an end of the prieſts to the end of the world. Bury me by my 'mother, live all in love, ſhun all manner of evil; and I pray God 'to bleſs you all; and he will bleſs you,' Thus died the valiant admiral Penn, father of William Penn, proprietor of Pennſylvania: and now I return to other matters.

The dying advice and ſentiments of ſir William Penn taken from the latter end of No croſs, no Crown.

I left George Fox at London, and ſince he continued there and thereabout a good while, I'll take a turn to Briſtol, where, in the year 1682, a diſmal ſcene of perſecution was opened: for the meetings of thoſe called Quakers were diſturbed, not only by grievouſly abuſing, and impriſoning them; but they were alſo vexed by breaking into their houſes, and committing all manner of violence, as among the reſt in the houſe of Richard Marſh, an eminent merchant in that city: for to get of him the fine that was pretended, firſt a caſk of wine, worth twenty pounds, was taken, and ſold for four pounds; as often it happened, that the goods thus taken, were ſold for leſs than the half, becauſe honeſt people being unwilling to buy ſuch goods, they were ſold to any one

1682. Diſmal perſecution at Briſtol,

Inſtanced in R. Marſh, merchant;

1682. one that would but bid ſome money, how little ſoever: for what was wanting of the fine was taken anew from the fined perſon, and ſo they did here alſo; for they broke open his counting-houſe, ſought for money, and took away his leger, journal, caſh-book, and other books and accounts, beſides many houſhold goods; and ſeveral chambers were rifled, though the wife of the ſaid Marſh lay in childbed at that time. The chief actors of theſe inſolencies were the ſheriff John Knight, and John Helliar an attorney, who with his companions Lugg, Tille, Caſſe, Patrick, Hoar and Watkins, ſerved for informers. Knight and Helliar came frequently with a multitude of boys and rude rabble to diſturb the meetings of the Quakers; and then they carried them to the priſons, which grew ſo full, that about fifty perſons were crowded into one room, which was ſo naſty, that one of the aldermen, viz. ſir Robert Cann ſaid, 'If he had a dog which he loved he would not put 'him there.' And though ſir Thomas Earl, mayor of the city, and ſome juſtices and aldermen, at the requeſt of others, ſhewed themſelves inclined to allow the priſoners a better place, yet the power of the aforeſaid ſheriff John Knight was ſuch, that he hindered it.

And carried on chiefly by ſheriff Knight J. Helliar, an attorney, with their accomplices informers.

Other diſſenters diſturbed but give way.

The meetings of other proteſtant diſſenters were now alſo diſturbed, but they fainted and gave way; whereas the Quakers ſtood firm, how much ſoever vexed; which often was done in a very outrageous manner: for their meetings were not only diſturbed often with the noiſe of drums and fiddles, but liberty was given to the vileſt fellows to commit all kind of inſolency, without ſhewing any regard to thoſe of the female ſex, whoſe hoods and ſcarfs were torn; and Helliar, to give the boys a ſign to attack the women, was uſed to ſay to theſe, 'Have a care of your 'hoods and ſcarfs;' for then the boys fell upon them; and both aged women and ancient men were carried to priſon, and forced to go faſter than they well could, by puſhing them, and pinching their arms black and blue; and when once a girl ſpoke a word againſt this cruelty, ſhe was pulled by the hair, and haled to priſon; nay, little boys were beaten on the head till they grew giddy, and then they were carried to Bridewell, where Helliar charged the keeper 'to get a new cat of nine tails,' endeavouring to terrify the children, by making them believe they ſhould be whipped, unleſs they would promiſe to come no more to meetings: but this ſucceeded not; for his extravagant malice did not ſubdue the conſtancy of theſe children.

Vile practices of Helliar

With ſuch diabolical rage they perſecuted this people at Briſtol, and not a ſtone was left unturned to afflict them. Once they were nailed up in their meeting-houſe, and thus kept about ſix hours; which could not but be very hard to nature, ſince there were alſo women of no mean families, and among theſe the widow of the upper ſheriff Lane. So many alſo were taken priſoners, that at length there was no more room in the gaols. By theſe proceedings many families were ruined; for their goods were taken from them, not only on the account of meeting, but when any were believed to be of good eſtates, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them. At court it ſeems they were the more offended againſt the Quakers, becauſe in the election of members of parliament

The gaols filled.

parliament ſome had voted for ſuch as they believed to be moderate, and no favourers of popery; and therefore it was ſaid underhand, 'that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for 'the Quakers not to vote at elections of parliament men, there 'ſhould be no further perſecution of them.' 1682. 'Tis inſinuated, to ſtay perſecuting the Quakers if they forbear voting for parliament men.

In the mean-while the behaviour of the perſecutors in the meetings was brutiſh in the higheſt degree; inſomuch that a certain woman, ſeeing that the attorney Helliar lifted up her child by the hair of his head, and aſking him, 'why he ſo abuſed her child?' was therefore ill treated herſelf by him. And by order of the ſaid Helliar a laſs was committed to Bridewell, becauſe ſhe gave an impudent boy, that would have turned up her coats, a box on the ear; for which defending of her modeſty, this brutiſh Helliar called her a rioter and ſeditious perſon: for he was, as hath been ſaid already, a leader of inſolent and ſaucy boys, which he from time to time took along with him to diſturb the meetings of the Quakers. And ſheriff Knight did often with his cane very violently beat thoſe that were met together, and once grievouſly abuſed an ancient man called Britton; and ſome women were pinched violently in their arms; Suſannah York, an aged woman, was thrown down to the ground. Mary Hooper was very roughly handled by Helliar, had her ſcarf torn off her back, and was ſo thruſt and flung about, that ſhe was much out of order long after; and Mary Page, being big with child, was ſo violently haled out of the meeting, that her life was endangered by it. With Helliar it became cuſtomary to call men rogues, and the women whores, jades, carrions, and damned bitches; he alſo bid the boys to tear their ſcarfs, and take up dirt, and throw upon them. Of this his beaſtly rage there were many witneſſes; for theſe abominable dealings diſpleaſed many people of other perſuaſions: but it ſeems theſe enraged fellows had encouragement at court, whereon they durſt rely; for the ſheriff, John Knight, was knighted, and thereby grew more inſolent. Once it happened, that Helliar having diſturbed a meeting, drove the women along the ſtreets as if they had been cattle, and being aſked, 'whether he made 'beaſts of them?' he anſwered, 'Ye are worſe than beaſts; for 'beaſts will be driven, but you will not.'

Further inſtances of Knight's and Helliar's behaviour.

Theſe doings encouraged at court, and ſheriff Knight knighted:

This diſturbing of meetings continued till almoſt all the men belonging thereto were clapped up in priſon; and ſome of them ſending a petition to the mayor and juſtices of the city, that they might be pleaſed to let them have larger rooms, ſince not only their health, but their lives alſo were endangered, the ſaid magiſtrates ſhewed themſelves inclined to allow the priſoners ſome eaſe or enlargement; but the power of ſheriff Knight was ſuch, that whatever they ſaid or did, all proved in vain. The mayor alſo ſignified to the ſheriff, 'that he would have all convictions made above 'board, and not in alehouſes and taverns; and that he would 'have the diſtrained goods brought into a publick warehouſe, and 'not in a bye lane.' But though the mayor, ex officio, might have commanded the ſheriff, yet this officer was ſo countenanced, that he did not care for whatever the mayor ſaid; nay, ſo exorbitant was he, that his adherents began to threaten the mayor, he

He ſlights the mayor, and forces his compliance

1682.

ſhould not be a parliament man; inſomuch that he was forced to comply in ſome degree. In the mean-while the havock and ſpoil were ſo enormous, that generally twice as much was taken as the fine amounted to. The priſoners, ſome of which lay on the floor, others in hammocks, and ſome in a cold and open room, expoſed to the wind, and injury of the weather, ſuffered great inconveniencies; and the gaoler Iſaac Dennis imagining that nothing could be too bad for them, would not ſhew them any favour, but at a very unreaſonable rate; and his wife ſhewed herſelf no leſs unreaſonable than he, ſo that one extortion was at the heels of another. Four phyſicians of Briſtol, viz. John Griffith, William Turgis, J. Chauncy, and T. Bourn, ſeeing how ſtraitly the priſoners were penned up and thronged together, gave a certificate under their hands, in which they declared, 'that they reſenting 'their condition with compaſſion, and conſidering what dangerous 'conſequence ſuch cloſe confinement might be of, were moved to 'certify, that the priſoners being deſtitute of room for reſt, it had 'a ready tendency to breed infectious diſtempers, to the endanger-'ing of their lives,' &c. But all this did not avail them, it being not counted worth the while to be concerned for them. Nay, ſo deſperately wicked was the gaoler, that when the priſoners complained for want of room, he ſaid to his man, 'if he could but 'ſhut the door, it would be well enough. But, in due time, we ſhall ſee what anguiſh and horror befel them.

Severity of J. Dennis the goaler and his wife.

Four phyſicians certify the danger of infection from the ſtrait confinement of the priſoners.

After moſt of the people called Quakers at Briſtol were in priſon, the women, who continued to keep up their religious meetings, were alſo ſeized, and confined to that degree, that at length few or none but children, that ſtaid with the ſervants in the houſes of their parents, were left free. The number of the priſoners for the ſake of their religion, amounted now to one hundred and fifteen, and ſome of them were confined in Bridewell, among whom were alſo Barbara Blaugdone, ſeveral times mentioned before, and Katharine Evans, who had learned at Malta what it was to ſuffer a tedious and hard impriſonment. It is very remarkable that children under ſixteen years of age, now performed what their parents were hindered from: for theſe children kept up their religious meetings as much as was in their power. But though they were not within the reach of the law, yet once nineteen of theſe youths were taken and carried to the houſe of correction, where they were kept for ſome time. And though they were threatened with whipping, if ever they returned to the meeting, yet they continued valiant without fainting, although they ſuffered exceedingly from the wicked rabble; but ſo great was their zeal, that they deſpiſing all reproach and inſolence, remained ſteadfaſt; and thus ſhewed, in ſpite of their enemies, that God would not ſuffer that the Quakers meeting ſhould be altogether ſuppreſſed, as it was intended. This perſecution continued till the next year, as it did in ſeveral other places alſo; for there wanted no informers, who continually lay in wait for prey, even to ſuch a degree, that I find that ſome of thoſe called Quakers, being come from other places to a market, and being gone into an inn to refreſh themſelves, a ſnatching informer did not ſtick to declare upon his oath, that the Quakers had kept a meeting there.

Moſt of the Quakers at Briſtol impriſoned.

B. Blaugdone and K. Evans in Bridewell.

Meetings kept up by children, of whom nineteen are ſent to the houſe of correction.

Market people at their inn ſworn againſt for a meeting.

But

1682.

Caſe of E. Dole.

But before I leave Briſtol, I muſt give ſome account of a ridiculous act, performed on one Eraſmus Dole, who bore the name of a Quaker. He having ſaid that he ſcrupled not to declare the contents of the oath of allegiance, it was contrived, that he ſhould ſpeak after the clerk, and ſkip over ſuch words as he diſliked, and pronounce another in its room, as 'I declare,' inſtead of 'I ſwear.' This went on, and whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, the gaoler held his hand to the book, and when Eraſmus had ſaid all, put it to his mouth, to make this paſs for kiſſing it. With this the court ſeemed ſatisfied; and the biſhop of Briſtol ſeeing theſe apiſh tricks, told the court, 'that altered it not from being an oath;' at which they gloried as having obtained a conqueſt. But this was but a pitiful one; for Eraſmus being a man of an irregular life, the Quakers had but little cauſe to regret the loſs of ſuch a member, who grew ſo diſſolute, that in proceſs of time, they found themſelves neceſſitated to deny him, becauſe of his offenſive converſation.

Cruel uſage of J. Boy and wife, through the inſtigation of the prieſt of the pariſh.

In Glouceſterſhire the people called Quakers were alſo under great ſufferings by impriſonment for keeping their meetings; and the wife of one John Boy, being at a peaceable meeting at Little Badmanton, was, through the inſtigation of the prieſt of the pariſh, in a violent manner dragged out of the meeting by the lord Herbert's footmen; through which abuſes the woman fell ſick and miſcarried, to the endangering of her life; and her huſband, who was alſo taken priſoner at the ſame place, was not ſuffered at his requeſt to ſee his wife.

Inhuman barbarity to E. Hill, at Broughton, by the encouragement of W. Cotton, prieſt, and his man T. Ambroſe.

In Leiceſterſhire it went no better: one Elizabeth Hill being in a meeting at Broughton, was by the rude boys dragged out, and ſo abuſed, that ſhe was ſeemingly quite ſpent, and near dead; and lying in the dirt, one of the boys, to try whether ſhe was ſtill alive, put his finger into her mouth, and perceiving her to breathe, ſaid, 'Let us at her again. The Devil is yet in her, and we will 'ſqueeze him out.' Theſe cruel abuſes made a neighbouring woman cry out, 'What, will you kill the woman?' to which the boys ſaid, 'What care we? Mr. Cotton bid us do ſo.' 'Did he 'indeed?' aſked the woman. 'Ay, indeed,' replied the boys. 'Then,' ſaid ſhe, 'he may be aſhamed of it.' Thus theſe boys openly ſaid, it was the parſon, viz. William Cotton, who was prieſt of the pariſh, that encouraged them to this exceſſive wickedneſs, and his man ſaid in plain terms, 'his maſter was one of the beſt 'men in England, for if every one would ſerve them ſo, this he-'reſy would be rooted out.' And this man, whoſe name was Thomas Ambroſe, did not ſtick to ſay, 'that nothing would drive the 'Quakers away, but either fire or water; and if the houſe was his,' meaning the houſe where they met together, 'he would burn it 'on their heads.' More inſtances of ſuch exorbitant wickedneſs happened at ſundry places I could mention, if I did not ſtudy brevity.

G. F's terms for his friends voices at elections.

George Fox being this year at London about the time of chooſing new ſheriffs for the city, he wrote a few lines to thoſe who ſtanding candidates for that office, deſired his friends to give their voices for them. And he ſaid in the concluſion, 'Shall we be free 'to ſerve and worſhip God, and keep his commands, if we give 'our voices for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for 'ſuch

1682. 'ſuch as will impriſon and perſecute us, and ſpoil our goods.' The conſtables now at London were ſent ſometimes with warrants to diſturb the Quakers meetings; but it was eaſily ſeen that they would rather have been freed from ſuch a commiſſion: for coming there, they would bid George Fox, or others that preached, 'to give over ſpeaking;' but they and the ſoldiers who ſometimes came along with them, generally behaved themſelves moderate, ſufficiently ſhewing that they were not for perſecution, and that what they did was for the ſake of their office. Sometimes indeed they hindered the friends going into their meetings; but theſe then being thus kept out, the number notwithſtanding increaſed.

Service G. F. had, being kept out of Devonſhire-houſe meeting.

Once it happened that George Fox was ſtopped by the conſtables from going into Devonſhire-houſe meeting; and after having ſtood awhile in the yard, till he was weary, one gave him a ſtool to ſit on; after awhile he ſtood up and preached, and in his declaration ſaid, 'Ye need not come againſt us with ſwords and ſtaves, 'for we are a peaceable people, and have nothing in our hearts 'but goodwill to the king and magiſtrates, and to all people upon 'the earth. And we do not meet under pretence of religion to plot 'againſt the government, or to raiſe inſurrections; but to worſhip 'in ſpirit and in truth.' When he had ſpoken what was upon him at that time, he ſat down, and after awhile concluded the meeting with prayer, at which the conſtables and ſoldiers as well as others put off their hats; and when the meeting was finiſhed, a conſtable putting off his hat, ſeriouſly ſaid, 'The Lord bleſs you!' and all were ſuffered to paſs away unmoleſted.

When other diſſenters were ſuppreſſed, their perſecutors have ſaid the Quakers could not be extirpated.

Thus this year came to an end. All other proteſtant diſſenters were now ſuppreſſed; for they were reſtrained from exerciſing any publick worſhip; and ſome there were who in their nocturnal meetings would pray God, 'that it might pleaſe him to keep the 'Quakers ſteadfaſt, that ſo they might be as a wall about them, 'in order that other diſſenters might not be rooted out.' And yet theſe, to render the Quakers odious, formerly had been very active in ſetting them forth in very ill colours. But the ſaid people continued now ſo valiant, and without fainting, that ſome of their perſecutors have been heard to ſay, 'that the Quakers 'could not be overcome, and that the Devil himſelf could not 'extirpate them.'

1683. Above ſeven hundred Quakers in priſon. Perſecution ſtill in Leiceſterſhire, &c. and in particular at Briſtol, where R. Lindy, a blind man of ninety, is very hardly dealt with by I. Dennis, the gaoler;

In the year 1683, perſecution continued in many places; and by computation it appeared, that above ſeven hundred of thoſe called Quakers yet ſuffered impriſonment in England. I could mention ſeveral inſtances of perſecution in Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, and elſewhere; but to avoid being prolix, I'll only take a turn again to Briſtol, where perſecution continued ſtill: for if ſometimes any of the people called Quakers came to a meeting, they preſently were committed to priſon; among theſe was one Richard Lindy, a blind man, of about fourſcore and ten years of age, who was carried to gaol, and forced to ſit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if ſome convenient place to lie down on had been allowed him. Some of the priſoners being tradeſmen, would willingly have worked in priſon, to earn ſomething for their ſuſtenance; but the gaoler

Iſaac

1683.

Iſaac Dennis would not permit them that liberty. Other priſoners fell ſick of the ſpotted fever, and ſome died of it; yet all this did not ſoften the ſaid hard-hearted gaoler. But at length a heavy ſtroke from heaven fell upon him. About the middle of the month October he fell ſick, and was ſeized with terrible anguiſh of mind. Then he wiſhed 'he had never ſeen the inſide of the 'gaol;' and he deſired ſome of the Quakers, 'to pray for him, 'and to forgive him for what he had done.' To which they anſwered, 'that they forgave him; but he ſhould aſk forgiveneſs 'of God.' But ſtill his anguiſh increaſed; and when phyſicians ordered him to be let blood, he ſaid, 'no phyſick would do him 'good, his diſtemper being another thing; and that no man 'could do him good, his day being over; and there was no hope 'of mercy from God for him.' Some of thoſe called Quakers ſeeing him in this woful condition, ſignified, that 'they deſired, 'if it was the will of the Lord, he might find a place of repent-'ance.' And it was told him, 'they hoped his day was not over, 'becauſe he had ſuch a full ſenſe of his condition.' To which he anſwered, 'I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith 'to believe.' And he further ſaid, 'Faith is the gift of God.' Whatever was ſpoken to him, he continued in ſaying, 'that his 'day was over, and there was no mercy for him.' Such a gnawing worm is the guilt of conſcience; and in this deſperate ſtate he continued above a month, and died the laſt of November, without any viſible ſigns of forgiveneſs; but the judgment thereof we muſt commit to God.

and ſome fall ſick of the ſpotted fever, and die.

Dreadful condition and death of the ſaid I. Dennis.

Although the people called Quakers were oppreſſed by ſufferings all over the country, yet generally they continued valiant; and as George Fox did not omit from time to time to encourage them by letters to faithfulneſs and ſteadfaſtneſs, ſo ſeveral others of their teachers did not neglect to exhort them to perſeverance both by word and writing: and what was indeed remarkable, thoſe who travelled to and fro in the country, and publickly preached in the meetings of their friends, generally went free; and the informers were often diſappointed of catching a preacher. I find it left upon record by Charles Marſhal, who was none of the leaſt, that tho' in the time when perſecution was moſt hot, he travelled through the nation, yet none laid hands on him, or fined him for his preaching, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he being a very zealous man, was uſed to lift up his voice in a very powerful manner.

G. Fox and other teachers encourage to faithfulneſs and perſeverance.

And it is remarkable, teachers generally went free, which was the caſe of Charles Marſhal.

William Dewſbury, who was now grown ancient in his impriſonment at Warwick, had wrote an epiſtle of conſolation to his ſuffering friends, which was thought fit to be reprinted, and is as follows:

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS,

HEAR the word of the Lord: thus ſaith the Lord, Though you now drink the cup of adverſity, and eat the bread of affliction, and are trampled upon, as though you were not worthy to live upon earth, yet notwithſtanding all the fury of men, you are reſolved in the ſtrength of my ſpirit for-ever to be deprived of the

W. Dewſbury's letter of conſolation to his oppreſſed friends.

1683. ſweet enjoyments of wife, huſband, tender children, parents, and outward poſſeſſions, liberty and life, before you deny the teſtimony of my name before the ſons of men. Oh! you dear and tender children, who love not your lives unto death this day, that you may finiſh a good teſtimony for the glory of my name, ſaith the Lord God; lift up your heads in the light of my covenant, and believe in my name, for I am near unto you, ſaith the mighty God of ſafety; and let not any weight or burden lie upon you; for I will be more than huſband to wife, and more than wife to huſband, or parents to children, or children to parents; yea, I will be a huſband to the widow, and a father to the children who are deprived of their tender parents for my name-ſake: I will enlarge your borders in the life of my righteouſneſs; you that ſuffer in true innocency, will I refreſh with the dpeth of my mercies; yea, I will guard you with the angel of my preſence, and all that deviſe miſchief againſt you ſhall be confounded before the glory of my power, with which I will keep and preſerve you in the word of my patience, and ſafety, in my preſence, ſaith the Lord God.

Therefore, you dear children, who drink the deepeſt in ſufferings, think it not hard, for it is my purpoſe unto you all that have not any eye to ſelf, but alone ſeek my glory in all you do; I will make you more and more honourable in the glory of my life, and double my bleſſings upon you and yours; for I have beheld your integrity, and my bowels are mightily moved with compaſſion towards you; therefore am I riſen for your ſakes this day, to declare unto you, my ſuffering people, that not an hair of your head ſhall periſh, neither ſhall you be detained in priſons, and deſolate holes any longer than I have determined ſhall be for your eternal good, and the glory of my name for-ever; therefore in my life ſtand faithful, in reſiſtance of every evil thought, or whatever would cauſe you to murmur, or deſire any thing but what you know will advance the glory of my name, and the exaltation of my truth, over all that riſeth up againſt it, in your being truly ſubject to the meaſure of my light and life, that will not let any ſeek a preeminence or eſteem amongſt men; neither let ſelf-ſtriving nor ſelf-ſerving have power in any; but in true humility, love and meekneſs, watch one over another; and let the ſtrong take the weak by the hand, that you may all gently in love, meekneſs, and holy fear, dread my name, and ſerve one another, that your love may be manifeſt unto me, ſaith the Lord your God, and one unto another in the naked ſimplicity of your ſpirits; then will I make my dwelling amongſt you, and with you; and my dreadful and glorious preſence you ſhall all feel mightily in you and amongſt you, moving in the exerciſe of my ſpirit, to the renown of my name, and the comfort of one another; and I will crown you with heavenly bleſſings, and the glory of my powerful life; and you ſhall praiſe my name for-ever that I made you my jewels, and counted you worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of my name. I will go before you through all the waters and floods of afflictions; and I will appear with you before all the counſels of the ſons of men; and my ſaving power ſhall compaſs you about

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in your hot and ſharp afflictions, all you who have your confidence alone in me, the Lord your God. Therefore truſt in my name, ye my dear children, and caſt all your care upon me; and if any of you joyfully ſuffer the ſpoiling of your goods, I will ſupply with what is needful for you and yours; and if any of you ſeal your teſtimony in the word of my patience with your blood, I will take care of your tender wives and children, or parents, for whom your ſouls have been poured forth in prayers unto me for their good. 1683.

Therefore hear my word which is ſounded unto you from the throne of my grace and eternal glory: rejoice not too much in ſpirits being made ſubject, but throw down your crowns before me, that there be not a ſelf-ſeeking ſelf-ſerving ſpirit in the family of my people, but all feel the birth-immortal raiſed up in the reſurrection of my life in you all, which truly makes ſelf of no reputation, ſo that all loftineſs be laid low, and all haughtineſs bowed down in every one, that I the Lord God in you all may be loved, obeyed, and exalted; who am taking, and will take to me my great power, to exalt the meek upon the earth, and reign over all the pride of the children of men, (that is exalted above my witneſs in their conſciences) that ſo my ſons may be brought from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, in the ſight of all people, whom I will make to confeſs, in ſubjection to my power, that you are the beloved people of the moſt high God, and of the righteous ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed; and not any weapon formed againſt you ſhall proſper, but come to nought, which will be haſtened for your comforts, and certainly performed according to what is here declared, to your eternal joy; and you ſhall aſſuredly know the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it.

The word of the Lord, before expreſſed, came to me in the priſon-houſe in Warwick, the 13th day of the firſt month, 1664, which conſtrained me to ſend it to be read amongſt you, dear, faithful, and ſuffering people of the Almighty God, in whom I remain your brother and companion in tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

WILLIAM DEWSBURY.

Riſe and progreſs of Wilkinſon and Story's ſeparation, the pretended occaſion, and of whom it chiefly conſiſted.

Whilſt perſecution was on foot in England, there was ſome diviſion among thoſe called Quakers, which had its riſe ſome years before. Thoſe who firſt appeared to head it were John Wilkinſon and John Story, preachers among them, who ſhewed themſelves diſcontented againſt George Fox, chiefly about the management of church affairs, becauſe things went not always ſo as they would have it: and ſince George Fox had been the firſt inſtitutor of good order amongſt his friends, he was the chief object of the envy of the malecontended. And becauſe in the beginning there were no ſuch meetings, or diſcipline, and yet they had lived in mutual peace and unity, it was aſſerted, 'that 'ſuch meetings were needleſs, and that every one ought to be 'guided by the ſpirit of God in his own mind, and not to be 'governed by rules of man.' By which it appeared, that they were againſt the eſtabliſhing any order of government in the church.

1683. church. But they were greatly bent againſt the womens meetings, who as deaconeſſes met together at ſet times, to provide for poor families, and ſick people that were in want. It is true, it was objected that in thoſe meetings ſometimes was debated what was not ſo convenient in every reſpect, becauſe young women were admitted there alſo to ſee and learn how matters were treated by the grave and ancient women: and what if ſome had been a little too forward to meddle with affairs properly belonging to the men? the creeping in of a wrong uſe can by no means juſtify the abrogating what is really uſeful; and that honeſt and ancient women took care for the poor and indigent members of the church, was indeed laudable. But as in great communities generally are found ſome men who love to govern, without being fit for it; ſo ſome of theſe ſoon adhered to Wilkinſon and Story, beſides ſeveral others, who in time of perſecution, rather would have met privately, than come into publick meetings, and ſo be expoſed to the fury of their enemies; and ſuch alſo as would rather pay tithes to the prieſts, &c. than ſuffer ſpoil or impriſonment for the refuſal thereof.

It appeared firſt in the north of England.

Hence aroſe a ſchiſm or rent firſt in the north of England, and ſome who went under the denomination of Separatiſts, began to keep meetings by themſelves, and ſo to leave their former friends, though they pretended to agree with them in matter of doctrine. To theſe Separatiſts afterwards reſorted ſuch as were not ſtrict livers, and therefore were unwilling to ſubmit to church diſcipline: for this was now become the common ſaying of theſe people, 'that 'every one, having received a meaſure of the ſpirit of God, ought 'to regard that leader, without minding any rules preſcribed by 'others.'

Afterwards W. Rogers and T. Criſp print againſt their former brethren;

In proceſs of time William Rogers and Thomas Criſp appeared in print againſt their quondam brethren, and upbraided them with every imprudent behaviour, or inconſiderate act; beſides that, on mere hearſay they publiſhed a multitude of untruths, and decried even lawful things; an inſtance of which appeared when Rogers in paltry verſes ſcornfully reviled them, that ſome ſuſtenance had been given from the publick caſh to indigent preachers, who, to ſhun the neglect of their publick miniſtry, could not duly mind their private affairs; tho' this ſupply never exceeded neceſſary proviſion. To this it was anſwered, that if it pleaſed God to call to his miniſtry perſons of mean eſtate the church was not warranted to hinder it, and let ſuch ſuffer want; ſince he, as ſovereign of the univerſe, could not be limited in the diſtribution of his gifts. Rogers would continually appeal to the primitive times, and to give ſome colour to what they aſſerted, he and his adherents publiſhed a paper, with Edward Burrough's name to it, who had been dead above twenty years; but G. Whitehead and others gave good proofs, that that apoſtate John Perrot had been the author of that ſo much applauded paper. At length this rent appeared alſo in London, where likewiſe malecontents were not wanting, who not being ſtrictly conſcientious, would rather live without any reſtraint; and even ſome that were honeſt, were by fair words perſuaded to ſeparation; for among the Separatiſts one Charles Harris preached, who was pretty fluent in ſpeech, and not unelegant in

And further on E. Burrough what G. Whitehead gives good proof was wrote by J. Perrot.

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his expreſſions, as I have ſeen and heard myſelf. But how ſpecious ſoever the pretence of theſe Separatiſts was, and whatever endeavours were made, yet they were not able to continue and ſubſiſt firmly; but at length they decayed, and vaniſhed as ſnow in the fields: for the beſt among them came in time to ſee that they had been deceived; and the leſs honeſt grew worſe; for among themſelves they were not free from diviſion: and though George Keith (whoſe apoſtacy will be mentioned in the ſequel) endeavoured to ſkulk among them, yet he got no adherents there. I have often wondered how Wilkinſon, Harris, and Keith, (all whom I have known) could apoſtatize to ſuch a degree as they did: but yet this is not ſo exceeding ſtrange as ſome may think it to be; for we find it on record, that even in the primitive apoſtolical church was an Alexander the copperſmith, and an Hymeneus and Philetus, who made ſhipwreck of the faith, and cauſed a rent, inſomuch that it is ſaid, *Their words would eat as did a canker.*

1683.

The ſeparation ſpreads, and C. Harris appears among them.

At length they differ and come to nothing.

2 Tim. ii. 17.

At London the meetings this year were often diſturbed; but the magiſtrates themſelves ſeemed not to approve of it, for they clearly ſaw there was nothing to be feared from the Quakers, and yet they were loath to give offence to the court-party which then prevailed. G. Fox coming once to the meeting in Grace-church-ſtreet, and being kept out by the conſtables, ſtood up in the court and preached to the people; but a conſtable plucked him down, and afterwards let him go free. At another time having been in a meeting at the Savoy, and being brought to a juſtice, there was one Gabriel Shad, an informer, who was ſo full of impertinent talk, that the juſtice grew angry; and yet he thought himſelf bound to do ſomething, and ſo aſked G. Fox, 'if he did not 'preach in the meeting?' To which he warily anſwered, 'that 'he did confeſs what Chriſt had done for his ſoul, and did praiſe 'God; and that he thought he might have done that in the ſtreets, 'and in all places'; and this he was not aſhamed to confeſs, nei-'ther was this contrary to the liturgy of the church of England.' To this the juſtice ſaid, 'the laws were againſt ſuch meetings as 'were contrary to the church of England;' and at length ſpoke of ſending G. Fox to Newgate, and ſaid, 'he would make a mit-'timus after he had dined:' but the conſtable coming then, the juſtice bid him 'come again after the evening ſervice;' which the conſtable doing, the juſtice told him, 'he might let G. Fox go:' and next day he ſignified to one of G. Fox's friends, that by ſome accident he had been diſappointed of fining him.

G. F. plucked down at Grace-church-ſtreet and let go; as again from the Savoy.

Thus G. Fox was freed, and was now much at London, where a plot was ſaid to be on foot againſt the king and the duke of York, of which the duke of Monmouth was ſaid to be the head. This deſign, whatever it was, coſt the lives of ſeveral perſons, among whom was the earl of Eſſex, who unfortunately periſhed in the tower, and the lord Ruſſel, who was fain to ſtoop to the axe.

A plot ſaid to be on foot againſt the k. and d. of Y. headed by the d. of M. on which enſued the deaths of the earl of E. and lord R.

Now ſince perſecution continued with ſome colour of juſtice, thoſe called Quakers drew up the following addreſs to the king.

1683.

TO THE *KING.*

The humble addreſs of the people commonly called QUAKERS.

O KING,

An addreſs to the king in behalf of ſuffering friends;

THE King of kings and Lord of the whole earth incline thy heart to that which is juſt and merciful in his ſight, and to make ſuch clear and equal diſtinctions, as that the innocent may not ſuffer in any caſe for the guilty; that it may ever redound to thy honour and ſafety, and thy peaceable ſubjects comfort.

Our innocency, love, and good will to thy perſon and government, that God has committed to thee, encourage us in this our humble addreſs and application.

Whereas the late plot againſt the king, and his brother the duke of York, &c. is made an occaſion to perſecute many of us, for our religious meetings, more ſeverely than formerly, we do ſolemnly declare, that it is known to the divine majeſty, and the all-ſeeing wiſdom, whereby kings reign, and princes decree juſtice, that our manifold, extreme, and continued ſufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the leaſt motive or provocation to us to deſire, much leſs to contrive, the leaſt hurt, either to thy perſon or government, or to the perſon of thy brother the duke of York, &c. We are clear in the ſight of God, angels, and men, from all helliſh plots, traiterous conſpiracies, and from all murderous deſigns and undertakings againſt the king, his brother, or any perſon on earth whatſoever, they being works of the Devil and darkneſs; having contrariwiſe learned of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, by his light and grace in our hearts, not ſo much as by force to defend, much leſs avenge ourſelves of the injuries done us, but to commit the cauſe to him who judgeth righteouſly, as peaceable followers of our Saviour and Redeemer in his patient example and ſufferings, who is the Prince of Peace.

O king, we do further declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge, and actually to obey magiſtracy, as his ordinance, in all things, not repugnant to his law and light in our conſciences, (which is certainly agreeable to the holy ſcripture, and admits not of any immoral or injurious actions) and that even where, through tenderneſs of conſcience we cannot conform, it is our duty patiently to ſuffer, and not to rebel, nor ſeek revenge; and we hope by his divine grace ever to demean ourſelves as peaceable minded chriſtians, in our converſations under the civil government. And as we do ſincerely, and with reverence, confeſs to divine power and providence in thy reſtoration and the preſervation of thy perſon hitherto; ſo our prayers and ſupplications are to the Almighty for thy future ſafety and peace; and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayſt be thereby obliged to ſhew mercy and relieve the oppreſſed, from under theſe unmerited afflictions and perſecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable ſubjects do even at this day ſuffer under in our perſons and eſtates; not only by laws made againſt, but alſo by laws never intended againſt us: and which is more extreme, divers ſeverities of late have been, and ſtill are, inflicted; for which no colour or pretence

of

of law hath been, or can be alledged; ſeveral gaols being ſo filled, as that they want air, and many innocent perſons held under extreme diſtreſs, without regard to age, ſex, or condition; to the loſs of ſome lives already, and apparent hazard of many more, if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation: and ſo many houſes, ſhops, barns, and fields ranſacked and ſwept of goods, corn, and cattle, tending alſo to the great diſcouragement of trade and huſbandry, and to the impoveriſhing of a great number of quiet and induſtrious people; and that for no other cauſe, but for their religious worſhip, and exerciſe of their tender conſciences towards Almighty God that made them, who is the ſovereign Lord of all, and king in mens conſciences. 1683.

Therefore we humbly entreat thee, O king, in princely juſtice, chriſtian charity, and compaſſion, to open our priſon doors, and take off our bonds, where the innocent and oppreſſed in thy land, that fear God, and in converſation truly honour the king; and ſuffer not the ruin of ſuch as are quiet in the land, the widow and the fatherleſs for their peaceable conſciences, to lie at the door of a prince, profeſſing the tender and compaſſionate religion of Chriſt.

This addreſs was preſented to the king at Windſor, on the 8th of the month called Auguſt, in this year, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Comfield, in behalf of themſelves and their friends; and it was read to him and his brother the duke of York, then preſent with ſome others; but no conſiderable eaſe followed. King Charles it ſeems was not to be the inſtrument thereof; and though that prince by nature was not hard-hearted, yet there were ſome that could perſuade him to ſeverity. With ſmall effect.

I find about this time that one Gabriel Shad, who had made it his buſineſs to ſerve as informer againſt the Quakers, and who had lately informed alſo againſt G. Fox, as hath been ſaid, being confined in Newgate at London, for ſtealing goods from one William Leman, to the value of three hundred pounds, had been found guilty of felony at the Old-Bailey; but he had ſuch friends that he was freed from the gallows, and having obtained the benefit of the clergy, was diſcharged with being burnt in the hand. Such infamous perſons were the informers; for honeſt people ſcorned to meddle with ſuch a baſe and abominable work. Shad an informer found guilty of felony, eſcapes the gallows, but is burnt in the hand.

This year the princeſs Ann, daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George of Denmark. The duke of Monmouth, having been under diſgrace, came into favour again; for the king his father indeed loved him, tho' he was loth, in prejudice of his brother the duke of York, to declare him his legitimate ſon, as ſome great men wiſhed he had: but the king perſiſted in his declaration, that he never had been married to Monmouth's mother. Princeſs Ann married to prince Geo. The king denies he was married to the duke of Monmouth's mother.

In the next year, viz. that of 1684, G. Fox and Alexander Parker came into Holland, to viſit their friends there; and after ſome ſtay, they returned to their native country. 1684.

In this year died Thomas Stordy of Moorhouſe in Cumberland, a gentleman who twenty-two years before had been condemned to a premunire, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear, The ſufferings and pious end of Tho. Stordy.

for

1684. for which ſheriff John Lowther ſeized his eſtate, real and perſonal, for the king's uſe, and kept him priſoner eleven or twelve years, till diſcharged by the king's declaration in 1672 or 73, when his real eſtate was reſtored. After which, he ſuffered under great fines and ſpoil for meeting, and after that was proſecuted on the act for twenty pounds a month for not coming to their worſhip; on which he continued priſoner ſeveral years, till he died in December, having been made willing rather to loſe all for Chriſt's-ſake, than to be diſobedient to him. This Thomas Stordy releaſed to the land-owners, and their heirs for-ever, an impropriation of ten pounds per annum, which deſcended to him from his father and grandfather, making conſcience as well of receiving as paying tithes. Not long before his deceaſe, he exhorted thoſe that were come to viſit him, to faithfulneſs; for, ſaid he, 'If ye continue 'faithful to the Lord whilſt ye live in this world, he will reward 'you, as now he rewardeth me, with his ſweet peace.' Thus piouſly Thomas Stordy departed this life, ſhewing forth that he was really a gentleman, whoſe chiefeſt nobility conſiſted in virtue. I could mention ſome other inſtances or caſes of perſecution; but to make the more ſpeed towards a concluſion, I wont detain my reader with the relation thereof.

He reſigns an impropriation of ten pounds per annum.

The death of T. Briggs, one of the firſt preachers among the Quakers.

Thomas Briggs, who alſo had ſuffered very much, having been one of the firſt preachers among the Quakers, and being become old and weak, about this time wrote a letter to G. Fox, in which he ſignified his perſeverance in godlineſs, and not long after, viz. about the beginning of the year 1685, he died.

1685. The death of king Charles II. who is ſucceeded by his brothr James II.

It was about this time alſo, that the king was ſeized with ſuch violent fits of convulſion, that he died in the month called February. The throne by his death being become vacant, was filled again by his brother James the ſecond, who ſucceeding him, was the ſame day proclaimed king. Now I can't but take notice, that perſecution went on to the death of king Charles, and continued hot to that very inſtant; and he being gone off the ſtage, many ſeemed to fear that worſe times were at hand, and that burning of hereticks would come in vogue again, as in the former age; yet ſome there were who imagined that eaſe was like to follow, and that they gueſſed not amiſs time ſhewed.

King James had not been long at the helm of the government, but the diſſenters applied to him for liberty of worſhip, and among theſe were alſo the Quakers, who made the following petition:

To the KING *and both houſes of* PARLIAMENT, *the ſuffering condition of the peaceable people called* QUAKERS, *only for tender conſcience towards Almighty GOD, humbly preſented;*

Quakers petition to the king, &c.

SHEWING, that of late above one thouſand five hundred of the ſaid people, both men and women, having been detained priſoners in England, and part of them in Wales (ſome of which being ſince diſcharged by the judges, and others freed by death, thro' their long and tedious impriſonment) there are now remaining according to late accounts, about one thouſand three hundred eighty and three, above two hundred of them women. Many under ſentence of premunire, both men and women, and more than

than three hundred near it; not for denying the duty, or refuſing the ſubſtance of allegiance itſelf, but only becauſe they dare not ſwear: many on writs of excommunication, and fines for the king, and upon the act for baniſhment: beſides above three hundred and twenty have died in priſon and priſoners, ſince the year 1660, near one hundred whereof, by means of this long impriſonment (as it is judged) ſince the account delivered to the late king and parliament in 1680: thereby making widows and fatherleſs, and leaving them in diſtreſs and ſorrow; the two laſt hard winters reſtraint, and the cloſe confinement of great numbers in divers gaols, unavoidably tending towards their deſtruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby. 1685.

And here in London, the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within theſe two years, (ſometimes near twenty in one room) to the prejudice of their health; and ſeveral poor innocent tradeſmen, of late, have been ſo ſuffocated by the cloſeneſs of the priſon, that they have been taken out ſick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

Beſides theſe long continued and deſtructive hardſhips upon the perſons of men and women, as aforeſaid, great violences, outrageous diſtreſſes, and woful havock and ſpoil have been, and ſtill are frequently made upon our goods and eſtates, both in and about this city of London, and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs informers, and their proſecutions upon the conventicle act, many being convicted and fined, unſummoned, and unheard in their own defence; as alſo on Qui Tam writs, at the ſuit of informers, who proſecute for one third part for themſelves; and on other proceſſes, for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of eſtates, ſeized for the king: all tending to the ruin of trade, huſbandry, and farmers, and the impoveriſhing of many induſtrious families, without compaſſion ſhewn to widows, fatherleſs, or deſolate; to ſome not a bed left to reſt upon; to others no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or ſeed, nor tools to work withal: the ſaid informers and ſheriffs bailiffs in ſome places being outrageous and exceſſive in their diſtreſſes and ſeizures, breaking into houſes, and making great waſte and ſpoil. And all theſe and other ſeverities done againſt us by them, under pretence of ſerving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or ſatisfaction of our tender conſciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of.

The ſtatutes on which we the ſaid people ſuffer impriſonment, diſtreſs, and ſpoil, are as follow:

The 5th of Eliz. chap. 23. de excommunicato capiendo.

The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1. for twenty pounds per month.

The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6. for continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1. for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

The 1ſt of Eliz. ch. 2. for twelve pence a Sunday.

The 3d of king James I. ch. 4. for premunire, impriſonment during life, and eſtates confiſcated.

The 13th and 14th of king Charles II. againſt Quakers, &c. tranſportation.

1685. The 22d of king Charles II. ch. 1. againſt ſeditious conventicles.
The 17th of king Charles II. ch. 2. againſt non-conformiſts.
The 27th of Henry VIII. ch. 20.—ſome few ſuffer thereupon.

Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed againſt our peaceable religious aſſemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c. many both men and women thereupon fined, impriſoned, and detained for non-payment, ſome till death. Inſtance, the city of Briſtol, what a great number have been theſe divers years ſtraitly confined and crowded in gaol, moſtly above one hundred on ſuch pretence, about ſeventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682 and 83, about ſeventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardſhips have been, and are in other places. So that ſuch our peaceable meetings are ſometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exerciſe, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c. when nothing of that nature could ever be proved againſt them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, againſt the perſon or property of any other whatſoever.

The during and tedious impriſonments are chiefly on the writs De excommunicato capiendo, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines, ſaid to be for the king.

The great ſpoil, and exceſſive diſtreſſes and ſeizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two thirds of eſtates, and on Qui Tam writs. In ſome counties divers have ſuffered by ſeizures and diſtreſſes above eight years laſt paſt, and writs iſſued out for further ſeizures in ſeveral counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thouſands of pounds; ſometimes ſeizing for eleven months at once, and making ſale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of houſehold-goods, beds, ſhop-goods, moveables, cattle, &c. and proſecution hereupon ſtill continued, and in divers counties much increaſed. So that ſeveral, who have long employed ſome hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid conſiderable taxes to the king, are greatly diſabled from both, by theſe writs and ſeizures, as well as by long impriſonments. So many ſerge-makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, diſabled by impriſonment: many in the county of Suffolk, under a long impriſonment, ſentenced to a premunire, one whereof employed at leaſt two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other inſtances, that we may not ſeem too tedious, theſe may evince how deſtructive ſuch ſeverities are to trade and induſtry, and ruinous to many poor families.

On the conventicle act, within theſe two years laſt paſt, many in and about this city of London have been extremely oppreſſed, impaired, and ſpoiled in their eſtates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants made againſt them in their abſence, upon the credit of informations ſworn by concealed informers, divers of them impudent women, who ſwear for their profit in part of the fines and ſeizures, their huſbands being priſoners for debt thro'

their

their own extravagancies. The warrants commonly made to break open and enter houſes, which is done with rigour and great ſpoil, not ſparing widows, fatherleſs or poor families, who are ſuſtained by their daily care and induſtry, not leaving them a bed to reſt upon. The fines upon one juſtice's warrants amounting to many hundreds of pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds, executed upon one perſon; and three warrants at once from another juſtice, for ſixty pounds upon another perſon, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart-loads; and five warrants at once for fifty pounds upon another, &c. beſides what we have ſuffered by others in the like kind. And in this deſtructive courſe the informers have encouragement, and are ſuffered ſtill to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods; divers ſo diſcouraged and diſabled, that they are forced to give over their ſhops and trades. 1685.

Theſe informers being accepted for credible witneſſes, yet parties ſwearing for their own profit and gain, in the abſence of the perſons proſecuted: this we think is very hard, and undue proceeding, and not conſiſtent with common law or juſtice.

As alſo convicting and fining us upon their depoſitions, unſummoned and unheard in our own defence, and ſo keeping us ignorant of our accuſers, unleſs upon traverſe of our appeals. This procedure appears contrary to the law † of God, common juſtice, and equity, and to the law and juſtice of the ancient Romans, * and of nations.

And although it has been openly manifeſted upon trial of appeals, at ſeveral quarter-ſeſſions, both for Middleſex and London, and other places, that the depoſitions of divers informers have been falſe in fact, yet the great trouble and charge in the traverſe of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the moſt warrants, hath been a diſcouragement to many from ſeeking ſuch difficult remedy, conſidering alſo the treble coſts againſt the appellant, in caſe he ſucceeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial; whereas there is no coſts nor reſtitution awarded nor given againſt the informers, for unjuſt proſecution. Some alſo having refuſed to grant appeals; others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals; which, whether this be equal or juſt, pray conſider, ye that are wiſe and judicious men; and whether it be for the king's honour, and the people's intereſt, that idle, drunken, extravagant informers, ſhould either be encouraged or ſuffered to go on thus to ruin trade, huſbandry, and families, or to command and threaten juſtices of peace, with the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions, and iſſue out warrants upon their late informations, and uncertain depoſitions, frequently in the abſence of the accuſed?

And laſtly, one third part of the fines being aſſigned to the king, he can only remit that; but the informers and poor being aſſigned two third parts, ſeems not to allow him to remit them, how much cauſe ſoever may appear to him, to extend his favour in that caſe. Is not this againſt the king's prerogative, to reſtrain his ſovereign clemency? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is ſcandalous

† Deut. xix. 17, 18. John vii. 51. Prov. xxvi. 2. Job xxix. 16, 17. Gen. iii. 8. Judges xix. 30. * Acts xxv. 5, 7, 8, 10, 16.

1685. ſcandalous thereto, for beggarly rude informers, ſome of them confident women, not only to command, threaten, and diſquiet juſtices, peace-officers, &c. but to deſtroy the king's honeſt, induſtrious, and peaceable ſubjects, in their properties and eſtates, is worthy of your ſerious conſiderations: and whether the ſaid conventicle act ought not therefore juſtly to be repealed? A noted inſtance of the like caſe we have, concerning the ſtatute of the 11th Hen. VII. ch. 3. for determining certain offences and contempts only upon informers proſecutions, being repealed in the firſt year of king Hen. VIII. ch. 6. though that, in ſome reſpects, was more tolerable than this.

Be pleaſed to make our caſe your own, and do to us, as you would be done unto. As you would not be oppreſſed or deſtroyed in your perſons or eſtates, nor have your properties invaded, and poſterities ruined for ſerving and worſhipping Almighty God, that made all mankind, according to your perſuaſions and conſciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof; ſo we entreat you to allow the ſame liberty to tender conſciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourſelves; and to diſannul the ſaid conventicle act, and to ſtop theſe devouring informers, and alſo take away all ſanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary puniſhments, merely on the ſcore of religion and conſcience; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherleſs, and innocent families, lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great truſt repoſed in you for the proſperity and good of the whole nation, but alſo do profeſs chriſtianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

And notwithſtanding all theſe long ſuſtained extremities, we, the ſaid ſuffering people, do ſolemnly profeſs and declare in the ſight of the all-ſeeing God, who is the ſearcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any ſeditious or treaſonable deſigns, they being wholly contrary to our chriſtian principle and profeſſion; ſo we have nothing but good-will, and true chriſtian affection to the king and government, ſincerely deſiring his and your ſafety, proſperity and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom.

Having thus given you in ſhort the general ſtate of our ſuffering caſe, in matter of fact, without perſonal reflection, we, in chriſtian humility, and for Chriſt's ſake, entreat that you will tenderly and charitably conſider of the premiſes, and find out ſome effectual expedient or way for our relief from priſons, ſpoil and ruin.

The following application was likewiſe preſented.

TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

The humble application of the people called QUAKERS:

Quakers application to K. James II.

WHEREAS it hath pleaſed Almighty God, by whom kings reign, to take hence the late king Charles the ſecond, and to preſerve thee peaceably to ſucceed; we thy ſubjects heartily deſire that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts may pleaſe to endue thee with wiſdom and mercy in the uſe of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good! and it being our

ſincere

ſincere reſolution, according to our peaceable principles and converſation, by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to live peaceably and honeſtly, as becomes true and faithful ſubjects under the king's government, and a conſcientious people, that truly fear and ſerve God, we do humbly hope that the king's tenderneſs will appear and extend, with his power to expreſs the ſame; recommending to his princely clemency, the caſe of our preſent ſuffering friends hereunto annexed. 1685.

TO THE KING:

The diſtreſſed caſe and requeſt of the ſuffering people commonly called QUAKERS, *humbly preſented;*

SHEWING,

THAT according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the ſaid people, both men and women, are continued priſoners in England and Wales, only for tender conſcience towards Almighty God that made them: many under ſentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refuſing the duty or ſubſtance of allegiance itſelf, but only becauſe they dare not ſwear: others under fines upon the act of baniſhment, many on writs of excommunication: beſides ſome hundreds have died priſoners, many by means of this long impriſonment ſince the year 1680, as 'tis judged; thereby making widows and fatherleſs, and leaving poor innocent families in diſtreſs and ſorrow; theſe two hard winters confinement, tending alſo to the deſtruction of many in cold holes and gaols, their healths being greatly impaired thereby: beſides the violence and woful ſpoil made by mercileſs informers on the conventicle act, upon many, convicted unſummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country, as alſo on Qui Tam writs, and other proceſs, on twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of eſtates ſeized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade, huſbandry, and induſtrious families; to ſome not a bed left; to others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk; nor corn for bread, or ſeed; nor tools to work withal. And alſo theſe and other ſeverities done under pretence of ſerving the king and church, thereby to force us to violate our conſciences, and conſequently to deſtroy our ſouls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own conſciences, though accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter. And notwithſtanding all theſe long ſuſtained extremities, we the ſaid people do ſolemnly profeſs and declare, in the ſight of the Heart-ſearcher, that we have nothing but good-will and true affection to the king, praying for his ſafety and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any ſeditious or treaſonable deſigns, as being wholly contrary to our chriſtian principles and holy profeſſion. Their caſe.

And knowing, that where the word of a king is, there is power, we, in chriſtian humility, and for Chriſt's-ſake, entreat, that the king will pleaſe to find out ſome expedient for our relief in theſe caſes, from priſon, ſpoil, and ruin; and we ſhall, as in chriſtian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happineſs in that which is to come.

1685. *An account of the number of the ſaid priſoners called* QUAKERS, *in the ſeveral counties.*

	Priſoners.		Priſoners.		Priſoners.
Bedfordſhire	30	Glouceſterſhire	66	Somerſetſhire	36
Berkſhire	37	Hartfordſhire	18	Southampton	15
Briſtol	103	Herefordſhire	1	Staffordſhire	1
Buckinghamſhire	19	Huntingdonſhire	10	Suffolk	79
Cambridgeſhire	8	Kent	16	Surry	29
Ely	11	Lancaſhire	73	Suſſex	17
Cheſhire	9	Leiceſterſhire	37	Warwickſhire	31
Cornwal	32	Lincolnſhire	12	Weſtmoreland	5
Cumberland	22	Lond. & Middleſex	66	Wiltſhire	34
Derbyſhire	1	Norfolk	52	Worceſterſhire	15
Devonſhire	104	Northampton	59	Yorkſhire	279
Dorſetſhire	13	Nottinghamſhire	6	Wales	30
Durham	39	Oxon	17		571
Eſſex	10	Shropſhire	18		438
	438		451		451
				In all	1460

Delivered to the king the 3d of the firſt month called March, $168\frac{4}{5}$.

This liſt, with the aforeſaid petition to the king and parliament, was not altogether ineffectual; for there was much talk now of liberty of conſcience: but ſince all the liberty that was enjoyed was only precarious, it could be but little depended upon; yet many ſeemed to be in expectation that ſome grant of that liberty would be publiſhed in print; and thus it became a common ſaying, 'that liberty of conſcience was in the preſs,' which being of an equivocal ſignification, ſometimes afforded matter of ſport. But many of the Epiſcopal church were ſo ſtrongly bent to withhold that liberty from other proteſtants, that there were no ill grounded reports, that ſome in authority had promiſed the king, to give their vote for liberty of conſcience to the Papiſts, provided it was not granted to other diſſenters. Nevertheleſs the aboveſaid petition of the Quakers had ſuch effect, that the king reſolved to eaſe them from the burden of their oppreſſion, by way of pardon; for thus far his power reached: but the abrogating of laws could not be done without the conſent of the parliament, which grew jealous, that by the repeal of thoſe laws, the Papiſts, who now had a king of their own religion, would become too powerful. In the mean-while the king publiſhed the following proclamation:

Great expectation of a grant for liberty of conſcience.

JAMES R.

King's proclamation for ſtaying of proceedings againſt ſuch as refuſed the oaths, &c. or were proſecuted in eccleſiaſtical courts, &c.

WHEREAS our moſt entirely beloved brother the late king deceaſed, had ſignified his intentions to his attornies-general for the pardoning ſuch of his ſubjects who had been ſufferers in the late rebellion for their loyalty; or whoſe parents or neareſt relations had been ſufferers in the late rebellion for that cauſe; or who had themſelves teſtified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were proſecuted, indicted, or convicted for not taking, or refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, or one of them; or had been proſecuted upon any writ, or any penalty,

penalty, or otherwiſe, in any of the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, or in any of the eccleſiaſtical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the ſacrament. 1685.

And whereas the ſeveral perſons, whoſe names are mentioned in the ſchedule annexed to this our warrant, have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and ſufferings of them and their families.

Now in purſuance of the ſaid will of our ſaid moſt dear brother, and in conſideration of the ſufferings of the ſaid perſons, our will and pleaſure is, that you cauſe all proceſs and proceedings, ex officio, as well againſt the ſaid perſons mentioned in the ſaid ſchedule hereunto annexed, as againſt all other perſons as ſhall hereafter be produced unto you, to be wholly ſuperſeded and ſtayed; and if any of the ſaid perſons be decreed or pronounced excommunicated, or have been ſo certified, or are in priſon upon the writ de excommunicato capiendo, for any of the cauſes aforeſaid; our pleaſure is, that you abſolve, and cauſe ſuch perſons to be abſolved, diſcharged, or ſet at liberty, and that no proceſs or proceedings whatſoever be hereafter made in any court againſt any of the ſaid perſons for any cauſe before-mentioned, until our pleaſure therein ſhall be further ſignified.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this 18th of April, 1685, in the firſt year of our reign.

To all archbiſhops and biſhops, to their chancellors and commiſſioners, and to all archdeacons and their officials, and all other ordinaries and perſons executing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

By his majeſty's command,

SUNDERLAND.

This was the king's firſt ſtep towards liberty of conſcience, as well for Papiſts, as other perſons mentioned in the ſchedule, annexed, which put an effectual ſtop to perſecution, and the power of the informers was thereby much broken. And ſince the moſt of theſe were generally baſe fellows, and profligate perſons, who did not care what they did, provided they might enrich themſelves, they often dealt treacherouſly even with the perſecuting juſtices, who alſo were eager for having part of the prey, and yet by the artifices of theſe rapacious wretches were deprived of it, which ſome of them now ſmarted for. Among the reſt, I find that one John Hilton was committed to gaol, as may appear from this warrant of the recorder.

A ſtop put to perſecution.

Hilton the informer, committed to gaol by the recorder Jenner.

To the keeper of Newgate.

RECEIVE into your cuſtody the body of John Hilton, herewith ſent you, being charged upon oath before me, for compounding ſeveral warrants under my hand and ſeal, for levying of ſeveral ſums of money of perſons convicted for being at ſeveral conventicles in Kent, London, and Middleſex; and being alſo indicted for the ſame in the ſeveral counties aforeſaid, and the bills found againſt him; and alſo that he the ſaid John Hilton, hath refuſed to obey the right honourable ſir Edward Herbert lord-

chief

1685. chief juſtice's warrant. And him ſafely keep, until he ſhall be diſcharged by due courſe of law. And for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Dated the 23d of December, 1685.

THO. JENNER, *recorder.*

Let notice be given to me before he be diſcharged.

Many Quakers releaſed from their impriſonment.

Thus the informers met with a ſtop, and the perſecuted Quakers got ſome reſt; for perſecution not only ceaſed, but many, who for religion-ſake had been ſeveral years kept in priſon, obtained liberty by the favour of a popiſh prince, which they had not been able to get from his brother, king Charles the ſecond. Now many of the fierce perſecutors came to ſhame, ſome to poverty, and others to a miſerable end, of which no ſmall number of inſtances might be produced, if I were minded to enlarge; however I'll mention one or two.

The behaviour of E. Davis, keeper of Ivelcheſter gaol, to J. Whiting, &c.

One Edward Davis, who once profeſſed to be a Quaker, but not being ſincere, found that way too narrow for him, and ſo left his friends, who afterwards, being become keeper of the gaol of Ivelcheſter in Somerſetſhire, he vexed moſt grievouſly; and from mere malice fettered ſome, ſaying to John Whiting and another, whom he had hand-bolted together, 'thoſe bolts ſhould not be taken 'off if lice did eat them up.' And his comrade Joſeph Newberry was but little better, for when ſome body told him, 'that their 'hands did ſwell with the irons,' he ſaid, 'he did not care if their 'hearts did ſwell alſo.' And when one John Dando once aſked Davis, 'what he thought would become of him when he came to 'die?' he anſwered, 'that he knew what would become of him 'then, and therefore he would make the beſt of his time now.' Alſo, 'that he knew where he went out, and where he muſt come 'in again, if ever he was ſaved; and if he thought he ſhould never 'return again, he would be as wicked as he could.' Truly a moſt deſperate ſaying, juſt as if the door of mercy always continued open for man, and the day of the viſitation of God's love never paſſed over his head, though he perſevered in rebellion. But this Davis came to a moſt pitiful ſtate, ſo that he fell into poverty, and was himſelf impriſoned for debts, of which more hereafter. And Newberry fell into a ſad condition, being taken with a ſevere palſy, and yet he did not leave off curſing and ſwearing, talking of the Devil in a dreadful manner. And by lying long in bed, the fleſh rotted on his back, and he who had formerly ſaid concerning the hand-bolted priſoners, 'he did not care if their 'hearts did ſwell,' got now ſuch a ſore tongue, that it ſwelled out of his mouth, and grew black, and ſo he died miſerably on the 10th of December. Thus God ſometimes puniſheth the wicked even in this life: and though perſecutors come not always to ſuch a miſerable end, yet many of theſe fell into poverty; and others were diſcontented becauſe they ſaw that thoſe whom they had cruelly perſecuted, now enjoyed an undiſturbed liberty; for the king, who was now on the throne, continued to give liberty to thoſe that had been oppreſſed for religion.

The miſerable condition of the ſaid Davis, and dreadful death of his comrade J. Newberry.

But before I ſay more of this, I can't but mention ſomething of the deſign of the unhappy duke of Monmouth, who, at the death

of

of his father king Charles the ſecond, was gone to Bruſſels; and being come from thence into Holland, he was ſpurred on ſo vigorouſly by ſome hotheaded Engliſhmen, that having got money and aſſiſtance of malecontents, he went over to England with three men of war and ſome forces, having given forth a declaration againſt king James, which vented a fiery paſſion toward that prince, and was written, as I have been credibly told, by the violent Robert Ferguſon. Monmouth being landed with his forces in the weſt of England, near Lime, and afterwards routed by the king's troops, was taken priſoner by the perfidiouſneſs of a certain lord, who thereby obtained pardon for himſelf; but Ferguſon eſcaped by a cunning artifice, crying along the road where he came galloping on horſeback, 'The rebels are routed! the rebels 'are routed!' juſt as if he had been a courier ſent on purpoſe to court and elſewhere: but thus he eſcaped, and being come again into Holland, he told this crafty trick to his acquaintance. Monmouth having been declared guilty of high treaſon by a bill of attainder, as ſoon as the news came of his deſign, was, but two or three days after his arrival at London, beheaded. I count it not unworthy to be mentioned, that he undauntedly received the news of the dead-warrant's being come, and on the ſcaffold on Tower-Hill, he told the biſhops that accompanied him, 'If I had no true repent-'ance, I ſhould not be ſo free from the fear of death.' And when it was objected, that he ought not to rely too much on that, ſince that might be the effect of natural courage, he ſaid, 'No; 'I don't aſcribe this to my nature; for naturally I am more fear-'ful than others; but now I am freed of fear; becauſe I feel 'ſomething in me, which gives me aſſurance that I ſhall go to 'God.' The executioner gave him ſeveral ſtrokes with the axe, before the head was ſevered from the body; and ſome eccleſiaſticks afterwards ſaid, 'he died an enthuſiaſt:' for not ſhewing himſelf very ready to comply with their ſervice, and his ſaying, 'that ſomething within him, aſſured him that he ſhould go to 'God,' ſeemed to them an enthuſiaſtical tenet. But whatever it was, yet it ſeems very probable to me, that he was a true penitent, and ſo died in peace; for though I can't but diſapprove his deſign, yet by true repentance he might not only have obtained forgiveneſs of God, but alſo have had a full aſſurance of it.

1685.

D. of Monmouth, &c. lands in England, is attainted, defeated, taken and beheaded.

Ferguſon eſcapes by a wile.

Occaſional expreſſions of the duke at his being beheaded.

Reproached by ſome as enthuſiaſtical.

The earl of Argyle, who rebelled in Scotland againſt king James, had no better lot; but I will not detain my reader therewith, neither with a relation of the diſmal execution of many, who having been found guilty of high treaſon, either for actual rebellion, or for having been abetters of Monmouth, were ſentenced to death by the infamous Jefferies, who then was lord chief juſtice, and afterwards chancellor; the fierceneſs or cruelty of this judge being ſuch, that ſome loſt their lives only for having given ſome hay or victuals to Monmouth's ſoldiers. But this not being within my circuit, I'll paſs it by, and go over to the year 1686.

The earl of Argyle alſo executed.

Diſmal executions by the infamous lord chief juſtice Jefferies.

Therefore leaving England, I'll take a turn to Embden in Eaſt-Frieſland, where a ſmall company of thoſe called Quakers had been under a ſevere perſecution for ſeveral years, as I have hinted before. But the magiſtrates having perſecuted by the inſtigation

1686.

The magiſtrates of Embden having felt the miſchief of perſecution, ſend to Magdalena van Loar to invite Quakers to come and reſide among them.

of their preachers, the citizens began to be diſpleaſed with it. And ſince the proteſtants in France were now perſecuted violently, and a popiſh prince had mounted the Engliſh throne, thoſe at Embden grew more inclined to moderation. Probably the decay of trade alſo contributed a little to this change; for it appeared that the magiſtrates were for getting more inhabitants into their town, though they ſhould be Quakers; and this was counted a matter of ſuch moment, that the common council deliberated on the ſubject; and two of the members of that board, viz. Polman and Bonhuyren, were ſent to Magdalena van Loar, an inhabitant of Embden, deſiring her to write to England and Holland, 'that 'the magiſtrates of the city had reſolved to give liberty to the 'people called Quakers to live, trade, and traffick there; which 'grant they proffered to confirm with the city ſeal.' According to their deſire notice was given to thoſe of that perſuaſion at Amſterdam, from whence an anſwer being returned to the ſaid Magdalena van Loar, ſhe gave it to the counſellor Polman, and he delivered it to the ſenate. After ſome deliberation, the magiſtrates with the council of forty, and the eccleſiaſtical court, met together, and came to a reſolution, of which a copy was ſent to Amſterdam. In this writing were mentioned ſome conditions on which the magiſtrates at Embden were willing to grant liberty to the Quakers to live in their city. But thoſe of that ſociety at Amſterdam, having weighed and duly conſidered the thing, found that the propoſal contained ſome expreſſions, which by others, who afterwards might come to the helm, and not be ſo moderate as theſe at preſent, might be uſed as ſnares againſt the Quakers, if they now ſhould enter upon ſuch terms as were preſcribed. Therefore it was thought more ſafe not to enter into any engagement, whereby great inconvenience might afterwards attend their friends, when the magiſtracy came to be in other hands. Yet the concluſion was, to acknowledge the good intention of the magiſtrates of Embden, by drawing up the following letter and ſending it to them.

To the lords burgomaſters, counſellors, and rulers of the city of Embden:

To which friends in Holland made this return.

THESE are to acquaint you with due reſpect, that a ſcheme or plan of yours, dated the $\frac{16}{26}$ of February, 1686, is come to our hands, which having been peruſed by us, we have thought it convenient, in the fear of the Lord, to ſend you the following anſwer.

Firſt we thank God Almighty for the eaſe and liberty which our friends at preſent enjoy under your government, and are like to enjoy in the future. And, ſecondly, we cannot but acknowledge very acceptably your clemency and meekneſs, which ye ſhew by taking notice of the ſtate of a deſpiſed and oppreſſed people, who, becauſe of their way of worſhip differing from the many ways in the world, are gainſayed every where. And therefore it is that we are the more ſtirred up in our minds to pray fervently to the Lord God for your peace and proſperity, and the continuance of your good reſolution; that ſo all thoſe who ſerve the

Lord

Lord in uprightneſs of heart may lead a peaceable and godly life among you, by ſhewing forth the fruits of true chriſtianity in truth, ſincerity and righteouſneſs. Now as to what ye have been pleaſed to declare, that ye were willing to confirm the aforeſaid your good reſolution by a publick act, we let you know, that we are ſo well ſatisfied with your word and oral declaration concerning the afore-mentioned thing, that this is more to us than any thing we could further deſire, as knowing that good men think themſelves bound by their good words to perform what is good. And ſince ye are ſenſible on what ground ye came to the aforeſaid reſolution, and declared yourſelves thus, we doubt not but the ſame perſuaſion and reaſon continuing with you, will prove a more ſtrong engagement to you to perform the ſame, than any outward ſeal can be: and in that engagement we are willing to acquieſce, and ſhould not have mentioned any other, unleſs ſome among you, as we have been informed, firſt had made mention thereof. And as to what ye demand of us, we declare in the nakedneſs and ſimplicity of our hearts, that in regard of our temporal converſation and deportment, we deſire no further protection, than when we deal righteouſly to all, and walk according to that golden rule, that we do unto all men, what we deſire ſhould be done to us. And concerning our religion and worſhip, which we believe we owe to Almighty God, it is thus: that ſince it differs from other perſuaſions, it makes us obnoxious not only to the mockings and revilings of ignorant people, but expoſeth us alſo to the malice and envy of many, who hate us without a juſt cauſe; and therefore it is that we ſtand in need of your favourable interpretation, and your beſt conſtruction of what we do, and what we leave undone. And if we ſhould err in thoſe matters, we ſhall be the greateſt loſers by it; and if truth be on our ſide, then our adverſaries ſhall not be able to prevail; for truth is the ſtrongeſt, and it is not good for any to fight againſt it. Howſoever then it may be with us in this matter, yet we hope that ye will be pleaſed, if we behave ourſelves peaceable and honeſt towards you and all men, to let us be partakers with our peaceable neighbours, of your general protection. And though ye might pleaſe to give us a publick act of your aforeſaid reſolution, yet we clearly foreſee, that it would be hardly poſſible to uſe ſuch expreſſions, that our enemies, by ſome wreſting or other of the words, or a wrong interpretation of the expreſſions, contained therein, ſhould not be able to make us eſteemed guilty of tranſgreſſion, and ſo find matter againſt us. And therefore we think it very ſafe to rely on your word, and good reſolution, in which it hath pleaſed you to declare, that we ſhall enjoy liberty to live and trade in your city, provided we pay cuſtom and taxes, which other citizens are ſubject to; and that then we ſhall be at liberty to meet together to worſhip God in ſuch a way as he hath convinced us we ought to do, and to call upon him, and to exhort one another to love and good works, and a chriſtian converſation. And on your behalf it will tend to the praiſe of the magiſtrates, that ye favour us in this. And it will alſo be to the promoting of God's glory; and will oblige us to pray for you, that the Lord God may be pleaſed to preſerve you, and to make you continue in

1686.

ſuch

1686. ſuch a good, wholeſome, and well-grounded reſolution. We are, and reſt,

Your true friends and well-wiſhers,

Amſterdam the $\frac{8}{18}$ *of the 3d month, alias March, 1686.*

BARENT VAN TONGEREN,
WILLIAM SEWEL,
JACOB CLAUS,
STEPHEN CRISP,
JOHN ROELOFS,
JOHN CLAUS,
PETER HENDRIKSZ.

In anſwer to this, the ſenate ſent the following reſolution to the ſubſcribers of the aforeſaid letter, being, as appears by the contents, the decree of the ſenate, ſo as it was entered into their records, of which the authentick copy, ſigned by the city's ſecretary, is in my cuſtody.

Lunæ $\frac{15}{25}$ *Martii*, 1686.

The ſenate of Embden's anſwer.

RECEIVED a letter on the $\frac{12}{22}$ inſtant, written at Amſterdam the $\frac{8}{18}$ of the ſame month, and ſigned by Barent van Tongeren, William Sewel, Jacob Claus, Stephen Criſp, John Roelofs, John Claus, Peter Hendrikſz, in anſwer to our reſolution of the $\frac{16}{26}$ of February laſt, with thanks for the promiſed admiſſion and protection of this city, in their free trade, and the exerciſe of their religion, without offending any; ſignifying thereby alſo, that they will be content without an act under our ſeal, and willing to rely on our words. This having been under deliberation, it was thought meet, and reſolved, that our word ſhall effectually be kept to the reſcribers, and all others of their perſuaſion, and that the promiſed protection ſhall be really performed.

Ad mandatum ſenatus ſpeciale,

O. HILLINGS, *ſecr.*

Burgomaſter Andrews, &c. deſire this may be communicated to England.

Thus it pleaſed the ſenate of Embden to give, to thoſe called Quakers, liberty to dwell among them, with the free exerciſe of their religion. Some time after, it happened that the burgomaſter Andrews coming to the houſe of Magdalena van Loar, and the preacher Alardyn, to the houſe of her daughter Magdalena Haasbaant, deſired both that they would cauſe what the ſenate had reſolved, to be wrote to England, that ſo it might be known there, that if any of the Quakers perſuaſion would come over, and ſettle at Embden, they ſhould be well received there.

Hereby we ſee how God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and that he turneth them whitherſoever he will: for the magiſtrates of Embden had ſome years before, from a blind zeal, kindled by thoſe who ought to have ſtopped it, given forth very ſevere edicts againſt the Quakers, and perſecuted them fiercely; but now they allowed them an entire liberty.

The king ſets the impriſoned Quakers at liberty, except for tithes.

But leaving Embden, I turn again to England, where perſecution by this time alſo came to a ſtand, inſomuch that the king ordered that all ſuch impriſoned Quakers, as it was in his power to releaſe, ſhould be ſet at liberty: for thoſe that were in priſon for not paying tithes,

tithes, &c. were under the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which was out of the king's reach. But many others, who had been in cuſtody ſeveral years, appeared now at London in the annual meeting of their friends, to the great joy of their brethren: and when ſome of theſe went to thank the king for his favour, they were kindly admitted; and thereby he drew their inclination towards him: for his endeavours were now, as he ſaid, to bring about a complete liberty of conſcience. What his aim was, I am not to inveſtigate, for he never attained to it. In the mean-while he made perſecution generally to ceaſe, not only in England, but alſo in other places of his dominions: for having heard that the Quakers in the iſle of Barbados in the Weſt-Indies were very much moleſted, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not bear arms, he ordered ſome of the members of his council to write the following letter: 1686.

Order for eaſe to the Quakers at Barbados.

AFTER our hearty commendations, his majeſty having been pleaſed to refer unto us the petition of the Quakers inhabiting in the Barbadoes, we have thought fit hereby to pray and require you to examine the allegations of the ſaid petitions and papers hereunto annexed. And in as much as his majeſty having lately extended his favour to thoſe people here, may be inclined to continue the ſame towards them in this particular, we deſire you to report unto us what eaſe may be given them in reference to the Militia act, and the penalties thereby impoſed, as far as it may conſiſt with the ſafety of the iſland, and the preſerving of the militia, according to the intention of the ſaid act. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell.

Your loving friends,

From the council-chamber in Whitehall, the 23d of July, 1686.

JEFFERYS,
CRAVEN,
ALBEMARLE,
MIDDLETON.

From this letter it appears plainly that the king endeavoured to relieve the Quakers from that burden of perſecution they were under. The following letter is alſo a proof of it, written by the earl of Sunderland (then, as I think, preſident of the privy council) to the earl of Huntingdon, to ſtop the perſecution in Leiceſterſhire and Nottinghamſhire, where one John Smith had acted moſt grievouſly.

Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

MY LORD,

Earl of Sunderland's letter in favour of the Quakers in Leiceſterſhire, and Nottinghamſhire.

THE king being informed that one John Smith, a common informer, doth very vexatiouſly proſecute the Quakers in the county of Leiceſter, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majeſty being pleaſed to extend his favour to thoſe of that perſuaſion, his majeſty would have your grace direct the juſtices of peace to give no ſort of countenance to the ſaid John Smith and his proſecution, againſt the Quakers. My lord, I am for his

1686. grace the duke of Newcaſtle, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, &c.

Your grace's moſt faithful
and humble ſervant,
SUNDERLAND, P.

To the right honourable the earl of Huntingdon, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, chief recorder of Leiceſter, Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Leiceſter.

The king being thus inclined to give liberty to priſoners, thoſe who were in cuſtody for religion, neglected no opportunity to obtain it; of which the following petition is an evidence.

To chief juſtice Herbert, and judge Wright, aſſigned to hold aſſizes and gaol-delivery for the weſtern circuit, at Wells, for the county of Somerſet, the 30th of the month called March, 1686.

Several of the people called QUAKERS, *now priſoners to the gaol at Ivelcheſter, in the county of Somerſet, on behalf of themſelves and many others of the ſame people, in humility ſhew,*

Several Quakers petition the judges at the aſſizes at Wells.

THAT ſince the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things hath ordered your employment in this honourable ſervice, to relieve the oppreſſed, and deliver the captives; and ſince king James II. that now is, hath committed part of his clemency to your cuſtody, to diſtribute the ſame, according as the Lord hath inclined his heart; and having taken particular notice of our ſufferings, and ſignified his will and pleaſure, that we, the people commonly called Quakers, ſhould receive the full benefit of his general pardon, with all poſſible eaſe; which grace and favour we, with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge to God as the chief author, who hath the hearts of kings at his diſpoſal; and to the king, as being ready herein to mind that which the Lord inclined his heart unto, and not without hope to find the like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for the full accompliſhment of that which our God allows, and the king ſo readily grants us: and alſo hearing the report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty truſt committed to you, we are emboldened thus to addreſs ourſelves, though in plainneſs of ſpeech, yet in ſincerity of heart, to lay before you, that we have for ſeveral years been priſoners to the gaol aforeſaid, not for any plotting againſt the king or government, or harm done to his ſubjects; our peaceable lives have manifeſted our fidelity to the king, and love to our neighbours, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwiſe: but only for conſcience-ſake, becauſe in obedience to Chriſt Jeſus we dare not ſwear at all, or forbear to worſhip God, as he hath ordained, nor conform to thoſe worſhips which we have no faith in; which to omit the one, or practiſe the other, we ſhould therein ſin, and ſo wound our conſciences, and break our peace with God; and what good then ſhould our lives do us, if we might enjoy never ſo much of the world's favour and friendſhip.

Our humble requeſt therefore to you is, to conſider and compaſſionate our ſuffering condition, and improve the power and

authority

authority that God and the king hath intruſted you withal, for our relief and liberty; we ſtill reſolving, and hoping (through God's aſſiſtance) for the future, to manifeſt our fear to God, honour to the king, and honeſty to all his ſubjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable converſation. The particular cauſes of our impriſonments are herewith atteſted, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers, and envious proſecutors againſt us, only for conſcience-ſake, may, according to your wiſdom and prudence, be diſcouraged from proſecuting ſuch actions, by which many induſtrious and conſcientious families, and perſons, are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our reſpective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our induſtry; and ſo ſhall we be the better enabled to perform with cheerfulneſs the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do juſtice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our deſire and prayer. 1686.

This petition was ſigned by ſixteen perſons, ſome of which had been impriſoned fifteen, others ten, and ſome fewer years: and to the time of their impriſonment was added, on what account, viz. on premunire, excommunication, and for tithes, &c. And it had ſuch effect, that chief juſtice Herbert diſcharged theſe priſoners; but before this was done, ſeveral of thoſe that had been impriſoned there, died. Many alſo were ſet at liberty by the king's proclamation; and it was indeed an unuſual thing to enjoy ſuch a free liberty, that the malicious perſecutors were reſtrained by the higher power. On which they are diſcharged.

G. Fox was now moſtly in and about London, endeavouring to bring all things among his friends into good order; and therefore he wrote ſeveral papers ſince he could not be every where in perſon, and diſcharge himſelf by word of mouth: and leſt careleſneſs ſhould creep in, by reaſon of the liberty that was now enjoyed, he wrote the following epiſtle to his friends:

FRIENDS,

THE Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king to open the priſon doors, by which about fifteen or ſixteen hundred are ſet at liberty; and hath given a check to the informers: ſo that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my deſires are, that both liberty and ſufferings, all may be ſanctified to his people; and friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who ſtilleth the raging waves of the ſeas, and allayeth the ſtorms and tempeſts, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to truſt in the Lord, and caſt your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in your gaols and priſons, then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and ſanctified them to you (and unto ſome he had made them as a ſanctuary;) and tried his people, as in a furnace of affliction, both in priſons, and ſpoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know, that *the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof;* and that he was in G. F. adviſes againſt careleſneſs, and to be thankful to the Lord.

1686. in all places, *who crowneth the year with his goodneſs*, Pſalm lxv. Therefore let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure and clean, and to ſerve God and Chriſt, and one another in the glorious, peaceable goſpel of life and ſalvation; which glory ſhines over God's camp, and his great Prophet, and Biſhop, and Shepherd is among or in the midſt of them, exerciſing his heavenly offices in them: ſo that you his people may rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that deſtroyeth the Devil and his work, and bruiſes the ſerpent's head, is all God's peoples heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets and apoſtles rock in days paſt, and is now a rock of our age; which rock and foundation of God ſtandeth ſure. And upon this the Lord God eſtabliſh all his people. Amen.

London, the 25th of the 7th month, 1686.

GEORGE FOX.

The pious end of David Barclay, with ſome remarkable expreſſions and occurrences a little before his death.

In this year David Barclay died at Ury in Scotland. Before his departure he uttered many excellent expreſſions indeed. I may not omit to mention ſome particulars. In the latter end of September, being paſt the 76th year of his age, he was taken with a fever, which continued two weeks; and being much troubled with the gravel, his ſickneſs was accompanied with pain in making water. Two days before his death, feeling his weakneſs, and being in an agony, he ſaid to his ſon Robert, who was with him, 'I ſhall now 'go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren, who 'are gone before me.' On the 11th of October, very early in the morning, he growing weaker, the ſaid Robert Barclay ſignified to him, that his travel was, 'That he that loved him, might be near 'him to the end.' To which he anſwered, 'The Lord is nigh;' and ſaid further to thoſe about him, 'Ye are my witneſſes in the 'preſence of God, that the Lord is nigh.' And a little after he ſaid, 'The perfect diſcovery of the day ſpring from on high, how 'great a bleſſing it hath been to me and my family!' Robert Barclay's wife aſking if he would have ſomething to refreſh him, he ſaid, 'It needed not;' and laying his hand upon his breaſt, he ſaid, 'he had that inwardly, that refreſhed him.' A little while after, he was heard ſeveral times to ſay, 'The truth is over all;' and taking his ſon's eldeſt ſon to him, he bleſſed him, and ſaid, 'he 'prayed God he might never depart from the truth.' Then his ſon's eldeſt daughter coming near, he ſaid, 'Is this Patience?' (for that was her name) 'Let patience have its perfect work in thee!' And after kiſſing the other four of his ſon's children, he laid his hands upon them, and bleſſed them. His apothecary, that attended him, coming alſo near, he took him by the hand and ſaid, 'Thou wilt 'bear me witneſs, that in all this exerciſe I have not been curious 'to tamper, nor to pamper the fleſh.' To which the apothecary ſaid, 'Sir, I can bear witneſs that you have always minded the 'better and more ſubſtantial part; and I rejoice to ſee the bleſſed 'end the Lord is bringing you to.' To this the ſick man replied, 'Bear a faithful and true witneſs: yet it is the life of righteouſ-'neſs; the life of righteouſneſs it is that we bear teſtimony to,

'and

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'and not to an empty profeſſion.' Then he called ſeveral times, 'Come, Lord Jeſus, come, come!' and ſaid alſo, 'My hope is in 'the Lord.' Afterwards he ſlept now and then for ſome hours; and ſeeing a carpenter coming into the room, he ſaid to his ſon, 'See 'thou charge him to make no manner of ſuperfluity upon the coffin.' In the afternoon ſeveral of his friends came to ſee him, which he having obſerved, ſaid, 'they were come in a ſeaſonable time;' and after ſome words were ſpoken, and that Patrick Levingſton had prayed, which ended in praiſes, the ſick old man held up his hands, and ſaid, 'Amen, amen for-ever!' And after thoſe that were preſent ſtood up, he ſaid, 'How precious is the love of God 'among his children, and their love to one another! thereby ſhall 'all men know that ye are Chriſt's diſciples, if ye love one ano-'ther. How precious a thing it is to ſee brethren dwell together 'in love! my love is with you, I leave it among you.' Several of his friends, pretty late at night, ſtanding about the bed, and perceiving ſome of them to weep, he ſaid, 'Dear friends, all mind the 'inward man, heed not the outward. There is one that doth 'reward, the Lord of Hoſts is his name.' Next morning after he had heard the clock ſtrike three, he ſaid, 'Now the time comes.' And a little after he was heard to ſay, 'Praiſes, praiſes, praiſes to 'the Lord! Let now thy ſervant depart in peace! Into thy hands, 'O Father, I commit my ſoul, ſpirit, and body! Thy will, O 'Lord, be done in earth, as it is in heaven!' Theſe ſentences he ſpoke by little intervals, one after another; and ſoon after five in the morning, the 12th of October, he ſlept in peace and quiet, there being preſent at his end above twenty perſons, who were witneſſes to what hath been here related. His corps was attended to the grave by numerous followers; and tho' he had ordered not many to be called to his burial, yet a great number of the gentry came uninvited, from an eſteem they bore to his memory.

Dying words and death of the faithful and ſerviceable Ann Whitehead, wife to G. Whitehead.

In this year alſo Ann Downer departed this life, one of the firſt of thoſe called Quakers at London; ſhe had been married firſt to Benjamin Greenwel, and was afterwards wife to George Whitehead. Being taken ill, ſhe removed to a place out of London, and her ſickneſs increaſing, ſhe perceived it was like to take her away. Her ancient friend Mary Stout viſiting her, aſked her, 'if ſhe 'knew her?' ſhe ſaid, 'Yes, very well, 'tis Mary Stout. I have 'my memory very well, and my underſtanding is clear, though 'I am very weak; but I am given up unto the will of the Lord, 'whether to die, or to live; for I have been faithful to him in 'what I knew, both in life and death.' Perceiving ſome to be troubled concerning her, ſhe ſaid, 'There is no cauſe for you to 'be troubled or concerned; for I am well, and in peace.' Many chriſtian exhortations ſhe gave on her dying bed, and ſaid to ſome of her friends who came to viſit her, 'What! do ye come on pur-'poſe to ſee me? I take it as an effect of the love of God, and I 'pray God bleſs your children!' To another ſhe was heard to ſay, 'If I never ſee thy face more it is well with me: God doth know 'my integrity, and how I have been, and walked before him.' The evening before ſhe died, ſhe ſaid to her huſband George Whitehead, &c. 'The Lord is with me, I bleſs his name! I am

1686. 'well; it may be you are afraid I ſhall be taken away; and if it 'be, the will of the Lord be done! Do not trouble yourſelves, 'nor make any great ado about me. But, my dear, go to bed, 'go to reſt; and if I ſhould ſpeak no more words to thee, thou 'knoweſt the everlaſting love of God.' She was heard alſo to ſay, 'that ſhe had done with all things in this life, and ſhe had nothing 'to trouble her, but was at true peace and eaſe every way.' And a few hours before ſhe departed, ſhe ſaid, 'Though I am in a dy-'ing condition, yet it is a living death: for though weakneſs ſeizes 'the body, yet my underſtanding is as clear as when in health.' Thus ſhe departed this life quietly about the age of ſixty-three years, having been a woman well gifted, and very ſerviceable to the church, not only with wholeſome exhortations, but alſo by her chriſtian care for the ſick and poor, and for widows and orphans, who by her deceaſe loſt an eminent mother.

About this time G. Fox wrote ſeveral general epiſtles (ſome of which were pretty large) to his friends, exhorting them to ſhun ſtrife, to keep to mutual love and unity, and to mind true piety. He wrote many other edifying papers; and ſince the Papiſts now appeared bare-faced, and performed their worſhip publickly, and there was much talk of their praying to ſaints, and by beads, in
1687. the year 1687 he emitted the following paper concerning prayer, not fearing to contradict openly that which he judged to be ſuperſtition, though the king himſelf was of the popiſh religion.

G. Fox's paper concerning prayer.

CHRIST Jeſus, when he taught his diſciples to pray, ſaid unto them, *When ye do pray, ſay, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name*, &c. Chriſt doth not ſay, that they ſhould pray to Mary, the mother of Chriſt; nor doth he ſay, that they ſhould pray to angels or to ſaints, that were dead. Chriſt did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did Chriſt or his apoſtles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to ſing by outward organs: but the apoſtle ſaid, he would *ſing and pray in ſpirit*: for the ſpirit itſelf *maketh interceſſion; and the Lord, that ſearcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the ſpirit.*

To take counſel of the dead was forbidden by the law of God; but they were to take counſel of the Lord; and he hath given Chriſt in the new covenant, in his goſpel-day, to be a counſellor and a leader to all his believers in his light. And men are not to run to the dead for the living; for the law and teſtimony of God forbids it. Thoſe Jews, that refuſed the running waters of Shiloah, the floods and waters of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity: and they that refuſe the waters of Chriſt, they are overflown with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedneſs. They that aſked counſel of ſtocks and ſtones, their ſtate was in the ſpirit of error and whoredom; and they were gone a *whoring from God*, Hoſ. iv. 12. And they that *joined themſelves to Baal-Peor, and ate the ſacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's diſpleaſure upon them*, Pſal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may ſee the ſacrifices of the dead were forbidden. The living know that they ſhall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten,

forgotten, *Eccleſ.* ix. v. *Wo to the rebellious children, ſaith the Lord, that take counſel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my ſpirit, that they may add ſin to ſin*, Iſa. xxx. 1. 1687.

GEORGE FOX.

Death of R. Widders, one of the firſt preachers.

On the 20th of the month called March, being the firſt month, Robert Widders, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers, died; and G. Fox was now much at London; but he grew more and more weak in body, having endured many hardſhips in cruel impriſonments, for the truth. Sometimes he went into the country to take the freſh air, and at other times he was awhile at the country-houſe of his ſon-in-law William Mead, who married one of his wife's daughters. In the mean-while he wrote much, for he was of a laborious temper, and did not omit under all his buſineſs to viſit the meetings of his friends, and to edify them by his admonitions and exhortations. For now they were ſuffered to keep their meetings unmoleſted, ſince the king in the month called April publiſhed his long expected declaration for liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects; which contained, 'That henceforth the execution 'of all penal laws concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, for not coming 'to church, for not receiving the ſacraments, or for any other non-'conformity with the eſtabliſhed religion, or for performing reli-'gious worſhip in any other way, ſhould be ſuſpended,' &c.

G. F. indiſpoſed at W. Mead's country-houſe.

The ſubſtance of K. James's declaration for liberty of conſcience.

It would indeed have been more acceptable if this liberty had been eſtabliſhed by the king and parliament, this being granted as yet only by virtue of his royal prerogative: but however it was, liberty was enjoyed. The friends therefore of the church at London, ſeeing how thoſe of other perſuaſions preſented addreſſes of thanks to the king, for his declaration for liberty of conſcience, which was now publiſhed, and whereby the diſſenters were permitted to perform their worſhip freely, provided their preaching did not tend to make the minds of people averſe to the government; thought it convenient to draw up an addreſs alſo, and preſent it to the king; which was as followeth:

TO KING JAMES II. OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The humble and thankful addreſs of ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, commonly called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themſelves, and thoſe of their communion.

May it pleaſe the KING,

Quakers of London their addreſs to the king.

THOUGH we are not the firſt in this way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great favours we are come to preſent the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for; ſince no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our priſon doors, as by his late excellent and chriſtian declaration for liberty of conſcience; none having more ſeverely ſuffered, nor ſtood more generally expoſed to the malice of ill men, upon the account of religion: and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a perſecuted and grateful people, yet we muſt needs ſay, it doth the leſs ſurpriſe us, ſince 'tis what ſome of us have

1687. have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as ſince he came to the throne of his anceſtors.

And as we rejoice to ſee the day that a king of England ſhould from his royal ſeat ſo univerſally aſſert this glorious principle, that conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor people forced for matters of mere religion, (the want of which happy conduct in government, has been the deſolation of countries, and reproach of religion) ſo we do with humble and ſincere hearts, render to God firſt, and the king next, our ſenſible acknowledgments; and becauſe they cannot be better expreſſed than in a godly, peaceable, and dutiful life, it ſhould be our endeavour, (with God's help) always to approve ourſelves the king's faithful and loving ſubjects; and we hope that after this gracious ſtep, the king hath made towards the union of his people, and ſecurity of their common intereſt, has had a due conſideration, there will be no room left for thoſe fears and jealouſies, that might render the king's reign uneaſy, or any of them unhappy.

That which remains, great prince, for us to do, is, to beſeech Almighty God (by whom kings reign, and princes decree juſtice) to inſpire thee more and more with his excellent wiſdom and underſtanding, to purſue this chriſtian deſign of eaſe to all religious diſſenters, with the moſt agreeable and laſting methods: and we pray God to bleſs the king, his royal family, and people, with grace and peace; and that after a long and proſperous reign here, he may receive a better crown amongſt the bleſſed!

Which is the prayer of, &c.

This addreſs was received favourably; and therefore thoſe of the yearly-meeting, which ſome time after was held at London, alſo drew up an addreſs, and ſome deputies of that meeting went to Windſor, where the court then was, and where William Penn, one of thoſe that had been choſen to preſent the addreſs, made the following ſpeech to the king:

May it pleaſe the KING,

W. Penn's ſpeech at the delivery of an addreſs from friends yearly-meeting.

IT was the ſaying of our bleſſed Lord to the captious Jews, in the caſe of tribute, *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's.* As this diſtinction ought to be obſerved by all men in the conduct of their lives, ſo the king has given us an illuſtrious example in his own perſon that excites us to it; for while He was a ſubject, He gave Cæſar his tribute; and now He is a Cæſar, gives God his due, viz. the ſovereignty over conſciences. It were a great ſhame then, for any Engliſhman, (that pretends to chriſtianity) not to give God his due. By this grace He has relieved his diſtreſſed ſubjects from their cruel ſufferings, and raiſed to himſelf a new and laſting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble reſolution, for he is now upon a principle, that has good nature, chriſtianity, and the goodneſs of civil ſociety on its ſide; a ſecurity to him beyond all the little arts of government.

I would not that any ſhould think, that we came hither with deſign

design to fill the Gazette with our thanks: but as our ſufferings would have moved ſtones to compaſſion, ſo we ſhould be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude. 1687.

Now, ſince the king's mercy and goodneſs have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales; our general aſſembly from all thoſe parts, met at London about our CHURCH AFFAIRS, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do by this ADDRESS, with all the affection and reſpect of a dutiful ſubject.

After W. Penn had thus delivered himſelf, he preſented the addreſs to the king, which that prince kindly receiving, gave it him again to read; which W. Penn did, and it was as followeth:

TO KING JAMES II. OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The humble and grateful acknowledgments of his peaceable ſubjects, called QUAKERS, in this kingdom.

From their uſual yearly-meeting in London, the nineteenth day of the third month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

The addreſs of the yearly meeting.

WE cannot but bleſs and praiſe the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his ſuffering ſubjects for conſcience-ſake; and we rejoice, that inſtead of troubling him with complaints of our ſufferings, he hath given us ſo eminent an occaſion to preſent him with our thanks. And ſince it hath pleaſed the king out of his great compaſſion, thus to commiſerate our afflicted condition, which hath ſo particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants laſt year, (whereby above twelve hundred priſoners were releaſed from their ſevere impriſonments, and many others from ſpoil and ruin in their eſtates and properties) and his princely ſpeech in council, and chriſtian declaration for liberty of conſcience; in which he doth not only expreſs his averſion to all force upon conſcience, and grant all his diſſenting ſubjects an ample liberty to worſhip God in the way they are perſuaded is moſt agreeable to his will; but gives them his kingly word, the ſame ſhall continue during his reign: we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the king our humble chriſtian, and thankful acknowledgments; not only in behalf of ourſelves, but with reſpect to our friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God with all our hearts, to bleſs and preſerve thee, O king, and thoſe under thee in ſo good a work: and as we can aſſure the king it is well accepted in the counties from whence we came, ſo we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and proſperity of the kingdom, will produce ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as may ſecure it to our poſterity in after times: and while we live, it ſhall be our endeavour (through God's grace) to demean ourſelves, as in conſcience to God, and duty to the king, we are obliged,

His peaceable, loving,
and faithful ſubjects.

1687. After William Penn had read the ſaid addreſs, the king ſpoke as followeth:

GENTLEMEN,

The king's anſwer. I THANK you heartily for your addreſs. Some of you know (I am ſure you do Mr. Penn) that it was always my principle, that conſcience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their conſciences. And what I have promiſed in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope before I die, to ſettle it ſo, that after ages ſhall have no reaſon to alter it.

Here we ſee what the king declared to be his intention; but perhaps that prince did not conſider, that if ſuch a general liberty had been procured, he ſhould not have been able to make it continue longer than the popiſh clergy would have thought it convenient. For who is ignorant what an unlimited power the Roman prelates have uſurped, not only in the eccleſiaſtical, but alſo in the political part? inſomuch, that though the king's intention might have been really ſincere, yet it is like it would have been thwarted, though he might have been willing that it ſhould be otherwiſe. That his meaning was ſincere, ſeveral I know, that were not of his perſuaſion, have believed; and among theſe, there were ſuch, who thought that liberty of conſcience might have been ſo eſtabliſhed, that it ſhould not have been in the power of the Papiſts to break it. But time hath ſhewn, that king James was not to be the inſtrument for ſettling ſuch a liberty of conſcience, and that the repealing of the penal laws was reſerved for another prince. Yet the king was by ſome thought to do what he could to ſtop rapacious perſecutors, and to reſtrain their power, with reſpect to impoſing of oaths. It is true, it was ſaid that the king might not do ſo, for by granting this liberty to the Quakers, he opened a door for the Romaniſts to bear offices, without taking the required oaths. Now that he diſcharged the Quakers from theſe oaths, may appear by the following order to the lord-mayor of London.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1687.*

The king's order to the lord-mayor, to admit Quakers to offices without oaths. THE king being informed that Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferſon, and Joſeph Tomlinſon, being Quakers, are by Mr Barker, ſteward of Southwark, put upon ſerving of ſeveral offices, as conſtables and the like, which they are willing to do; but the oaths being tendered to them, from which they think themſelves exempted by the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience, they are threatened to be fined, and otherwiſe moleſted for their refuſal to take them: his majeſty commands me to let your lordſhip know, that his pleaſure is, that the ſaid Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferſon, and Joſeph Tomlinſon, and all other Quakers, ſhould now, and for the future, either be allowed to ſerve the ſaid offices, without taking any oaths, or elſe that they be not fined, or otherwiſe moleſted upon that account: and his majeſty would have you give order therein accordingly. *I am, my lord,*

Your lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

SUNDERLAND.

Now

1687.

Now whereas in ſome places goods taken from the Quakers lay ſtill unſold, the king ordered thoſe goods to be reſtored to them, as may appear by the following letter, written to the mayor and aldermen of Leeds in Yorkſhire.

GENTLEMEN, *Whitehall, Dec.* 14, 1687.

Another to the mayor, &c. of Leeds, for reſtoring Quakers goods that had been ſeized, and not ſold.

THE king being informed that ſome goods belonging to John Wales, and other Quakers of Leeds, which were ſeized and taken from them upon the account of their religious worſhip, do remain unſold in the hands of John Todd, who was conſtable at the time of the ſeizure, or in the hands of ſome other perſons; and his majeſty's intention being, that all his ſubjects ſhall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conſcience; his majeſty commands me to ſignify his pleaſure to you, that you cauſe the goods belonging to the ſaid John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds, which were heretofore ſeized upon the account of religious worſhip, and are unſold, in whoſe hands ſoever they remain, to be forthwith reſtored to the reſpective owners, without any charge. *I am, gentlemen,*

Your affectionate friend and ſervant,
SUNDERLAND.

By ſuch means ſome got their goods again, that had been taken from them upon the account of religious worſhip; for in many places they lay long unſold, becauſe few would buy goods ſo taken. And that the king, by theſe his favours, drew the love and affection of many of his ſubjects towards himſelf, none need to wonder; for whatever his religion was, he delivered them from that grievous burden, under which they had been oppreſſed ſo many years. To this may be added, that he uſed them kindly in all reſpects, and would not ſuffer his ſervants to moleſt any for not pulling off their hats, when they came near his royal perſon. Nay, ſo far went this condeſcenſion, that a certain countryman, of the Quakers perſuaſion, coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat, and held it under his arm; which the other ſeeing, ſaid, 'The king needs not keep off his hat for me:' to which that prince returned, 'You don't know the cuſtom here, for that re-'quires, that but one hat muſt be on here.' I have been told of more ſuch like occurrences, which I paſs by; but it appears from thence, that the king endeavoured to have among the Quakers the repute of a mild and courteous prince. And this year he gave alſo full liberty of conſcience in Scotland, and freed thoſe that were ſtill under ſufferings, granting them the free liberty of their religious meetings. The ſaid liberty he alſo allowed to the Preſbyterians, provided they ſhould not meet in the fields, or in ſheds, as ſome did.

A pleaſant return of the king to a Quaker, that ſtood covered in his preſence.

He grants free liberty of conſcience alſo in Scotland:

The king having thus granted liberty of conſcience to people of all perſuaſions, did whatever he could to introduce popery in England; for he permitted the Jeſuits to erect a college in the Savoy at London, and ſuffered the friars to go publickly in the dreſs of their monaſtical orders. This was a very ſtrange ſight to proteſtants in England, and it cauſed no ſmall fermentation in the minds of peo-

And endeavours to introduce popery, permitting the Jeſuits a college in the Savoy, &c.

ple,

1687. ple, when the fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, were by the king's order diſpoſſeſſed, to make way for Romaniſts. This was ſuch a groſs uſurpation, that W. Penn, who had ready acceſs to the king, and who endeavoured to get the penal laws and teſt abrogated, thinking it poſſible to find out a way, whereby to limit the Papiſts ſo effectually, that they ſhould not be able to prevail, did, for all that, not omit to blame this uſurpation at Oxford, and to tell the king, 'that it was an act which could not in juſtice be de-'fended; ſince the general liberty of conſcience did not allow of 'depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do, 'as the fellows of the ſaid college appeared to have done.' But this could not cool the king's zeal for popery; for he drove on faſt, without diſguiſe, to that degree, that the pope's Nuncio D'Ada this ſummer made his publick entry at Windſor, in great ſtate.

W. Penn is for abrogating the penal laws, but blames the turning out the fellows of Magdalen college.

Pope's Nuncio makes a publick entry.

Great endeavours were now made to repeal the penal laws and teſts; for when this point was gained, then Papiſts might be admitted into the government as well as others: and ſuch a general liberty of conſcience making an alluring ſhew, ſeveral diſſenters, as Baptiſts, and others, ſerved the king with their pens on this account; and W. Penn, who always had been a defender of liberty of conſcience, was alſo not unactive in this affair, tho' with a good intent, howbeit he might have failed in his expectation. I remember when in thoſe days the patrons of the church of Rome, aſſerted liberty of conſcience to be a chriſtian duty, I heard ſome body ſay, *Can the Ethiopean change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots?* The king laboured alſo to perſuade the prince and princeſs of Orange to give their aſſent to the repealing of the teſt and penal laws; but this could not be obtained of them. And ſince the king cauſed the advocate James Stuart to write concerning this matter, to the heer Fagel, counſellor and chief penſionary at the Hague; he anſwered this paper in a letter to the ſaid James Stuart, wherein he declared the judgment of the prince and princeſs in this caſe, and ſignified, 'that they were willing to aſſent 'to the repealing of the penal laws, as far as they had any ten-'dency to the exerciſe of worſhip; but as for thoſe that debarred 'Papiſts from ſitting in parliament, of which the teſt was not the 'leaſt, they could not give their aſſent to the repealing of ſuch 'limitations.' This letter was generally approved by the proteſtants in England, but the king for all that went on with the introducing of popery; and about the beginning of the year 1688, he not only put in ſeveral Romaniſts to be fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, but endeavoured alſo to uſher thoſe of his own perſuaſion into the magiſtracy: and the better to cloak this deſign, he would have other diſſenters alſo choſen, but they generally rejected this offer; as did alſo Stephen Criſp at Colcheſter, who was too circumſpect to be caught thus, and therefore he declined the offer.

Several diſſenters write againſt the penal laws and teſts.

Prince and princeſs of Orange, cannot be perſuaded to aſſent to repeal the teſt.

1688. Romaniſts put into Magdalen college, propoſed for magiſtrates, which S. C. declines.

The king's declaration ordered to be read in churches and chapels.

The king's declaration for liberty of conſcience was, on the 27th of the month called April, publiſhed again, to ſhew 'that 'he was firm and conſtant in his reſolution, and that his intentions 'were not changed ſince he iſſued it out, to excite his ſubjects to 'join in it, and to chooſe ſuch members of parliament, as might

'do

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'do their part to finiſh what he had begun.' Hereto was annexed an order of the council, 'for reading this declaration in all 'churches and chapels throughout the kingdom;' and ordering the biſhops, 'to ſend and diſtribute the declaration throughout their 'ſeveral dioceſes, to be read accordingly.' But they refuſed to do ſo, pretending it was not legal, (though ſome there were who thought it was) becauſe they were againſt liberty of conſcience. Now the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſix other biſhops petitioned the king, 'not to inſiſt on the diſtribution and reading of his 'declaration, alledging, that their great averſeneſs to the diſtri-'bution and publication of it in their churches, proceeded neither 'from any want of duty and obedience to his majeſty, nor yet 'from any want of due tenderneſs to diſſenters; but becauſe 'it was founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing power, as had been often 'declared illegal in parliament.'

Seven biſhops petition againſt that order;

This refuſal the king ſo reſented, that he ſent theſe biſhops to the tower. Whilſt they were thus confined, there was much diſcourſe every where about this matter: and ſince it was well known, that ſome biſhops had been the promoters of the former perſecutions, ſome it ſeems, ſpoke alſo in prejudice of theſe that were now under confinement. This being reported to them, they ſaid, 'that 'the Quakers belied them, and divulged that they (the biſhops) 'had been the cauſe of the death of ſome.' This gave occaſion to Robert Barclay, to viſit the biſhops in the tower, and ſpeaking with them, he gave them undeniable proofs of ſome perſons, who, by order of biſhops, had been kept in priſon till death, tho' they had been told of the danger of thoſe perſons, by phyſicians that were not Quakers. This was ſo evidently manifeſted by R. Barclay, that they were not able to deny it: yet Barclay told them, 'that ſince they themſelves were now under oppreſſion, the inten-'tion of the Quakers was in nowiſe to publiſh ſuch matters, leaſt 'thereby they ſhould exaſperate the king againſt them.' And they were careful indeed not to do any thing that might aggravate the caſe of theſe priſoners; for it was not a time now to rub old ſores, ſince the biſhops themſelves ſeemed to be inclined to declare for liberty of conſcience. And ſince this liberty was now enjoyed all over the kingdom, thoſe called Quakers, thought it convenient at their yearly-meeting, which was held this ſummer at London, again to draw up an addreſs to the king, and to acquaint him of one thing more, which continued to be troubleſome to them. This addreſs they preſented to him, and was as followeth:

For which they are ſent to the tower, where R. Barclay makes it evident to them, that Quakers by order from ſome biſhops, had been kept in priſon till death.

To King JAMES II. over England, &c.

The humble addreſs of the people called QUAKERS, from their yearly-meeting in London, the 6th day of the month called June, 1688.

Another addreſs from the Quakers.

WE, the king's loving and peaceable ſubjects, from divers parts of his dominions, being met together in this city, after our uſual manner, to inſpect the affairs of our chriſtian ſociety throughout the world, think it our duty humbly to repreſent to him, the bleſſed effects the liberty he has graciouſly granted his people, to worſhip God according to their conſciences, hath had, both on

1688. our perſons and eſtates: for whereas formerly we had ever long and ſorrowful liſts brought to us from all parts almoſt of his territories, of priſoners, and the ſpoils of goods, by violent and ill men, upon account of conſcience, we bleſs God, and thank the king, the gaols are every where clear, except in caſes of tithes, and the repairs of pariſh churches, and ſome few about oaths: and we do in all humility lay it before the king, to conſider the hardſhips our friends are yet under for conſcience-ſake in thoſe reſpects; being in the one chiefly expoſed to the preſent anger of the offended clergy, who have therefore lately impriſoned ſome of them till death; and in the other they are rendered very unprofitable to the publick and themſelves: for both in reference to freedoms in corporations, probates of wills and teſtaments, and adminiſtrations, anſwers in chancery, and exchequer, trials of our juſt titles and debts, proceeding in our trade at the cuſtom-houſe, ſerving the office of conſtables, &c. they are diſabled, and great advantages taken againſt them, unleſs the king's favour do interpoſe; and as we humbly hope he may relieve us, ſo we confidently aſſure ourſelves he will eaſe us what he can.

Now ſince it has pleaſed thee, O king, to renew to all thy ſubjects, by thy laſt declaration, thy gracious aſſurances to purſue the eſtabliſhment of this chriſtian liberty and property upon an unalterable foundation; and in order to it, to hold a parliament in November next, at furtheſt:

We think ourſelves deeply engaged to renew our aſſurances of fidelity and affection, and with God's help intend to do our parts for the perfecting ſo bleſſed and glorious a work; that ſo it may be out of the power of any one party to hurt another upon the account of conſcience: and as we firmly believe that God will never deſert this juſt and righteous cauſe of liberty, nor the king in maintaining of it; ſo we hope by God's grace, to let the world ſee, we can honeſtly and heartily appear for liberty of conſcience, and be inviolably true to our own religion, whatever the folly or malice of ſome men, on that account, may ſuggeſt to the contrary.

Magiſtracy conſiſtent with chriſtianity.

This addreſs being preſented to the king was well received. Some have been ready to think, that the latter part of this addreſs concerned the office of magiſtrates, which not without reaſon 'tis believed that a chriſtian might ſerve, with no more diſparagement to an inoffenſive life, than it is inconſiſtent for a pious father to give due correction to his rebellious child: for though our Saviour charges *not to reſiſt evil*, but *to love enemies;* and that he reproving Peter, who from a forward zeal cut off the high prieſt's ſervant's ear, ſaid to him, *Put up thy ſword into the ſheath;* and that alſo the apoſtle James diſapproves war and fighting: yet we find in ſacred writ, that the apoſtle Paul calls the magiſtrate, *the miniſter of God*, and *a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil;* and he ſaith in plain terms, *that he beareth not the ſword in vain.*

Mat. v. 39, 44. John xviii. 11.

Rom. xiii. 4.

But to return to my relation, and to take up again the thread of this hiſtory, from which I have been diverted a little by this digreſſion; I know there were ſome in thoſe days, who thought that if people of all perſuaſions in England had a ſhare in the government,

government, proportionable to their number, a means might have been found out to hinder any party, eſpecially the Papiſts, from exalting themſelves above the others. But to me it ſeems not improbable, that if this had effect, and a higher hand had not cut off the way thereto, it would have appeared that thoſe men did not reckon well. But it never came to this paſs, for the king's power was tottering already, though he endeavoured to ſupport it, even with good means: for to be helpful to his ſubjects, who, though free-born men, were deprived of their freedom, merely becauſe for conſcience-ſake they could not ſwear, and to help them to this right, to which they were entitled as well as others, could not be judged undue means; unleſs under it had been hidden an intent to introduce this liberty alſo in favour of the Papiſts, though they did not believe ſwearing unlawful. 1688.

There were now at Norwich about forty of the people called Quakers, who having petitioned the king, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe them to be made freemen, obtained the following order from him.

To our truſty and well-beloved our attorney-general:

JAMES R.

The king's order on the petition of the Quakers at Norwich, for their freedom.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well: Whereas we have received a good character of the loyalty of our well-beloved ſubjects, Thomas Howard, Peter Launce, William Booley, Henry Jackſon, Edward Pears, John Jenn, Nicholas Comfit, John Harridence, John Gurney, Samuel Waſey, Edmund Cobb, Philip Pain, Joſiah Sherringham, Anthony Alexander, Thomas Darmar, John Cadee, John Fiddeman, William Kiddle, James Pooley, John Defrance, jun. Daniel Sharpin, William Milchar, William Brown, John Sharpen, jun. Samuel Kettle, Stephen Ames, Richard Roſe, Benjamin Stud, Edward Monk, John Corniſh, John Hodſon, James Polls, Michael Parker, Richard Brown, Daniel Dye, jun. John Elſegood, John Pike, and John Allen; we have thought fit hereby to require you forthwith to make all and every the perſons abovementioned, freemen of that our city of Norwich, with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, without adminiſtering unto them any oath or oaths whatſoever, with which we are graciouſly pleaſed to diſpenſe in their behalf; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant: and ſo we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of July, 1688, in the fourth year of our reign. By his majeſty's command,

SUNDERLAND.

These favours are ill repreſented, but other affairs here mentioned were the cauſe of general diſcontent.

'Twas now ſaid commonly that the king might not do thus; and thoſe who grudged the Quakers this liberty, did not ſtick to ſet forth this diſpenſation in very ill favoured colours; nay, they ſaid that William Penn adviſed the king to do what he could not do without breaking his promiſe. Yet if the king had made no greater infringement, his reign it may be would have laſted longer. But the diſpoſſeſſing of the fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, the impriſonment of the biſhops, and the publick admittance of Jeſuits and monks, cauſed a ferment in the minds of people. Now the biſhops were tried at the king's bench bar, in Weſtminſter-hall; but

1688. but they were acquitted, and ſo releaſed. The king alſo had appointed ſome eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; but many looked upon this as a kind of inquiſition, and it ſeemed not well to agree with liberty of conſcience; which if he had maintained juſtly, according to the advice of the Quakers in their addreſs, it is not likely that he would have come to ſuch a ſtrait, as now he was put to.

T. Townſend publiſhes a very remarkable account of her own and her friends ſufferings in Glouceſterſhire.

Not long before this time, one Theophila Townſend, a woman of years and underſtanding, publiſhed a book, wherein ſhe gave a relation of the grievous perſecution her friends in Glouceſterſhire had ſuffered, by impriſonment and ſpoil of goods, and how ſhe herſelf had alſo undergone many ſufferings, and had been impriſoned in the caſtle of Glouceſter more than three years. Among other caſes, ſhe relates alſo, how ſome time before her impriſonment, it happened, that by order of the juſtices Thomas Cutler and James George, ſhe being ſeized in the ſtreet, ſaid to the latter, 'that the 'Lord would plead her cauſe, and that what meaſure he meted, 'ſhould be meaſured to him again;' and it thus happened, that before ſhe was releaſed, the wife of the ſaid George, who took her from her huſband, was by death taken from him. Afterwards this George, came with the biſhop of Glouceſter into a meeting where Theophila was on her knees praying; at which the biſhop aſking him, 'whether ſhe was the woman he ſpoke of,' and he anſwering, 'Yes, my lord;' the biſhop took her by the arm with ſuch violence, that he had almoſt pulled her down backward, ſaying, 'Give over, woman, and obey the king's officers:' but ſuch was her zeal, that it could not be ſtopped; for the more oppoſition ſhe met with, the more ſhe felt herſelf encouraged, and inſpired, to praiſe God for his goodneſs: and though the biſhop ſtirred up the juſtice, yet it ſeemed not in his power to break off the current of her ſpeech; ſo that they let her alone, till ſhe having diſcharged herſelf, ſtood up. Then the names of thoſe that were met were taken in writing; and ſome time after, ſhe, though aged and weakly, was in winter ſeaſon led three or four miles through the ſnow, and committed to gaol at Glouceſter, where ſhe was kept three years and four months, and then releaſed by king James.

Violence of the biſhop of Glouceſter.

Afterward ſhe publiſhed a book, as hath been ſaid already, in which ſhe gave an account how ſome of her friends had been beaten, punched, and abuſed to that degree, that they died of it, as ſhe teſtified to have ſeen herſelf, 'Yet,' ſaid ſhe, 'tho' many died who 'were ſtronger than I, it hath pleaſed the Lord to preſerve my 'life, that I may ſpeak to the praiſe of his name, and tell of his 'wonders, and put you, perſecutors, once more in mind what be-'longs to your peace. Bleſſed be the Lord, he is riſen for Zion's-'ſake, which ye have ploughed long as a field; and when her 'enemies have done their worſt, then the Lord ſhall make his Zion 'to be an everlaſting glory, and Jeruſalem the praiſe of the whole 'earth. And as ye ſee now in others that perſecution is evil, ſo 'ſee it alſo in yourſelves: repent in duſt and aſhes. Remember 'who it was that ſaid, *The wiſe man's eyes are in his head, but the 'fool walketh in darkneſs.* The eyes of fools look out for miſtakes 'in others, and they blame in others what they are guilty of them-'ſelves.

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'ſelves. Methinks the eyelids of the morning, that's now dawned 'and riſing before you, ought to bring you to a true ſight of your 'condition in this matter.' Going on thus, ſhe reproves the informers who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of their neighbours; and ſhe alſo relates, how the prieſt of Glouceſter had put his name to a petition to the king, in which juſtice George, and others, deſired that the meeting-houſe of the Quakers might be given to the town, to make a work-houſe of for the poor. 'But,' ſaid ſhe, 'this is like Judas, who, when the woman came with 'an alabaſter-box of very precious ſpikenard, ſaid, *Why was this* '*waſte made?* Why was not the ointment ſold, and the money 'given to the poor? But the ſcripture ſaith, *That this he ſaid, not* '*that he cared for the poor, but becauſe he was a thief, and had the* '*bag.* Thus the prieſt made it appear by what he did, that he 'was not a true miniſter of the goſpel; for he came ſhort of the 'works of the law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours* '*houſe, nor any thing that is thy neighbours.* And Chriſt com-'mands, *to do unto men what we would have them do to us*; by 'which it is plain, that ſuch doings are contrary to the law and 'the goſpel. Thoſe now who will have ſuch blind ſleepy 'watchmen to be their teachers, let them pay them, and not 'conſtrain others (who know them to be blind) to pay them alſo.'

The prieſt of Glouceſter, and juſtice George, &c. petition the king for the Quakers meeting-houſe to be made a work-houſe of.

Reflections on that occaſion.

Then ſpeaking to thoſe who had a hand in the ſpoiling of goods, and ſetting forth the odiouſneſs of that work, ſhe ſaith at laſt, 'I do not write this from a ſpirit of revenge againſt any, but it is 'in the love of God, to warn you, and to exhort you to repent-'ance, that ye may find mercy with the Lord, which is the real 'deſire of my ſoul. I can truly ſay, in the preſence of the Lord, 'that I have nothing in my heart but love and good-will to the 'worſt of our enemies, and this in purity of heart, and in ſincerity 'of mind. I deſire really your eternal peace and well-being, 'though ye have hardened your hearts againſt the Lord, and his 'truth and people. Turn to the Lord, I beſeech you, bow before 'the Almighty, who will plead with all fleſh, and ſhall call all to 'an account, and reward every one according to what he hath 'done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Conſider this 'therefore whilſt ye have time, and mind the things that belong 'to your peace, before they be hid from your eyes; for the long-'ſuffering of the Lord will come to an end, who ſaid, *My ſpirit* '*ſhall not always ſtrive with man.* Therefore whilſt the ſpirit of 'the Lord, his light, his grace yet ſtrives in your hearts, to turn 'you off from your evil ways, be willing to embrace it, believe 'in it, take counſel of it, ſubmit to it with all your heart, be 'willing to be led and guided by it, and incline your hearts to 'follow it in all things, and then it will lead you to reſt and peace 'with the Lord for-ever.'—Yet more ſhe ſaid, but I break off. By ſuch kind of emphatical ſpeeches, ſometimes perſecutors have been ſo touched to the heart, that they themſelves became harmleſs chriſtians.

Excellent and emphatical advice to perſecutors.

I am come now almoſt to a concluſion of my relation concerning perſecution; of which I could have written much more, but that I was unwilling to extend my work beyond what I ſhould have

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The ſufferings of T. Geeen, and notable deliverances from the malice of his enemies.

been well able to complete. Yet before I altogether part with this matter, I will mention ſomething concerning Theophilus Green, of whom mention hath been made before. He lived at Batterſea, not far from London, and was a man beloved of his neighbours, becauſe of his honeſt converſation; yet he was much perſecuted, both for attending meetings, and for preaching. Once it happened that ſome officers came to his houſe to ſee whether there was a meeting, and they behaved themſelves moderately; for what they did ſeemed againſt their mind, it being only in obedience to the order of juſtice Duke, who, on account of a former offence, had iſſued out warrants to make diſtreſs. The officers not ſatisfied in the caſe, and ſeeing no meeting, went their way, and returned the warrant; and T. Green went afterwards to the ſaid juſtice, and ſpeaking to him, ſaid amongſt the reſt, 'Conſider what that mouth 'and tongue of thine hath ſaid formerly, viz. "That I had been "very kind to thee," and is this the way of requiting it? Know for 'certain, that that God whom I have ſerved, and for whoſe cauſe 'I now ſuffer, will avenge me; for vengeance is the Lord's, and 'he will repay it, one way or other, except thou ſpeedily repent-'eſt.' At this ſaying the juſtice began to tremble, and crying out, ſaid, 'I will do you no more hurt than I will do my own 'ſoul. Pray go to the officers, and tell them, I will never trouble 'them any more upon the account of you.' Green did ſo, and they were glad of it. And Duke being upon ſome complaint diſmiſſed, one ſir John Broadrick ſucceeded in his room; and he was ſo moderate, that he prevented the informers, by keeping Theophilus and his friends out of their meeting-houſe, which was for about two years and a half.

His plain dealing with juſtice Duke, and the effect.

Afterwards they were ſuffered again to go into their meeting-houſe, but then juſtice Forſter came once, and taking their names, fined Theophilus ten pounds as a preacher. And afterwards he with others coming with a conſtable to ſeize for the fine, the conſtable being come to the door of the houſe, ſaid, 'Neighbour 'Green! where are you? we are come to ſeize your goods, if you 'will let us in.' But this ſo diſpleaſed the juſtice, that going down the yard, and ſeeing ſome oars and poles, he required the conſtable to take them away. To which he anſwered, 'I am no porter.' Then ſaid the juſtice, 'Command ſome others to do it.' To which the conſtable returned, 'I command you to do it.' This ſo enraged the juſtice, that he fined him. Some time after, the ſaid juſtice coming again with an high conſtable, and another petty conſtable, ſeized a barge, and had it carried away, and ſeveral times offered it to ſale, but none would buy it; and after it had been carried about from place to place to be ſold, at length it was found adrift, by one who knew not of its being ſeized; and hearing that it was Theophilus's barge, he brought it to him. But Theophilus went to the conſtables, and told them how it came to him, and where he had it, ſaying, 'ſince it was come to 'him again, he was willing to keep it; but if they took it away 'again, he would not hinder them.' This account being given to the juſtice, he ſent a warrant, and committed Theophilus to the Marſhalſea priſon. After three weeks the ſeſſions was held at the

Marſhalſea,

1688.

Marſhalſea, and the laſt day the ſaid juſtice came to him in the priſon, ſaying, 'he came out of love to ſee him, and to adviſe him for his 'good;' which was, 'that he would have him pay his fine: for,' ſaid he, 'I am ſure the grand-jury hath found the bill againſt you; and if 'you ſhould come off, I have ſuch an influence with the judge, as 'to cauſe the oath to be tendered to you; and I know you will not 'take it, and then you will be run to a premunire, and are not 'like to come out as long as you live.' To which Theophilus anſwered, 'thou ſaidſt thy coming was in love, to adviſe me for my 'good; but by what thou haſt ſaid, it appears the contrary, for 'now I perceive thou haſt deviſed as much miſchief as thou canſt 'againſt me. As to the fine, if it were but ten pence, nay, ten 'farthings, I would not pay it. And if the Lord ſhould permit 'thee to do as thou haſt ſaid, and ſo be the cauſe of bringing my 'gray hairs the ſooner to the grave, my blood will be at juſtice 'Forſter's door, and it will cry vengeance againſt thee.'

Severity and hypocriſy of juſtice Forſter.

The next day the two conſtables being called before the grand-jury, were aſked, 'what they had againſt Theophilus Green, that 'ſtood there indicted:' and the high conſtable anſwered, 'As to 'Theophilus Green, he is as honeſt a man, though a Quaker, as 'lives about us; and he was lately in office for the poor, and be-'haved himſelf as well in it as any hath done theſe twenty years. 'And touching the barge he is indicted for, when it came to him, 'he came to us, and told how it came, and where he had laid it, 'ſaying, If we would take it away again, he would not hinder us. 'This is all we have to ſay.' Some of the grand-jury knowing Theophilus very well, and the cauſe too, did aggravate the matter very high againſt the juſtice: and as to the indictment, they brought it in Ignoramus. So Theophilus was cleared by proclamation; and ſir Richard How being one of the jury, adviſed him to arreſt the juſtice, there being two good actions, as defamation and falſe impriſonment. But Theophilus ſaid, 'he owned their love, 'but would leave the thing to the Lord, for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered; 'for vengeance was the Lord's and he would repay it.' And it was but ſome little time after, that the ſaid juſtice Forſter died, as was reported, in great horror and miſery. The time when this happened I do not know exactly, yet I take it to have been ſome years before the time I now deſcribe. We ſee by this inſtance a very ſingular deliverance, ſuch as did not befal every one, but which could not but encourage Theophilus the more.

Theophilus cleared, and though adviſed by ſir R. How to ſue Forſter, declines it. In a little time after 'tis ſaid Forſter died in horror.

Before I conclude this year, I muſt mention ſomething concerning W. Penn, who, when the government of king James was ſinking, not only bore the blame of many miſcarriages; but by ſome was ſtiled a Papiſt, though this was altogether falſe. But he had a great many enemies; and it was no new thing to brand the Quakers with the odious name of Jeſuits: for thirty years before this time at Briſtol, great endeavours were uſed to perſuade people they were Franciſcans. William Penn patiently bore the ſlander of being decried as a Papiſt, ſaying but little in juſtification of himſelf, till at length he made a return to a letter ſent by one who ſeriouſly begged of him to give an anſwer to thoſe accuſations that had been forged in prejudice of his reputation. In this paper, he aſcribed

W. Penn bearing the blame of many of the publick miſcarriages, and being decried by ſome as a Papiſt; at a ſpecial requeſt effectually anſwers thoſe accuſations.

1688. aſcribed 'his free acceſs to the king, partly to the relation his fa-
'ther, as admiral, had to the ſervice of the ſaid king, who was
'then duke of York, and high admiral of England; and his ſpe-
'cial favour alſo in releaſing him out of the tower of London, in
'the year 1669.' To this he added, 'my father's humble requeſt
'to him upon his death-bed was, to protect me from the inconve-
'niencies and troubles my perſuaſion might expoſe me unto: and
'his friendly promiſe to do it, and exact performance of it, from
'the moment I addreſſed myſelf to him: I ſay, when all this is
'conſidered, any body that hath the leaſt pretence to good nature,
'gratitude, or generoſity, muſt needs know how to interpret my ac-
'ceſs to the king——Is any thing more fooliſh as well as falſe, than
'that becauſe I am often at Whitehall, therefore I muſt be author
'of all that is done there, that doth not pleaſe abroad? But ſup-
'poſing ſome ſuch things to have been done; pray tell me if I am
'bound to oppoſe any thing I am not called to do? I never was a
'member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of
'the kingdom are tranſacted. I have had no office or truſt, and
'conſequently nothing can be ſaid to be done by me; nor, for that
'reaſon, could I lie under any teſt or any obligation to diſcover
'my opinion of publick acts of ſtate; and therefore, neither can
'any ſuch acts, nor any ſilence about them, in juſtice be made my
'crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments;
'and unleſs calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occaſions,
'or my not being turned out of nothing, (for that no office is) be
'the evidence of my compliance in diſagreeable things, I know
'not what elſe can with any truth be alledged againſt me——I am
'not without apprehenſions of the cauſe of this behaviour towards
'me, I mean my conſtant zeal for an impartial liberty of conſci-
'ence; but if that be it, the cauſe is too good to be in pain about
'it: I ever underſtood that to be the natural right of all men; and
'that he that had a religion without it, his religion was one of his
'own make. For what is not the religion of a man's choice, is
'the religion of him that impoſes it: ſo that liberty of conſcience
'is the firſt ſtep to have a religion. This is no new opinion with
'me, I have wrote many apologies within the laſt twenty years to
'defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as conſtantly declar-
'ed, that bounds ought to be ſet to this freedom, and that mora-
'lity was the beſt; and that as often as that was violated under a
'pretence of conſcience, it was fit the civil power ſhould take
'place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any ſort of liber-
'ty of conſcience for any body, which did not preſerve the com-
'mon proteſtancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the
'government: for to ſay truth, the one cannot be maintained
'without the other——And till I ſaw my own friends, with the
'kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for
'religion had ſubjected them to, I could with no ſatisfaction think
'of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond ſea,
'and at my great expence here, having in all this time neither had
'either office or penſion, and always refuſing the rewards or gra-
'tuities of thoſe I have been able to oblige.' From this little ab-
ſtract of William Penn's apology, it appears ſufficiently what kind

of

of liberty he defended; and ſuch a liberty afterwards took place in the reign of the next king. 1688.

Of George Fox I have been long ſilent, and I do not meet with any very remarkable tranſactions that concerned him, except that he wrote much, both for edification of his friends, and for the inſtruction and admonition of others; for he was continually occupied with the care of the church, and that things might be kept in good order, which to perform the better, he now ſtaid a long while in and about London. G. F. continually employed in the care of the church.

In this year died William Dewſbury, one of the firſt preachers among thoſe called Quakers, having been a very zealous teacher, and an eminent inſtrument to the converſion of many. He was born in Yorkſhire, and in his youth was a ſhepherd, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier; but when the civil wars broke out, he became a ſoldier, and joined with thoſe who ſaid they fought for the goſpel. Now though he was religious according to his knowledge, yet growing more and more ſerious, and turning his mind inwardly, he ſaw there were inward and ſpiritual enemies to encounter with, according to the ſaying of the apoſtle, *we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs*, &c. And this ſtate was inwardly manifeſted to him in the words of our Saviour, *Put up thy ſword into the ſheath. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight.* This wrought ſo powerfully upon his mind, that he could no longer meddle with martial affairs, but left the army, and returned to his former calling, endeavouring to improve in true godlineſs; in which he ſo advanced gradually, that when George Fox in the year 1651 came to Balby in Yorkſhire, and preached the goſpel there, he could not but conſent to the doctrine declared by him, as being the ſame of which he himſelf was already convinced in his mind, viz. That heed ought to be given to the inward divine reprovings for that which is evil; which doctrine was preached by George Fox under the denomination of *the true light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world;* and that heed muſt be given thereunto, as being *the grace which brings ſalvation*, of which the apoſtle ſpeaks in his epiſtle to Titus ii. 11, ſaying, *That it hath appeared to all men.* W. Dewſbury having heard ſuch a ſermon as this, agreed not only with G. Fox in this point of doctrine, but in proceſs of time became himſelf alſo a very zealous preacher of it; for which he fell under great ſufferings, inſomuch that he was priſoner at Warwick nineteen years for religion's-ſake, beſides the impriſonments he ſuffered on that account in other places. But being now releaſed, he came in the month called May to London, and preached a ſermon there concerning regeneration, which was taken from his mouth in ſhorthand, and afterwards printed as underneath.* His intention was A ſhort relation of the convincement ſufferings, ſervice and pious end of W. Dewſbury. Eph. vi. 12. Joh. xviii. 11. and 36. Nineteen years a priſoner at Warwick beſides at other places.

* *A* SERMON *preached by* WILLIAM DEWSBURY *at Grace-church-ſtreet, the 6th of the third month*, 1688.

MY FRIENDS,

Except you be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

THIS is the word of the Lord God to all people this day; this lies not in airy profeſſion, and in vain imagination, and whatſoever elſe it is that you deck yourſelves withal; you muſt every particular man and woman be born again, elſe you cannot enter into the kingdom of

1688. to have been at the yearly-meeting of his friends, but by illneſs he was prevented; and therefore before he grew worſe, he returned to Warwick, where he lived. Being come thither, his diſeaſe increaſed;

of heaven. This was the doctrine of Chriſt in that prepared body wherein he appeared in the world, and preached to Nicodemus, that ſtanding doctrine to this moment of time, and will be ſo while any man breathes upon the earth; there is no other way, no other gate to enter into life, but by this great work of regeneration. Now to enforce people to come to this great work, and to ſet forward from earth to heaven, all being driven out of paradiſe by the cherubim ſet with a flaming ſword; there is no returning to that bleſſed life, but by the loſs of that life that did grieve the ſpirit of God, and which did cauſe man to be driven out; there is no other way to return again but by this new birth. As you are all driven and forced out of paradiſe, and the flaming ſword and the cherubims are ſet to keep the way of the tree of life, ſo you muſt return into the favour of God again, by the light of Chriſt; and you have line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little, to direct your minds to the light of Chriſt Jeſus. As the firſt Adam was made a living ſoul, ſo the ſecond Adam is a quickening ſpirit. This know for certain, no man or woman can be quickened, and raiſed up into the life of the ſecond Adam, till the life of the firſt Adam be taken away from them.

So now, let every one of you deal plainly with your own hearts, how you came to be a ſlain people to the life of the firſt Adam, in which life there was a working of the myſtery of iniquity in every part of man. One cries lo here is Chriſt, another lo there is Chriſt, and every one is following his own imagination about the letter of the ſcripture: this is ſtill but the vain ſpirit of man, running and ſtriving to recover himſelf; and this is the cauſe there is ſo much profeſſion of God, and ſo little of his nature appearing among the ſons and daughters of men. Now all of you that come to be regenerated, you muſt come to the light of Chriſt, there is no other way to it. He will ſearch your hearts, and try your reins, and ſet your ſins in order before you, and trace out the iniquities that compaſs you about; therefore you muſt ſee yourſelves a loſt people, a ſinful people, and ſo come to feel the weight of your ſins upon your conſciences, there is no other way to come to life. You will never complain of ſin till you be burdened with it, till you have a trumpet ſounding in your ears, to awaken you, that you may ariſe from the dead, that Chriſt may give you light: there is no other way, dear people, you muſt bring your deeds to the light of Chriſt, and abide in the ſentence of condemnation: if you ſave your lives, you loſe them; if you will loſe your lives for Chriſt's-ſake, there is no danger of your eternal life. John the Baptiſt, Chriſt's forerunner, declared, *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire; whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.* What is it the better for you to read the ſcripture, if you know not this fiery baptiſm, which all muſt know that are regenerated; deceive not yourſelves, Chriſt will *appear in flaming fire, and take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

I ſtand here as a witneſs of the Lord of life this day, there is no way for people to come to ſalvation, but they muſt know Chriſt revealed in all their hearts. What is he doing but rendering vengeance upon the carnal mind, ſelf-pleaſing, and all inordinate affections; he comes with vengeance to take away thy life, he will baptize thee with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire. If thou knoweſt not this, thou art not a true chriſtian, thou wilt never look death in the face with joy, nor go down to the grave with triumph. If thou liveſt at home in the body, and flieſt for thy life, and wilt not be willing to loſe thy life for Chriſt if thou art called to it; and if thou wilt not have Chriſt to waſh thee (ſome for ſhineſs, and ſome for ſelf-love will refuſe this) if Chriſt doth not waſh thee, thou haſt no part in him: you muſt come to Chriſt to purify you in the fiery furnace; *the day of the Lord ſhall burn as an oven*, (as the prophet ſpeaks) this is a dreadful day, a day of vengeance, the day of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who redeemeth his people from their ſins, *Sion is redeemed with judgment, and eſtabliſhed with righteouſneſs.* Do not make the way to heaven eaſier in your minds and imaginations than indeed it is, and think it not ſufficient to live in an outward obſervance of the ways of God. If your own wills be alive, and your corruptions remain unmortified, the judgment of God will be your portion; therefore in the Lord's name come along with me, I am come to declare what I have heard and ſeen of the Father. Come and examine thy conſcience, haſt thou brought thy deeds to the light? then thou haſt received condemnation upon thyſelf, and thy haughtineſs is bowed down, and laid low, and thou ſeeſt thyſelf a poor miſerable wretch before the eternal God. Whatſoever thou knoweſt of the mind of God, haſt thou reformed thy ways, come along with me, and tell me what is the ground of thy faith, and thy confidence? Is it thy obedience and qualifications? Becauſe thy obedience is right, and thy qualifications right, what uſe doſt thou make of them? Read the book of conſcience, haſt thou no ground for thy faith? thou haſt put on the reformed faith, and liveſt an unreformed life; ſearch and try thyſelf, man, or woman. Doſt thou watch over thyſelf, and keep in a ſenſe of thy diſſolution, notwithſtanding all thy qualifications and partial reformation? Doſt thou *ſtrive to enter in at the ſtrait gate, and the narrow way?* here is the loſt ſheep, thou ſeekeſt, the life of thy will, the life of the firſt Adam: the juſtice of God will not ſuffer thee to make a Saviour of thy duties

creaſed; and lying very ſick in bed, and being viſited by ſome of his friends, he ſaid to them, in great weakneſs of body, as followeth: 1688.

'My

duties and qualifications, and to take God's jewels, and to deck thyſelf with them; thou canſt not be ſaved without the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt Jeſus. What ſaith thy conſcience, art thou brought to this change of thy mind, and of thy converſation? Are you all willing to part with your ſins, with your pride and haughtineſs? Are you willing to part with your vile affections? This is the work of God's grace upon you. Doſt thou place thy confidence in thy duties and qualifications, and takeſt God's jewels and ornaments, and deckeſt thyſelf with them? *Thou tookeſt my jewels*, ſaith the Lord, *and didſt play the harlot:* if thou return to the Lord, and humble thyſelf, and get through this difficulty, thou wilt be happy for-ever. This judgment of God, this flaming ſword that turns every way, will keep thee from returning to ſin, and bring thee to Chriſt, and cut thee off from all hope of ſalvation but by him, and make thee to ſee the abſolute need of a Saviour, and that thy *life is hid with Chriſt in God.*

It is God's infinite goodneſs to men that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. This is the condition of poor creatures that are ſlain by the hands of the Moſt High; how may I know when I am ſlain and baptized, and come to have ſincerity? They that have this baptiſm enter into the heavenly life: if you love the light of Chriſt Jeſus, it will be thus with you, God will make ſhort work in the earth. He will ſet thy ſins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holineſs of life and converſation, and make thee abhor thyſelf, and deſpiſe all the pomps and pleaſures and vanities of this world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch for the light, and in the light of Chriſt thou ſhalt ſee light, and that all thou haſt done, and canſt do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughteſt to do, thou art God's creature, and all this will not juſtify thee in order to thy eternal ſalvation; for theſe ſervices thou oweſt unto God. If thou diligently wait, thou ſhalt ſee more light; then the ſword that proceeds out of the mouth of Chriſt, who is called the Word of God, will cut thee off from all thy hopes of ſalvation from any thing thou haſt done, from any of thy qualifications, from any thing that thou canſt do, ſo that thou wilt be a hopeleſs ſoul, nothing in thine own ſenſe and apprehenſion: the power of the firſt Adam muſt die before him, and thou wilt cry out, I am a dead, loſt, and undone creature, but there is a life hid with Chriſt in God for me, but I can never have it till I be ſlain into the will of God, and become as a little child, and be ſtripped of all my own excellency that I have attained. I muſt come to a ſenſe of my own miſery, and fall down at the foot of God; when I am become as a little child, humbled and ſlain as to my own will, and confidence in my own righteouſneſs; I will not then queſtion but I ſhall live a holy life, but I will give all that life I had, for that *life which is hid with Chriſt in God;* O! there is none come ſo far that ever miſs of eternal life. All ſhuffling people that would have ſalvation by Chriſt, and will not let him exerciſe his heavenly power, his princely glorious power to baptize them into his death, it is they that come ſhort of ſalvation; but all thoſe that yield themſelves up to Chriſt to be redeemed through judgment, and are become as little children, theſe are in a happy ſtate. You know that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt took a little child in his arms, and ſaid, whoſoever becomes not as a little child, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; you muſt all of you become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God; you muſt all come to a holy reſignation of your wills to God's diſpoſal: If you come to Chriſt as little children, and depend upon him, you cannot miſs of ſalvation; it is entailed upon ſuch ſouls as hear the voice of Chriſt, *they that hear the voice of the Son of God ſhall live.*

I ſtand here as a witneſs for the God of heaven, I never heard the voice of Chriſt (as his follower) till I was ſlain and baptized, and lay as a little child under his heavenly chaſtiſements: as ſoon as ever my ſoul was brought to this in my humiliation, O then the dreadful judgment was taken away, and the book of life was opened unto me, and the Lord ſpake comfortably to me, *I have loved thee with an everlaſting love:* and I was made a chriſtian through a day of vengeance, and of burning as an oven; and the haughtineſs and pride of man in me was brought low. Now in this conformity to Chriſt's death people may die into life, and *bleſſed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them.* Away with all your own wills, and your pride, and haughtineſs, and your hypocriſy, and deceit, and all dependency upon any qualifications of your own; you muſt come to have your life ſeparated from you, elſe you will all periſh. Thoſe that will die with Chriſt, and be willing to die for him, he is revealed as a Saviour to them. He was before us, in the days of his fleſh, and complied with his Father's will; he was nailed to the croſs. The Son of God, when he was come to the depth of his ſufferings, what was his cry? *My God! my God! why haſt thou forſaken me?* This was for thy ſake, and my ſake, and every man and woman's ſake that do believe in him: he drank the cup which his Father gave him to drink; *if it was done thus to the green tree, what ſhall be done unto the dry?* He went before us, and when he cometh again he will take us to himſelf, and take us from the filth of ſin, that we may be made new creatures.

Now except we be born again, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and there is no becoming new creatures, till we be ſlain to the old man. Thou muſt be ſlain to thy pride and haughtineſs, and the corruption of thine own will, and all ſelfiſhneſs thou muſt have God to burn up in thee: the Holy Ghoſt will deſtroy, and burn up nothing in thee, but that

which

1688. ‘ My God hath yet put it in my heart to bear a teſtimony to his ‘ name and bleſſed truth, and I can never forget the day of his ‘ great power and bleſſed appearance, when he firſt ſent me to ‘ preach

which will bring an eternal fire upon thy ſoul. Shew me thou whom my ſoul loveth; where is the path of life, the footſteps of the flock of thy companions? Why ſhould I be as one that goes aſide? Now every one that lives at home, in the boſom of ſelf, take this with you, though you profeſs the truth, and live in an outward conformity thereunto, yet if you ſecretly indulge your corrupt wills, and live a fleſh-pleaſing life, and conſult with fleſh and blood, and are not rent off from your luſts, you cannot enjoy the Lord of life: *while I am at home in the body, I am abſent from the Lord.*

The body of ſin is a load-ſtone to draw you from the life of God, and from glorying in the croſs of Chriſt: this is fleſh and blood, and *fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* For the Lord's ſake, for your ſoul's ſake, and for the ſake of your eternal happineſs, put not off this work, but purſue it, and it will be perfected. See how Chriſt is revealed in you by the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire: God will redeem you *by the ſpirit of judgment and burning.* It is not ranging abroad in your minds, but you muſt know *Chriſt is in you except ye be reprobates;* if he hath ſet your eyes and hearts upon himſelf, and made you to water your couch with your tears; if he hath broken your ſleep, ſo as you have cried out, I ſhall be damned, and never come to ſalvation; (this will be your cry, it was once my cry,) O let not your eyes ſlumber, nor your eyelids take any reſt, till you be ſure the Lord is your God. If you find theſe qualifications, you are on your way, otherwiſe you will be like a deceitful bow, and never abide in judgment. If you reject the counſel of God againſt yourſelves, and refuſe to be crucified with Chriſt, and to be baptized with his baptiſm, you will never have life; but by his baptiſm, and through the heavenly operation of his ſpirit, if thou haſt faith in Chriſt's name, thou ſhalt be married to him in everlaſting righteouſneſs. Salvation ſhall be brought to us, and eternal life be beſtowed upon us; even that life which is hid with Chriſt in God, he will give to every poor mournful ſoul that ſubmits to his bleſſed will, and believeth in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: this is not a faith of our own making, nor a garment of our own embroidery, but that which the Lord hath given to us. O happy man or woman, that obtaineſt this gift of God! O! who will not loſe their lives for this everlaſting life? Who will not die for this eternal life? Now the matter lies in the death of your own wills, when you have done the will of God, then watch that your own wills be ſlain, and that your curſed ſelf take not the jewels of God, and his bracelets and ornaments, and beſtow them upon ſelf, and paint and deck curſed ſelf; and take not the members of Chriſt, and make them the members of an harlot. If you be dead to your own wills, you are riſen with Chriſt, and ſhall receive a reſurrection to eternal life. Crucify ſelf, and ſet the world at nought, and trample upon it, and all things of it, and count them as droſs and dung in compariſon of Chriſt, that the Father hath revealed to be our life, in the days of our ſorrow and mourning, in the day of our calamity, in the day when we cried our hope is loſt.

Thus it hath been with the holieſt people on earth: it is not by works of righteouſneſs of thy own that thou canſt be ſaved; Chriſt comes to cut all theſe down, that thou mayſt be ingrafted into him, and juſtified by his grace. Do not make this matter of talk, and ſay, I have heard this and that, but look into your own hearts, and ſee what heavenly workings are there; what there is of the power of the Lord Jeſus, that hath made you to loathe this world, and the inordinate love of the creature, that you may enjoy all theſe things, as if you enjoyed them not. We cannot when we are ſlain and crucified to this world, but ſay, my life is in Chriſt: when we come to aſcribe nothing to ourſelves, and all to Chriſt, here is a bleſſed harmony, broken hearts, melted ſpirits, and yet joyful ſouls; poor creatures that were mourning and ſighing, and crying before the Lord in retired places, and yet rejoicing in Chriſt Jeſus, I am riſen with Chriſt, I ſaid my hope is cut off, I will lie down in thy will, O God! do what thou wilt with me; it is in thy ſovereign pleaſure and free gift, whether thou give me life, or deny it to me. There muſt be a reſignation of ourſelves to the will of God; it was ſo with the Lord Jeſus, and it is ſo with every true ſaint of God; you muſt be humbled as little children before judgment be taken away, and the loving kindneſs of God ſealed up to your ſouls: if you ſeek this work of God, you will find it; if you ſeek it upon your beds, in all your labours and concernments, in all your ſtations and relations: if you preſs after the new birth, you muſt uſe this world as if you uſed it not, and live a married life, as if you were unmarried, for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away. This is not rantiſm.

But let me tell you, a new world comes by regeneration; a man is not lifted up in his own mind, but laid low in his own eyes; he waits for the wiſdom of God to govern him, and he is as a ſteward of the grace of God, to give to them that ſtand in need. When a man is regenerated and born again, he is as contented with bread and water, as with all the enjoyments of this world: what is the matter? his own will is gone, and put down under his feet, and whatſoever it is that gives life to all his vain deſires and affections! there is a harmony of all within, a man praiſing of God, and bleſſing his holy name; there are no entanglements ſhall draw away the heart from ſerving of God, and ſeeking his glory; and if God ſhall call the huſband from the wife, or the wife from the huſband, for the glory of his name, there is no whining and complaining, and crying out, but giving them up, and a praiſing and bleſſing God, when they are called

'preach the everlaſting goſpel, and to proclaim the day of the 1688.
'Lord to all people. Therefore, friends, be faithful, and truſt to
'the Lord your God; for this I can ſay, I never ſince played the
'coward,

called to ſuch an exerciſe; and if they are not called to that, then they ſet their hearts to glorify God in their ſeveral places and ſtations; then they have a full content in a bleſſed reſignation. Here their wills are ſlain, but they praiſe God, they have no deſire but Lord thy will be done, always praiſing God, always having the fear and the glory of God before their eyes. All the miſchief is hatched in pleaſing mens own wills: that is, the counſel of every heart that Chriſt doth not govern. Will you live as the Quakers? Then you muſt live contemptibly, the miſtreſs and the maid are hail-fellows, well-met! No, every one muſt walk in humility, and live in acquaintance with the God of heaven; ſhe that is wrought upon by the ſame ſpirit, muſt with all diligence behave herſelf as becomes a ſervant of the Lord. Here is now a new world, and the faſhions of the old world are gone; all pride, haughtineſs, croſſneſs, and trampling upon one another are all gone, all ſlain through the operation of Chriſt.

What remains now, Chriſt is in me, and we are all one in him; Chriſt laid down his life for thee and me; now he reigns in me, and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my ſin. It is a kind of fooliſh profeſſion, to make profeſſion of Chriſt, and live in covetouſneſs, profaneneſs, ſenſuality, and the like: they that are come to this heavenly birth, ſeek the things that are above, thou canſt do no other; make the tree good, and the fruit will be good. You muſt be ingrafted into the vine of God's righteouſneſs: O! ſlight not the day of your viſitation. What was it to me to read of any being born again, till I was ſlain, and knew the heavenly baptiſm of Chriſt Jeſus? till I ſaw the flaming ſword ready to ſlay me in every way, in every turning? The light of Chriſt convinced me of ſin, and his righteouſneſs juſtified me, and thoſe works were abominable to me, that hindered my ſoul's paſſage to Chriſt. Chriſt Jeſus in marrying my ſoul to himſelf ſeized upon me, and did work effectually in me: there is the teſtimony of Chriſt in me, he hath ſealed up my ſoul to the day of my redemption: here is a certain paſſage, and a certain way which never any miſs of that loſe their lives for Chriſt. If you be not ready and willing to loſe your lives for Chriſt, you ſhall never come here; the gate is ſtrait, and the way is narrow, none come hither but thoſe that die into an heavenly oneneſs with Chriſt. O friends, let us empty ourſelves, that Chriſt may fill us; let us be nothing in our own eyes, that we may be all in him, and receive of his fulneſs.

Now I commend you to God's witneſs, that you may remember what hath been ſpoken among you; but conſider, if you do not harken to it, it will follow you, and be a plague to you to all eternity. If you will not yield up yourſelves to Chriſt, this day that burns like an oven, this fire you muſt dwell with when out of the body, there will be no quenching of this fire forever: but if you be ſo wiſe for your ſouls, as to reſign yourſelves up to Chriſt, and come to him as little children, this will not hinder your earthly concerns; though the world may account thee a fool, yet thou haſt that part of heavenly wiſdom to do what thou doſt as unto God; thou carrieſt to thy wife, as in the ſight of God, that ſhe may be ſanctified to thee, and thou to her; and thou carrieſt becomingly to thy children and ſervants, and thou wilt abound in grace, and in every good work, which will be for thine eternal welfare.

O! I beſeech you people, for the Lord's-ſake, wait for the light of Chriſt to guide you; learn of him to be meek and lowly, then happy are you; for *he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off.* This new birth, which is a true work, a ſincere and heavenly work, it will make you for-ever. O! make room for Chriſt in your hearts, or elſe he is never like to dwell with you; he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite ſpirit; he abhors the proud; he will empty your ſouls, that he may fill them.

And ſo I commend you to God! I have been long held in durance under great weakneſs; and I was reſtleſs, till I could come up to this great city of London, to preach the everlaſting goſpel among you, and you ſee I am among you here. Pray every one of you turn inward; let not theſe words paſſing through a mean veſſel be as a bare empty diſcourſe of truth to you, which you only hear, and take no further care of your ſalvation. Take heed of deſpiſing the light that ſhines in the midſt of you, and be preſſing forward to the heavenly work that is laid in the power of Chriſt Jeſus, even through judgment into death, and then he will give eternal life. The Lord confirm this, that it may reſt upon your hearts, that you may be dead to the things of the world: *We are not come to Mount Sinai that genders to bondage, but we are come to Mount Sion the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly and church of the firſt born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of ſprinkling that ſpeaketh better things than that of Abel.* This is the inheritance of the redeemed of the Moſt High, bleſſed be the name of the Lord! Let us reſt in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowneſs of mind, that he may clothe us with heavenly glory according to his promiſe, *I will beautify my houſe with glory ſaith the Lord.* This is the portion of a poor people, that caſt down themſelves before the Lord, that he may lift them up and be all in all to them, in whoſe bleſſed *preſence they ſhall have joy, and rivers of pleaſure at his right-hand for evermore.*

1688. 'coward, but as joyfully entered priſons as palaces, and in the 'priſon-houſe I ſang praiſes to my God, and eſteemed the bolts 'and locks upon me as jewels. And friends, this I muſt once 'again teſtify to you in the name of the Lord God, that what I 'ſaw above thirty years ago, ſtill reſts as a teſtimony to leave be-'hind me, that a dreadful terrible day is at hand, and will cer-'tainly come to paſs; but the time when, I cannot ſay: but all 'put on ſtrength in the name of the Lord, and wait to feel his 'eternal power, to preſerve you through the tribulations of thoſe 'days that approach very near. This I have further to ſignify, that 'my departure draws nigh. Bleſſed be my God! I am prepared, 'and I have nothing to do but die, and put off this corruptible 'and mortal tabernacle, this fleſh that hath ſo many infirmities; 'but the life that dwells in it, aſcends out of the reach of death, 'hell and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown 'for-ever. Therefore you that are left behind, fear not, nor be 'diſcouraged, but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and 'bear a faithful and living teſtimony for him in your day; and 'the Lord will proſper his work in your hand, and cauſe his truth 'to flouriſh, and ſpread abroad; for it ſhall have the victory, and 'no weapon formed againſt it ſhall proſper.'

Thus fervent in ſpirit was W. Dewſbury in his latter end, and he prayed to God very earneſtly for all his friends, eſpecially thoſe that were met at the annual aſſembly at London. And ſo he very piouſly departed this life at his houſe, in a good old age, in the month called June, in this current year. He was indeed a man of a remarkable zeal and perception. He ſpoke ſometimes to young lads as to men, telling them that the bleſſing of the Lord would reſt upon them if they lived a godly life; ſome of which being ſince come to man's eſtate, have experienced the truth of his ſaying.

The death of R. Travers.

Two days before the deceaſe of W. Dewſbury, Rebecca Travers departed this life, at about the age of ſeventy-nine years. She was a woman exceedingly well gifted; and ſpoke not only ſometimes in publick for edification of the church, but wrote alſo ſeveral books for the advancement of piety; in one of which ſhe ſignified, 'That though ſhe had been a reader of the ſcriptures from a child 'of ſix years old; yet when by the power of the eternal goſpel ſhe 'was turned from darkneſs to light, the ſcriptures then became 'much more plain to her, as not wanting interpretation.' She was an excellent open-hearted woman, and took great care of the poor. She had ſeveral times been impriſoned for religion, but perſevered conſtantly in the faith, and ſo piouſly entered into eternal reſt.

As to ſtate affairs, there now appeared a wonderful agitation in England, ſince it was reported that the queen was big with child. And the endeavours for introducing popery, beſides the encroaching upon ſome rights and privileges, cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that William the third, prince of Orange, and ſtadtholder (or lord deputy) of Holland, &c. was entreated and invited by the Engliſh proteſtants to come to their aſſiſtance. This at length he did, and came over with a fleet, and a conſiderable number of forces. What was the iſſue of this expedition, is very amply deſcribed by other pens, and not properly my province to relate: wherefore I think it ſuf-

The prince of Orange lands in England;

ficient

ficient to my purpoſe to ſay, that the prince after ſome difficulty at ſea, came into England; where, having many adherents, the king, (many of whoſe forces deſerted him) reſolved to go to France, whither the queen with the young child was gone ſome time before. Accordingly he went over, where he was well received by the French king, who provided him a court at St. Germains. In the mean-while the prince of Orange came to London, and was ſaluted there by the great ones as the deliverer of England. The lord-mayor of the ſaid city, with the aldermen and the ſheriffs, having congratulated him; the prince ſent for ſome of the members of former parliaments to come to him, and ſignified to them, 'That he 'had deſired them to meet to adviſe him in the beſt manner how to 'purſue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament, for 'the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the reſtoring of the 'rights and liberties of the kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that 'they might not be in danger of being again ſubverted.'

1688.

And king James in France.

The prince adviſes with members of former parliaments how to purſue the ends of his declaration;

For which he receives their thanks.

In anſwer to this, thanks were given to the prince for his care and pains in defence of the people, their religion and laws; and all things took a favourable turn for him.

A fly paper publiſhed in Holland.

In Holland, a good while before, a paper was publiſhed in print, called, 'A copy of a letter written by a Quaker at London to his 'friend at Rotterdam.' In which forged letter were mentioned ſeveral things that were not altogether untrue, and the prince's going over to England, was alſo in a manner predicted. Who was the author of the ſaid letter, I could never learn, but of this I am fully ſatisfied, that he was no Quaker; for it never was their way to ridicule princes, and to characterize them with ridiculous denominations, as in the ſaid letter we find mentioned, of James of Great-Britain, Mary of Modena, William of Orange, and Mary of England his wife. This was no more the language of Quakers, than the following expreſſions that are found in this letter: 'The ſpirit 'hath inſpired me to tell thee, I ſhould not be able to declare my 'opinion, before the ſpirit ſhall have revealed it to me. If the ſpi-'rit doth dictate it to thee, go and ſpeak with him. Dentſch hath 'had a revelation, and the ſpirit hath aſſured him,' &c. This fooliſh language betrays itſelf, and ſerves for a palpable evidence, that it never proceeded from the pen of any of the people called Quakers. But perhaps the author of that letter knew a ſecret of ſtate, whereof (to remain unknown) he would acquaint the world in a ridiculous way; that under the cloak of being a Quaker, he ſhould beſt continue undiſcovered; and that by this device the letter would ſpread the more, as indeed it did, for it had a very quick vent.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

1689. Adminiſtration of the government offered to the prince of Orange.

I PROCEED now to the year 1689, in the beginning of which the peers of the realm, &c. offered the adminiſtration of the government to the prince of Orange, which he accepted of. Not long after he called a convention of the commons; for a parliament it could not be named, ſince in England none but a king

1689.

king has power to call a parliament. In the mean-while the prince had cauſed the princeſs his conſort to come over from Holland into England: and at length the convention, after many great debates, came to this reſolution, that the throne was vacant; the conſequence of which was, that the prince and princeſs of Orange were declared by the names of William the third, and Mary the ſecond, king and queen of England, &c. and accordingly were afterwards crowned. A large relation thereof is to be found in ſeveral books. By the way I'll only ſay, that the coronation was performed by the biſhop of London, the archbiſhop of Canterbury having refuſed to act in that ſolemnity: at the performance of which the king and queen were aſked by the biſhop, 'Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the peo-'ple of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto be-'longing, according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed to, and 'the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame?' To which the king and queen having anſwered, 'I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do;' the biſhop aſked, 'Will you to your power cauſe law and juſtice in mercy to 'be executed in all your judgments?' Anſwer was made, 'I will.' The next queſtion was, 'Will you to the utmoſt of your power 'maintain the law of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and 'the proteſtant reformed religion eſtabliſhed by law? And will you 'preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and to the 'churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and privileges 'as by law do or ſhall appertain to them or any of them?' To this the king and queen anſwered, 'All this I promiſe to do.' After this, they laying each of them their hands upon the book of the goſpel, ſaid, 'Theſe things which I have here before pro-'miſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God!' Under theſe punctual and nice queſtions was more hidden than ſome would think: for the king having anſwered ſo as hath been ſaid, could not now free any from paying tithes to the clergy, without violation of his oath.

He and his conſort are declared king and queen of England, and crowned.

Not long after William and Mary were thus made king and queen of England, they were alſo in Scotland declared king and queen of Scotland. And ſomebody in Holland denoted the year of his being made king in this manner, VVILheLMVs tertIVs angLIæ VInDeX. Not long after this a war was proclaimed againſt France, and the late king James, ſupported by the French king, went over to Ireland; from whence in proceſs of time he was driven away by king William, after the bloody battle near the river Boyn; but that not belonging to this hiſtory, I won't detain my reader with a relation thereof.

They are alſo declared king and queen of Scotland.

The late king James, driven out of Ireland by king William.

A king having now mounted the throne, the convention was turned into a parliament; and then this auguſt aſſembly made it their buſineſs to reſtrain the forcing of conſcience; and an act paſſed for exempting proteſtant diſſenters from the penal laws, by which ſome diſſenters, and eſpecially the Quakers, had ſuffered and been perſecuted many years. Yet care was taken to keep that law in force, by which Papiſts were excluded from ſitting in parliament. And thoſe penal laws, of which mention hath been made heretofore in due place, were now reſtrained, except the teſt act,

The parliament ſettle liberty of conſcience to proteſtant diſſenters by law.

act, properly required for ſerving in high offices, and to keep out the Papiſts. The aforeſaid act gave alſo liberty to diſſenters to keep religious meetings, provided the doors were not locked, barred, or bolted, during the time of ſuch meeting. But none of theſe diſſenters were freed from paying of tithes, or other church duties ſo called, to the clergy; nor from being cited before biſhops courts. But this liberty of keeping publick meetings was not allowed to Papiſts; for all that would participate of the ſaid liberty, were required to take the oath of allegiance; yet to comply with the people called Quakers, who for conſcience-ſake ſcrupled to take any oath, this act enjoined, that they ſhould ſubſcribe the following declaration: 1689.

Quakers declaration of fidelity.

'I A B do ſincerely promiſe, and ſolemnly declare, before 'God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king Wil- 'liam and queen Mary; and I do ſolemnly profeſs and declare, 'that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt and renounce as impious 'and heretical that damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes 'excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of 'the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, 'or any other whatſoever. And I declare that no foreign prince, 'perſon, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any 'power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, 'eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm.'

Beſides this they were obliged to ſubſcribe alſo another, with reſpect to their orthodoxy, and for excluding Socinianiſm.

Another of their chriſtian faith.

'I A B profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his 'eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy ſpirit, one God, bleſſ- 'ed for evermore: and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the 'Old and New-Teſtament to be given by divine inſpiration.'

And leſt any Papiſt might make uſe of this declaration, there were required ſufficient proteſtant witneſſes that the declarer was a proteſtant diſſenter. Beſides, 'No congregation or aſſembly for 'religious worſhip was permitted or allowed by this act, until the 'place of ſuch meeting ſhould be certified to the biſhop of the dio- 'ceſs, or to the arch-deacon of that arch-deaconry, or to the juſ- 'tices of the peace at the general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace, 'for the county, city, or place, in which ſuch meeting ſhould be 'held; and regiſtered in the ſaid biſhop's or arch-deacon's court 'reſpectively, or recorded at the ſaid general or quarter-ſeſſions; 'for which the regiſter or clerk ſhould not take greater fee or 'reward than ſixpence.'

Places of worſhip to be certified.

By this we now ſee the religion of the Quakers acknowledged and tolerated by an act of parliament, and themſelves releaſed from all perſecution for performance of their publick worſhip, and their refuſal of the oath of allegiance. This was a work reſerved for that great prince king William, who being born in a country, where force upon conſcience was abrogated when a proteſtant government was ſettled there, now alſo according to his ability introduced the like chriſtian liberty in England: but to releaſe from the payment of tithes was beyond his reach, how

King William the glorious inſtrument of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience by law.

1689. T. Turlow, prieſt, makes grievous ſpoil on J. Biſhop of Wortham.

unreaſonably ſoever the clergy acted in this caſe; whereof about this time a notable inſtance was publiſhed in print, of one John Biſhop a countryman at Wortham, from whom for two years tithes had been taken, horſes, kine, and ſheep, to the value of ſeventy-ſix pounds, according to the eſtimate of impartial perſons, though rated by himſelf at eighty-three pounds. And yet the prieſt Thomas Turlow had declared upon oath, that he believed that the tithes of every year's growth of the ſaid John Biſhop did amount, one year with another, to three pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix-pence; but the charges were reckoned ſo high, and the rating of the diſtrained goods was ſo very much beneath the real value, that the loſs thereby ſuſtained was exceeding great.

Quakers continuing to ſuffer in Barbados, ſend over a petition to the king;

In Barbados in the Weſt-Indies, where the inhabitants were marſhalled to bear arms, the Quakers, notwithſtanding what had been ordered in their favour by king James, continued yet under hard ſufferings, of which more in the ſequel. They now that were thus oppreſſed, ſent over a petition to the king, wherein they ſet forth how they were moleſted, and prayed for relief; which had ſuch effect, that the king iſſued out the following order:

At the COUNCIL *at* WHITEHALL, *December* 12, 1689.

Preſent the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

His order thereupon.

UPON reading a petition of the people called Quakers, inhabiting the iſland of Barbados, ſetting forth, that becauſe the ſaid Quakers could not bear arms, nor take an oath in any caſe, they have ſuffered much by virtue of an act made to ſettle the militia in the ſaid iſland, as in the petition hereunto annexed is more at large expreſſed; his majeſty in council is graciouſly pleaſed to refer the matter of the ſaid petition to the examination of James Kendal, Eſq. his majeſty's governor of Barbados for the time being, who is to give the petitioners ſuch relief in relation to the militia, as to him ſhall ſeem juſt and reaſonable to anſwer their particular circumſtances, and to make report thereof to his majeſty.

RICHARD COLLINGE.

This year deceaſed Alexander Parker, ſometimes mentioned in this hiſtory, being a man not only of a godly life and converſation, but alſo of a goodly mein and grave deportment. In the following year, viz. that of 1690, Robert Barclay alſo departed this life; a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but alſo well verſed in the writings of the ancient fathers, and other eccleſiaſtical writers; and furniſhed with a great underſtanding, being not only of a ſound judgment, but alſo ſtrong in arguments, and cheerful in ſufferings; beſides, he was of a friendly and pleaſant, yet grave converſation, and eminently fitted for compoſing of differences: and he really lived up to what he profeſſed, being of an unblameable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of thoſe he converſed with. And in this happy ſtate it pleaſed God to take him out of this vale of tears, into a glorious immortality, in the prime of his age, having not lived much above half the life of a man, as it is commonly

1690. The death of A. Parker. Death and character of R. Barclay.

commonly accounted, viz. in his 42d year, on the third of October, at his houſe at Ury in Scotland, where he died of a ſickneſs which did not laſt long; yet he ſignified with a good underſtanding, that it was well with him as to his ſoul. 1690.

This year Stephen Criſp wrote an epiſtle of tender love and brotherly advice to all the churches of Chriſt throughout the world, in which he exhorted them more particularly to charity; and ſince therein ſeveral remarkable duties are held forth and recommended, I cannot well omit to inſert a copy of it here, which is as followeth:

An epiſtle of S. Criſp well worthy the ſerious conſideration of all but particularly of ſuch as may be concerned in the management of the affairs of the church.

DEARLY beloved friends and brethren, gathered out of the world by the eternal arm and power of the mighty God, to bear his holy name in your generation; my love and life in the fellowſhip of the univerſal ſpirit ſalutes you all, and my prayer to God is, you may be kept ſteadfaſt and immovable in the grace of God, and in the communion of his holy ſpirit; that ye may bring forth fruit in abundance according to the abundant mercy and grace beſtowed upon you, to the glory of God, and to your mutual joy, comfort, and edification.

And that you may ſo do, let your eye be kept daily to the Lord, and behold and take notice of the wonderous works that he hath wrought in you, and for you, ſince the day ye were firſt quickened by his immortal word, and ſtirred up to ſeek after him, and to wait upon him. How good and gracious he hath been to you, in bringing you from the barren mountains, where your ſouls languiſhed for the heavenly nouriſhment, where you knew not the Lord, nor one another, but were without a comforter, or any to ſympathize with you in your mournings! Oh! how hath he pitied your groanings, and had compaſſion on your ſighings, and brought you into acquaintance with thoſe that were in the like exerciſes! and then he taught you to believe on him that was able to help you; and thoſe that were thus taught of the Father, and felt his drawing cords of love prevailing upon them, theſe came to Chriſt their Saviour, and in him began to feel a unity one with another, in the faith you had received in him; whereby you believed he would give you of his ſpirit to teach and guide you in the way of truth, righteouſneſs, and peace. And thus was the foundation of your holy communion laid, and a lively hope raiſed in each particular ſoul, that he that had begun this bleſſed work would carry it on; and this hope made you that ye were not aſhamed to make a publick profeſſion of his name before the world, but cheerfully to take up his croſs, and deny yourſelves of your former pleaſures, friendſhips, and delights of this world. This hope hath been your ſupport in many ſharp trials, and bitter combats you have had with the enemy of your ſoul's peace within, and with the enemies of God's holy way and truth without; and in all your conflicts you have found him nigh at hand, to put forth his power on your behalf, as you have depended upon him for his aſſiſtance: and by theſe experiences of his goodneſs, your faith hath been ſtrengthened; and by the ſame word of life that quickened you, many more have been reached unto, ſo that you have ſeen a daily addition of ſtrength in the particular, and alſo an addition to your number, to

The Lord's goodneſs worthy to be remembered.

your

1690. your great comfort and encouragement; and many have come to wait upon the Lord among you, and many are daily inquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. Theſe things are worth your remembrance, and ſerious conſideration, that you may look upon theſe great mercies, as obligations upon your ſouls to walk humbly before the Lord, and to be devout and fervent in your teſtimony, for that God that hath done thus great things for you.

His arm the ſupport of his people, againſt the deſigns of the adverſaries.

And, friends, conſider of the great works, that this mighty arm of the Lord hath brought to paſs in the general, as well as in the particular. How many contrivances have been framed, and laws and decrees made to lay you waſte, and to make you ceaſe to be a people; and how have the wicked rejoiced thereat for a ſeaſon, crying, 'ah! ha! thus would we have it; they are all now 'given up to baniſhments, to impriſonments, to ſpoils and ruins; 'now let us ſee if that inviſible arm they truſt in can deliver them.' Oh friends! how hath your God been your ſupport in the midſt of all theſe exerciſes! And when he hath pleaſed, how hath he quieted the ſharpeſt ſtorms, and turned back the greateſt floods and torrents of perſecution that ever you met! And how hath he confounded his and your enemies, and brought confuſion upon the heads of them that ſought your hurt! Were not theſe things wrought by the power of God? Did your number, your policy, your intereſt, or any thing that might be called your own, contribute any thing to theſe your great preſervations and deliverances? If not, then let God have the glory, and acknowledge to his praiſe: theſe have been the Lord's doings, and are marvellous in our eyes.

Again, dear friends, conſider how the wicked one hath wrought in a myſtery among yourſelves, to ſcatter you, and to lay you waſte from being a people as at this day; how many ſeveral ways hath he tried! raiſing up men of perverſe minds, to ſubvert, and to turn you from the faith, and from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, and to ſeparate you from that inviſible power that hath been your ſtrength, and to ſeparate you one from another, and by ſubtle wiles, to lead you into a falſe liberty above the croſs of Chriſt; and ſometimes by ſowing ſeeds of hereſy and ſeditions, endeavouring to corrupt the minds of whom they could, with pernicious principles: but oh, how have their deſigns been fruſtrated, and the authors thereof confounded and brought to nought! and how have you been preſerved as a flock under the hand of a careful ſhepherd, even unto this day! which miniſters great cauſe of thankſgiving unto all the faithful, who have witneſſed the working of this preſerving power in their own particulars.

He chooſes fit miniſters for his ſervice in the church.

Alſo, my friends, it is worth your conſideration, to behold how that by this inviſible power ſo many faithful watchmen are raiſed up upon the walls of your Zion, that in moſt of your meetings there be men and women, upon whom God hath laid a concern to be taking care for the good of the whole; and to take the overſight upon them, to ſee all things kept in good and decent order, and to make due proviſion for the comforting and relieving the neceſſities of the needy and diſtreſſed, that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable: and theſe have not been, nor are

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brought under this charge by any acts of yours; but God hath raiſed up paſtors and teachers, elders and deacons, of his own election and choice, and bowed their ſpirits to take upon them the work and ſervice to which they are appointed, for the Lord's-ſake, and for the body's-ſake, which is the church; to whom it may be truly ſaid, as in Acts xx. 28, *Take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers*, &c. And ſuch ought to be hearkened to in the diſcharge of their truſt, as thoſe that muſt give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their ſeveral works and ſervices in the church.

And by theſe ways and means hath the Lord eſtabliſhed among you a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preſerved from generation to generation, a people fitted for the glory that is, and ſhall daily more and more be revealed among and upon the faithful; who delight in that power that called them to be ſaints, and to bear a profeſſion for the holy name of GOD, againſt the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have ſet up; that the name of the LORD alone may be exalted.

And dear friends and brethren, I entreat you, that the conſideration of theſe great and weighty things which God hath wrought for you, and among you, may have that deep and weighty influence upon your ſouls, that ye may find yourſelves engaged to anſwer the love and mercy of God in your lives and converſations, and in all you have to do in this world; that ye may ſhew forth the honour of God in all things; that the light which hath ſhined in you, may ſhine forth through you unto others, who yet ſit in darkneſs; that all men may know by your innocent and harmleſs converſations, and by your cloſe keeping to the Lord, that ye are a people who are aſſiſted and helped by a ſupernatural power, which governs your wills, and ſubjects them to his bleſſed will, and that guides and orders your affections, and ſets them upon heavenly and divine objects, and that gives you power to deny your own private intereſts, where they happen to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of truth: for theſe, and theſe only, will be found the true diſciples of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who can deny themſelves, take up a croſs daily, and follow him in the guidance of his regenerating power, which brings death upon ſelf, and crucifies the old nature, with its affections and luſts, and raiſeth up a birth in you, that hath a holy will, and deſire to ſerve the Lord, and do his will in the earth; and ſuch as theſe are inſtruments in the hand of God for him to work by, and to do works of righteouſneſs, of juſtice, of charity, and all other the virtues belonging to a chriſtian life, to the honour of God, and for the comfort and benefit of his church and people.

An innocent and exemplary life recommended.

And all you, dear friends, upon whom the Lord hath laid a care for his honour, and for the proſperity of the truth, and gathered you into the good order of the goſpel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a ſingle eye to the Lord, to do the Lord's buſineſs in the leadings of his ſpirit, which is but one, and brings all (that are given up to be governed by it) to be of one mind and heart, at leaſt in the general

Excellent advice for the peaceable and prudent management of the debates in the publick affairs of the ſociety.

1690. purpoſe and ſervice of thoſe meetings. Although through the diverſity of exerciſes, and the ſeveral degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not ſee or underſtand alike in every matter, at the firſt propounding of it; yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders the brotherly kindneſs; but puts you often upon an exerciſe, and an inward travailling to feel the pure peaceable wiſdom that is from above, to open among you; and every one's ear is open to it, in whomſoever it ſpeaks, and thereby a ſenſe of life is given in the meeting, to which all that are of a ſimple and tender mind, join and agree. But if any among you ſhould be contrary minded, in the management of ſome outward affair relating to the truth, this doth not preſently break the unity that ye have in Chriſt, nor ſhould weaken the brotherly love, ſo long as he keeps waiting for an underſtanding from God, to be gathered into the ſame ſenſe with you, and walks with you according to the law of charity; ſuch a one ought to be borne with, and cheriſhed, and the ſupplications of your ſouls will go up to God for him, that God may reveal it to him, if it be his will, that ſo no difference may be in underſtanding, ſo far as is neceſſary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God. For, my friends, it is not of abſolute neceſſity that every member of the church ſhould have the ſame meaſure of underſtanding in all things; for then where were the duty of the ſtrong bearing with the weak? then where were the brother of low degree? where would be any ſubmitting to them that are ſet over others in the Lord? which all tend to the preſerving unity in the church, notwithſtanding the different meaſures, and different growths of the members thereof: for as the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets, ſo are the ſpirits of all that are kept in a true ſubjection to the ſpirit of life in themſelves, kept in the ſame ſubjection to the ſenſe of life given by the ſame ſpirit in the church; and by this means we come to know the one maſter even Chriſt, and have no room for other maſters in the matter of our obedience to God: and while every one keeps in this true ſubjection, the ſweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon Aaron's head, but it reacheth the ſkirts of his garment alſo; and things are kept ſweet and ſavoury, and ye love one another from the greateſt to the leaſt in ſincerity, and, as the apoſtle ſaith, *without diſſimulation:* and this love excludes all *whiſperings of evil things; all backbiting, talebearing, grudgings, and murmurings;* and keeps friends minds clean one towards another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preſerve each others reputation; and their hearts are comforted at the ſight of one another; and in all their affairs, both relating to the church, and to the world, they will be watchful over their own ſpirits, and keep in the Lord's power, over that nature and ground in themſelves that would be apt to take an offence, or conſtrue any word or action to a worſe ſenſe than the ſimplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned will allow of.

And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, ſome may have a different apprehenſion of a matter from the reſt of their brethren, eſpecially in outward or temporal things, there ought

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ought to be a chriſtian liberty maintained for ſuch to expreſs their ſenſe, with freedom of mind, or elſe they will go away burdened; whereas if they ſpeak their minds freely, and a friendly and chriſtian conference be admitted thereupon, they may be eaſed, and oftentimes the different apprehenſion of ſuch an one comes to be wholly removed, and his underſtanding opened, to ſee as the reſt ſee: for the danger in ſociety doth not lie ſo much in that, that ſome few may have a differing apprehenſion in ſome things from the general ſenſe, as it doth in this, namely, when ſuch that ſo differ, do ſuffer themſelves to be led out of the bond of charity, and ſhall labour to impoſe their private ſenſe upon the reſt of their brethren, and to be offended and angry if it be not received; this is the ſeed of ſedition and ſtrife that hath grown up in too too many, to their own hurt.

And therefore, my dear friends, beware of it, and ſeek not to drive a matter on in fierceneſs or in anger, nor to take offence into your minds at any time, becauſe what ſeems to be clear to you, is not preſently received; but let all things in the church be propounded with an awful reverence of him that is the head and life of it, who hath ſaid, *Where two or three are met in my name, I will be in the midſt of them:* and ſo he is, and may be felt by all who keep in his ſpirit; but he that follows his own ſpirit, ſees nothing, as he ought to ſee it. Therefore let all beware of their own ſpirits and natural tempers, (as they are ſometimes called) and let all keep in a gracious temper; then are ye fit for the ſervice of the houſe of God, whoſe houſe ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation that God hath laid; and he will build you up, and teach you how to build up one another in him. And as every member muſt feel life in themſelves, and all from one head, this life will not hurt itſelf in any, but be tender of the life in all; for by this one life of the Word ye were begotten, and by it ye are nouriſhed, and made to grow into your ſeveral ſervices in the church of God. It is no man's learning, nor artificial acquirements; it is no man's riches nor greatneſs in this world; it is no man's eloquence and natural wiſdom, that makes him fit for government in the church of Chriſt; unleſs he, with all his endowments, be ſeaſoned with the heavenly ſalt, and his ſpirit ſubjected, and his gifts paſs through the fire of God's altar, a ſacrifice to his praiſe and honour; that ſo ſelf be crucified and baptized into death, and the gifts made uſe of in the power of the reſurrection of the life of Jeſus in him. And when this great work is wrought in a man, then all his gifts and qualifications are ſanctified, and they are made uſe of for the good of the body, which is the church, and are as ornaments and jewels, which ſerve for the joy and comfort of all, who are partakers of the ſame divine fellowſhip of life in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord: and thus come many to be fitted and furniſhed to good words, and to good works, which are brought forth in their due ſeaſons, for edification, and building up the weak, and for repairing the decayed places, and alſo for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.

To beware of our own ſpirits.

Oh friends! great is the work the Lord hath called you to, and is a fitting you for, who innocently wait upon him; and the Lord hath

1690. hath opened my heart unto you, and laid it upon me to exhort and beſeech you to have a care that ye quit yourſelves as ye ought, in what God requires of you. And for the more particular expreſſing what lies before me in the matter, I ſhall ſet down a few particular obſervations for your benefit and advantage; and my ſoul's deſire is, that my labour of love may have a good effect in all your boſoms, that God may be honoured thereby. And, friends, ye know the chief buſineſs, to which ye are called in your particular men and womens meetings, is under theſe two heads—juſtice and charity: the firſt, to ſee that every one hath right done him; and the other, to take care there be nothing lacking to the comfort of the poor, that are made partakers of the ſame faith with you.

And when ye meet about theſe things, keep the Lord in your eye, and wait to feel his power to guide and direct you, to ſpeak and behave yourſelves in the church of God, as becomes the peaceable goſpel. And beware of all brittleneſs of ſpirit, and ſharp reflections upon each others words; for that will kindle up heats, and create a falſe fire: and when one takes a liberty of a ſharp word, ſpoken out of the true fear and tenderneſs, it oftentimes becomes a temptation to another; and if he hath not a great care, it will draw him out alſo; and then the firſt is guilty of two evils, firſt being led into a temptation, and then ſecondly, he becomes a tempter to others: therefore all had need be upon their watch, neither to tempt, nor be tempted. And let none think it a ſufficient excuſe for them that they were provoked; for we are as anſwerable to God for every evil word ſpoken upon provocation as without provocation; for, for that end hath the Lord revealed his power to us, to keep and preſerve us in his fear and counſel in the time of our provocations; and therefore if any man through want of watchfulneſs, ſhould be overtaken with heat or paſſion, *a ſoft anſwer appeaſeth wrath*, ſaith the wiſe man; and therefore ſuch a time is fitteſt for a ſoft anſwer, leſt the enemy prevail on any to their hurt, and to the grief and trouble of their brethren: for it is the proper duty of watchmen and overſeers, to ſpare the flock, that is, let nothing come nigh them that will hurt them, and wound and grieve them; nay, the good apoſtle was ſo careful over the flock of believers, that if there were any doubtful matters to be diſputed of, he would not have them that were weak in the faith at ſuch diſputes; much leſs ought they that are weak, to ſee thoſe that are ſtrong, deſcend from their ſtrength, and go into the weakneſs where they are not able to bear, for that is certainly the weak that cannot bear; thoſe that really live in the ſtrength and power, they can bear even burdens for them that cannot bear their own. The apoſtle in the place before-mentioned, when he ſent for the elders of Epheſus to Miletus, and left a charge with them, before he ſaid, *Take heed to the flock of God*, he ſaid, *Take ye heed to yourſelves:* and indeed we are none of us like to diſcharge ourſelves well towards others, but by taking heed to ourſelves, to be kept in that ſober innocent frame of ſpirit, which the truth calls for.

In the next place, my dear friends, when ye are called upon in point of juſtice, to give a ſentence of right between friend and friend, take heed that neither party get poſſeſſion of your ſpirit aforehand,

aforehand, by any way or means whatſoever, or obtain any word or ſentence from you in the abſence of the other party, he not being yet heard. There is nothing more comely among men than impartial judgment: judgment is a ſeat where neither intereſt, nor affection, nor former kindneſſes may come: we may make no difference of the worthineſs or unworthineſs of perſons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good man, being miſtaken, hath a bad cauſe, or a bad man a good cauſe, according to his cauſe muſt he have ſentence. It was a good ſaying, *He that judgeth among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it;* therefore let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to anſwer it in his preſence; and although ſome may for a time be diſcontent thereat, yet in time God ſhall clear up your innocency as the ſun at noonday; and they that kick at ſound judgment, will find but hard work of it, they do but kick againſt that which will prick them; and however ſuch, through their wilfulneſs, and their abounding in their own ſenſe, may hurt themſelves, yet you will be preſerved, and enjoy your peace and ſatisfaction in the diſcharge of your conſciences in the ſight of God.

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Juſtice to be adminiſtered with impartiality.

And as concerning practical charity, ye know it is ſupported by liberality, and where liberality ceaſeth, charity waxeth cold, yea, ſo far ceaſeth; where there is no contribution, there is no diſtribution; where the one is ſparing, the other is ſparing: and therefore let every one nouriſh charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind; a heart that looks upon the ſubſtance that is given him, as really beſtowed upon him for the ſupport of charity, as for the ſupport of his own body: and where people are of this mind, they will have a care of keeping back any of God's part, for he hath in all ages, in a moſt ſingular manner, eſpouſed the cauſe of the poor, the widow, and fatherleſs; and hath often ſignified by his prophets and miniſters, a ſpecial charge upon rich men that had this world's goods, that they ſhould look to it that they were faithful ſtewards of what they poſſeſſed; and that they might be found in good works, and might not ſuffer their hearts ſo to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the ſervice God had given them the things of this life for; either to give them up when called for in a teſtimony of his worthy name, or to communicate of them to thoſe that were in neceſſity.

Practical charity not to be withheld by rich men.

Now as concerning the neceſſities of the poor, there is great need of wiſdom when ye meet together about that affair; for as I ſaid before, tho' the worthineſs or unworthineſs of perſons is not to be conſidered in judgment, yet in this it is; and you will find ſome that God hath made poor, and ſome that have made themſelves poor, and ſome that others have made poor, which muſt all have their ſeveral conſiderations; in which you ought to labour to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one perſon more than another, but every one to love every one in the univerſal ſpirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifeſtations thereof, according to the meaſure that the Lord in his wiſdom, working in you, ſhall meaſure forth to them.

Worthy conſiderations about the poor and needy.

And as to thoſe who by ſickneſs, lameneſs, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of Providence; theſe

1690. are your peculiar care, and objects pointed out to you to beſtow your charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it; for as the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs of it, he hath by his ſovereign power commanded in every diſpenſation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, ſhould be thus employed. The Iſraelites were not to reap the corners of their fields, nor to gather the gleanings of the corn or vintage; it was for the poor: and in the time of the goſpel, they were to lay a part on the firſt-day of the week, a part of what God had bleſſed them with, for the relief of thoſe that were in neceſſity; nay, they did not confine themſelves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an univerſal eye through the whole church of Chriſt, and upon extraordinary occaſions, ſent their benevolence to relieve the ſaints at Jeruſalem in a time of need; and all that keep in the guidance of the ſame univerſal ſpirit, will make it their buſineſs to be found in the ſame practice of charity and good works. *To do good, and communicate, forget not*, ſaith the apoſtle: ſo they that forget not this chriſtian duty, will find out the poors part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandizings, as well as the old Iſraelite did the corners and gleanings of his field; and in the diſtribution of it, will have a regard to comfort the bowels of ſuch, who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying thoſe outward comforts of health, and ſtrength, and plenty, which others do enjoy; for while they are partakers of the ſame faith, and walk in the way of righteouſneſs with you, ſubmitting themſelves patiently to the diſpenſation of God's providence towards them, they are of your houſhold, and under your care, both to viſit, and to relieve as members of one body, of which Chriſt Jeſus is head, *and he that giveth to ſuch poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.*

But there is another ſort of poor, who make themſelves poor through their ſloth and careleſneſs, and ſometimes by their wilfulneſs, being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and make a flouriſh for a ſeaſon, and then, through their own neglects, are plunged down into great poverty: theſe are a ſort the primitive churches began to be troubled withal in the early days of the goſpel; for the apoſtle took notice of ſome that would not work at all, and ſharply reproved them, and ſaid, *they that would not work, ſhould not eat;* and theſe are commonly a ſort of buſybodies, and meddlers with others matters, while they neglect their own, and run into a worſe way than the unbelievers, while they profeſs to be believers, yet do not take a due care for thoſe of their own houſhold.

The charity that is proper to ſuch, is to give them admonition and reproof, and to convince them of their ſloth and negligence; and if they ſubmit to your reproof, and are willing to amend, then care ought to be taken to help them into a way and means to ſupport themſelves; and ſometimes by a little help in this kind, ſome have been reclaimed from the ſnares of their ſoul's enemy: but if they will not receive your wholeſome counſel and admonition, but kick againſt it, either in their words or actions, friends will be clear of ſuch in the ſight of God; for it is unreaſonable

to

to feed them that will not be ruled by you, who break the obligation of ſociety by their diſorderly walking; for our communion doth not ſtand only in frequenting meetings and hearing truth preached, but in anſwering the bleſſed principle of truth in life and converſation, and therein both the rich and the poor have fellowſhip one with another. 1690.

There is another ſort that are made poor by the oppreſſions and cruelties of others: theſe oppreſſed poor cry loud in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time avenge their cauſe; but in the mean-time there is a tenderneſs to be extended to them, not knowing how ſoon it may be our turn; and if there be need of counſel and advice, or if any applications can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppreſſors, in ſuch caſes, let all that are capable be ready and willing to adviſe, relieve, and help the diſtreſſed; and this is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to ſuch in their ſharp afflictions, and their ſouls will bleſs the inſtruments of their eaſe and comfort.

And, my dear friends, as God hath honoured you with ſo high and holy a calling, to be his ſervants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in ſetting forth his praiſe and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the ſcattered ſeed in this and other nations: oh! let the dignity of your calling, provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon the work and ſervice you are called to; and let not your concerns in the world, draw you from obſerving the times and ſeaſons appointed to meet together; but you that are elder, ſet a good example to the younger ſort, by a due obſervation of the hour appointed, that they that come firſt one time, may not by their long ſtaying for others be diſcouraged, ſo as perhaps they may be laſt another time; but when the time is come, leave your buſineſs for the Lord's work, and he will take care your buſineſs ſhall not ſuffer, but will add a bleſſing upon it, which will do more for you than the time can do that may be ſaved out of his ſervice.

To be good examples, in due and timely attendance on our duty;

And when you have to do with perverſe, and froward or diſorderly perſons, whom ye have occaſion to reprove, and to rebuke for the truth's-ſake, and you find them ſtout and high, and reflecting upon you; then is a time for the Lamb's meekneſs to ſhine forth, and for you to feel your authority in the name of Chriſt, to deal with ſuch an one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wiſdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wiſdom. And in this frame of mind you labour together to pull the entangled ſheep out of the thicket, and to reſtore that which is gone aſtray, to the fold again, if you can; but if you cannot, yet you ſave yourſelves from the guilt of his blood, and if ſuch do periſh, his blood will be on his own head. But on the other hand, if ye ſuffer their perverſe ſpirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, ſo as to kindle your ſpirits into a heat and paſſion, then you get a hurt, and are uncapable to do them any good; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be ſtiffened and ſtrengthened thereby, and you miſs the ſervice that you did really intend. Therefore, dearly beloved,

And to reprove the diſorderly with meekneſs and wiſdom.

keep

1690. keep upon your watch, keep on your ſpiritual armour; keep your *feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace*, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavours with good ſucceſs, to your joy and comfort, and will bring up his power over your adverſaries and oppoſers more and more, to which many ſhall bow and bend in your ſight; and will bring ſhame and confuſion upon the rebellious, who harden their hearts, and ſtiffen their necks againſt the Lord, and his Chriſt, and kingdom; which he will exalt in the earth, notwithſtanding all that Satan, and all his evil inſtruments can do, to hinder the growth and progreſs of his bleſſed truth; for of the increaſe of the government, and of the peace of the kingdom of Chriſt, there ſhall be no end.

And now, friends, I having cleared my conſcience of what lay upon me for ſome time, to write by way of remembrance, and as the exhortation of my life unto you, I remain travailling in ſpirit for the welfare of Zion. And although the outward man decays, yet in the inward man I am comforted, in beholding daily the great things that our God hath done, and is ſtill doing for thoſe that have their ſole dependance upon him. So I commit you to the grace of God, for your Director and Preſerver, in theſe and all your ſeveral ſervices unto which God hath called you; that by the operations of his mighty power ye may be kept blameleſs and unſpotted of the world, to his honour and your comfort, and to the univerſal comfort and edification of the church; that ſo praiſes and thankſgivings may fill your hearts and mouths, your families, and your meetings: for he is worthy who is our tower, our ſupport, the Lord of Hoſts, the King of ſaints; to whom be glory, honour and renown, through this and all generations, for-ever and ever! Amen!

London, the 15th of the 7th month, 1690.

From your friend and brother in the communion and fellowſhip of the goſpel of peace and purity,

STEPHEN CRISP.

1691. An account of the ſickneſs and death of G. Fox.

Paſſing now by other matters of this year, we ſtep to the next, being that of 1691, about the beginning of which G. Fox departed this life; who, even in the laſt period thereof, wrote much, and continued laborious without fainting. The laſt epiſtle I find of his, was to his friends and brethren in Ireland, who, becauſe of the revolution and troubles there, ſuffered much, chiefly as I think by the Papiſts; and therefore in the ſaid epiſtle he exhorted his friends to ſteadfaſtneſs. This was in the month called January; and the next day, being the firſt of the week, and the 11th of the ſaid month, he went to the meeting at Grace-church-ſtreet, where he preached very effectually, treating of many things with great power and clearneſs, and concluded with a prayer. After which, the meeting ending, he went to Henry Gouldney's in Whitehart-court, near the meeting-houſe, where he ſaid to ſome that came with him, 'he thought he felt the cold ſtrike to his heart, as he 'came out of the meeting;' yet added, 'I am glad I was here: 'now I am clear; I am fully clear.' When thoſe friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down in his clothes upon a bed, but ſoon roſe again; yet after a little time he lay down again, complaining

plaining ſtill of cold; and his ſtrength decaying, he not long after undreſſed and went to bed, where he lay in much contentment and reſignation, continuing very ſenſible to the laſt. His diſtemper increaſing, and perhaps perceiving that his end was at hand, he recommended the ſpreading of books, containing the doctrine of truth, to ſome of his friends, that came to him after having been ſent for. And to ſome others who came to viſit him in his illneſs, he ſaid, 'All is well, the ſeed of God reigns over all, and over 'death itſelf; and though,' continued he, 'I am weak in body, 'yet the power of God is over all, and the ſeed reigns over all 'diſorderly ſpirits.' He uſed often, even in his preaching, when he ſpoke of Chriſt, to call him the ſeed; wherefore thoſe that were with him, very well knew what he meant when he ſpoke of the ſeed. Thus he lay in a heavenly frame of mind, and his ſpirit being wholly exerciſed towards the Lord, he grew weaker and weaker in body, until on the third day of the week, and of his ſickneſs alſo, he piouſly departed this life. About four or five hours before, being aſked, 'how he did,' he anſwered, 'Don't 'heed, the power of the Lord is above all ſickneſs and death; the 'ſeed reigns, bleſſed be the Lord!' And thus triumphing over death, he departed from hence in peace, and ſlept ſweetly on the 13th of the month anciently called January, (for being as a door or entrance into the new year) about ten o'clock at night, in the 67th year of his age. His body was buried near Bunhill-Fields, on the 16th of the ſaid month, the corps being accompanied by great numbers of his friends, and of other people alſo: for tho' he had had many enemies, yet he made himſelf alſo beloved of many. 1691.

He was tall of ſtature, and pretty big bodied, yet very moderate in meat and drink; neither did he yield much to ſleep. He was a man of a deep underſtanding, and of a diſcerning ſpirit; and though his words were not always linked together by a neat grammatical connexion, and that his ſpeech ſometimes ſeemed abrupt, as with a kind of gap, yet he expreſſed himſelf intelligently, and what was wanting in human wiſdom, was abundantly ſupplied with heavenly knowledge. He was of a quick apprehenſion, and tho' his wit was not poliſhed by human arts, yet he was ingenious; and in his prayers (which generally were not very long, though powerful) appeared a decent gravity, mixed with an awful reverence, to admiration. His qualities are at large ſet forth by Thomas Elwood, an eminent author, who having much converſed with him, gave the following character of him: 'He was indeed 'an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and 'preferred the honour of God before all things. He was valiant 'for the truth, bold in aſſerting it, patient in ſuffering for it, un-'wearied in labouring in it, ſteady in his teſtimony to it, immove-'able as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in open-'ing heavenly myſteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent 'in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wiſdom, quick in 'diſcerning, ſound in judgment; able and ready in giving, diſcreet 'in keeping counſel; a lover of righteouſneſs, an encourager of 'virtue, juſtice, temperance, meekneſs, purity, chaſtity, modeſty, His character. His character by Thomas Elwood.

1691. 'humility, charity, and ſelf-denial in all, both by word and ex-
'ample. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in perſonage,
'grave in geſture, courteous in converſation, weighty in commu-
'nication, inſtructive in diſcourſe; free from affectation in ſpeech
'and carriage. A ſevere reprover of hard and obſtinate ſinners,
'a mild and gentle admoniſher of ſuch as were tender and ſenſible
'of their failings. Not apt to reſent perſonal wrongs, eaſy to
'forgive injuries; but zealouſly earneſt, where the honour of God,
'the proſperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned.
'Very tender, compaſſionate, and pitiful he was to all, that were
'under any ſort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fa-
'therly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Chriſt was
'daily upon him, the proſperity and peace whereof he ſtudiouſly
'ſought.' Yet more is ſaid of him to his praiſe, both by the ſaid Thomas Elwood and others, but I will not detain my reader any longer therewith. His wife, about ſix months before his death, came to him at London, and being glad of his health, which then was better than ſome time before, ſhe, after ſome ſtay in the ſaid city, returned home well ſatisfied, leaving him at London, where his general ſervice for the church ſeemed to be then moſt requiſite. After his deceaſe an epiſtle was found, which was wrote with his own hand, and left ſealed up with this ſuperſcription, 'Not to be 'opened before the time.' What this ſignified, ſeemed to be a riddle, but he being now deceaſed, it was judged to be the time to open this letter, which was directed to his friends, and was as followeth:

For the yearly and ſecond-day's meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. Fox.

This for all the children of God every where, that are led by his ſpirit, and do walk in his light, in which they have life, and unity, and fellowſhip with the Father, and the Son, and one with another.

An epiſtle of G. Fox left ſealed up.

KEEP all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jeſus, that be gathered in his name, by his light, grace, truth, power and ſpirit; by which you will feel his bleſſed and refreſhing preſence among you, and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

And now all friends, all your meetings, both mens and womens, monthly and quarterly, and yearly, &c. were ſet up by the power, and ſpirit, and wiſdom of God; and in them you do know that you have felt both his power, and ſpirit, and wiſdom, and bleſſed refreſhing preſence among you, and in you, to his praiſe and glory, and your comfort; ſo that you have been a *city ſet on a hill, that cannot be hid.*

And although many looſe and unruly ſpirits have riſen betimes to oppoſe you and them, both in print and other ways; yet you have ſeen how they have come to nought, and the Lord hath blaſted them, and brought their deeds to light, and made them manifeſt to be the trees without fruit, and wells without water, and wandering ſtars from the firmament of God's power, and the raging waves of the ſea, caſting up their mire and dirt: and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit, and the ſow that

was

was waſhed, turned again to the mire: and this hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people. 1691.

And therefore all to ſtand ſteadfaſt in Chriſt Jeſus your head, in whom ye are all one, male and female, and know his government, and of the increaſe of his government and peace there ſhall be no end; but there will be an end of the Devil's, and of all them that be out of Chriſt, and do oppoſe it and him, whoſe judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not ſlumber: and therefore in God and Chriſt's light, life, ſpirit and power live and walk; that is over all, (and the ſeed of it) in love and in innocency, and in ſimplicity; and in righteouſneſs and holineſs dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghoſt, in which God's kingdom doth ſtand. All children of new and heavenly Jeruſalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, ſpiritual children, to her keep your eyes.

And as for this ſpirit of rebellion and oppoſition, that hath riſen formerly and lately, it is out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jeruſalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words and works. And therefore friends are to live and walk in the power and ſpirit of God, that is over it, and in the ſeed, that will bruiſe and break it to pieces; in which ſeed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and ſpirit of God, that doth judge it; and all God's witneſſes in his tabernacle go out againſt it, and always have, and will.

And let no man live to ſelf, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and ſeek the peace of the church of Chriſt, and the peace of all men in him, for *bleſſed are the peacemakers*. And dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wiſdom of God, that is gentle and eaſy to be entreated, that is full of mercy; all ſtriving to be of one mind, heart, ſoul, and judgment in Chriſt, having his mind and ſpirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Chriſt, his church, who is the holy head thereof. So glory to God through Chriſt, in this age, and all other ages! who is the Rock and Foundation, and the Immanuel, God with us, amen, over all, the beginning and the ending; in him live and walk, in whom ye have life eternal, in whom ye will feel me, and I you.

All children of new Jeruſalem, that deſcends from above, the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light thereof, and is the temple; in it they are born again of the ſpirit: ſo Jeruſalem that is above is the mother of them that are born of the ſpirit. And ſo they that come, and are come to heavenly Jeruſalem, are them that receive Chriſt; and he giveth them power to become the ſons of God, and are born again of the ſpirit: ſo Jeruſalem that is their mother. And ſuch do come to heavenly Mount Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, and to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect; and are come to the church of the living God written in heaven, and have the name of God, and the city of God written upon them: ſo here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and a ſpiritual generation.

There is no ſchiſm, nor diviſion, nor contention, nor ſtrife, in heavenly Jeruſalem, nor in the body of Chriſt, which is made up of

1691. of living ſtones, a ſpiritual houſe. And Chriſt is not divided, for in him there is peace; Chriſt ſaith, *in me ye have peace:* and he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below, in the ſpirit of it there is trouble: therefore keep in Chriſt, and walk in him, Amen!

G. F.

Jeruſalem was the mother of all true chriſtians before the apoſtacy; and ſince, the outward chriſtians are broken into many ſects, and they have gotten many mothers: but all they that are come out of the apoſtacy by the power and ſpirit of Chriſt, Jeruſalem that is above is their mother, (and now below her) who doth nouriſh all her ſpiritual children.

G. F.

Read at the yearly-meeting in London, 1691.

W. Goodridge of Somerſetſhire releaſed after ſevere ſufferings.

This year I find that William Goodridge of Banwell in Somerſetſhire was releaſed from priſon, where he had been confined about thirteen years. He had been premunired for refuſing to take the oath; and his goods, whereof the moveables were rated at about two hundred forty-four pounds, and the real eſtate, counted worth ſixty pounds per annum, were confiſcated. Thus to ſuffer ſpoil of goods hath been the lot of many others; and among theſe was

B. Brown of Suffolk ſtripped of all.

Benjamin Brown, an ancient man, of Browniſh in Suffolk, who alſo, for not taking the oath, was ſtripped of all, ſo that his wife and child were fain to lie on the floor without a bed.

A ſhort account of the apoſtacy of G. Keith;

Now time calls me to ſay ſomething of the apoſtacy of George Keith, who being in Pennſylvania, made a great buſtle there. He was a witty perſon, and eſteemed very learned; and at the univerſity obtained the degree of maſter of arts. He often alſo gave proofs of an high ſoaring knowledge, and was very ready to ſhew

Who imbibes the notion of tranſmigration from Van Helmont.

from philoſophy the reaſons and cauſes of many things in the creation: but the doctrine of Francis Mercurius, baron of Helmont, concerning the tranſmigration of ſouls, became ſo palatable to him, that he not only in ſome manner approved it, but alſo was believed to be concerned in the book, containing two hundred queries about that matter; great part of which, as I have been informed, he acknowledged to have been put in writing by himſelf, though it appeared in publick without the author's name. But this notion meeting with no acceptance among the Quakers, his love to them began to abate, and his diſcontent increaſed, becauſe two perſons who oppoſed him had, as he ſaid, uſed ſome unwarrantable expreſſions, and were not ſo ſharply reproved as he, who was of a fiery temper, deſired. He accuſed them, that they had ſaid, 'That the light within was ſufficient to ſalvation, without any thing elſe;' from whence he endeavoured to prove, that they excluded the man Jeſus Chriſt, as not neceſſary to ſalvation; but they denied this to be their doctrine.

Differs with his brethren in Pennſylvania.

He afterwards ſaid of William Stockdell, one of thoſe two perſons at Philadelphia in Pennſylvania, 'that he had charged him, 'G. K. to have preached two Chriſts, becauſe he preached faith in 'Chriſt within, and in Chriſt without us.' Now though Stockdell would not allow this to be true, and ſome of the hearers alſo denied it, though aſſerted by two others of his party; yet G. Keith

blew

blew the fire of this quarrel, and ſo got ſome adherents. He alſo charged the deputy-governor Thomas Lloyd, to have ſaid, 'That 'faith in Chriſt without us, as he died for our ſins, and roſe again, 'was not neceſſary to our ſalvation:' but others ſaid, that the words were not ſo, and that the matter was not fairly ſtated; ſince the queſtion was not, 'whether faith in Chriſt without us, as he 'died for our ſins, and roſe again, was not neceſſary to our ſalva-'tion;' but 'whether that faith were indiſpenſably neceſſary to all 'mankind, and that none could be ſaved without it, though they 'had not the means, opportunity or capacity to know or receive 'it:' which being aſſerted, it was thought that ſuch a poſition did not only exclude from ſalvation whole nations, but alſo infants, and deaf and dumb perſons. Better had it been that ſuch queſtions never had been ſtarted; for a paſſionate maintaining of a different poſition often breeds ſtrife and contention. But G. Keith, with ſome others, having now ſeparated themſelves from the ſociety, he ſaid, 'his diſſatisfaction was only with ſome unſound 'Quakers in America; but he was in unity with all faithful friends 'in England.'

1691.

Separates from their ſociety.

And now he began to behave himſelf very diſreſpectfully, and was on that account ſharply reproved by the aforeſaid Tho. Lloyd, to whom he did not ſtick to ſpeak in a reproachful way, charging him with impudence, and ſaying, 'that he was unfit to be a go-'vernor, and that his name ſhould ſtink,' &c. And becauſe ſome members of the council did not expect to be better treated by him, ſince he had called one of the magiſtrates 'impudent raſcal,' this was much reſented; and the more, becauſe G. Keith having drawn in a printer, publiſhed a paper, wherein he not only ſcandalouſly ſlandered the diligence of the magiſtrates in reſtraining of robbers, but alſo the judicial proceedings againſt murderers. And ſeeing ſeveral Mennonites of the county of Meurs lived alſo in Pennſylvania, it was not much to be wondered, that they who count it unlawful for a chriſtian to bear the ſword of magiſtracy, did ſtick to him; and to get adherents ſeemed the main thing he aimed at, for he himſelf was not trained up under ſuch a notion, but in the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland. The conſequence of this caſe was, that Keith and one Thomas Budd, who, with him, had been compiler of the aforeſaid paper, were fined for it; but yet the government was ſo moderate, that the fine was never exacted; and for all that G. Keith did not ſtick to make a great clamour of his ſufferings, and about two years after he came into England, to make his complaint to the church at London.

Is reproachful to the deputy-governor, and ſlanders the magiſtrates in print.

Joined by the Mennonites.

Is fined for ſlandering the magiſtrates, but the fine not exacted.

Comes again into England, and complains to the church at London.

This year in the month called Auguſt, Stephen Criſp deceaſed near London. He had long been weak in body, and was much afflicted with the ſtone, performing nevertheleſs his miniſtry of the goſpel; and his ſervice was very acceptable, becauſe he had a gift beyond many, being not only ſound in doctrine and judgment, but grave and elegant in his utterance, and well qualified for convincing his hearers, and to touch them to the heart; ſo that he generally met with a great concourſe of people. Four days before his deceaſe, lying ſick in bed, and being under great pain, he was viſited by G. Whitehead, to whom he ſaid in ſubſtance, 'I ſee an

1692.

Qualifications and death of S. Criſp, with ſome of his dying expreſſions.

1692. 'end of mortality, and yet cannot come at it. I desire the Lord 'to deliver me out of this painful body; if he will but say the 'word, it is done: yet there is no cloud in my way; I have a 'full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus; my inte- 'grity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord, and I have 'peace and justification in Jesus Christ who made me so.' The day before his departure G. Whitehead being come again to see him, found him in a dying state, and almost speechless; yet he was understood to say, 'I hope I am gathering, I hope, I hope.' G. Whitehead near parting from him, asked him, 'whether he had any thing 'to his friends?' to which he gave this answer, 'Remember my 'dear love in Jesus Christ to all friends.' The next day, being the 28th of the aforesaid month, he died at Wansworth, about five miles from London. Many of his sermons taken in shorthand from his mouth are published in print, and give proofs of his having been indeed an able minister of the gospel.

Many of his sermons are printed.

The death of C. Evans, who had been imprisoned at Malta, and had undergone various other sufferings.

In this year died also Catharine Evans, who, as hath been mentioned here before, had been long imprisoned at Malta. She had suffered much for her religion; and in the year 1657, having at Salisbury exhorted the people to repentance, this so incensed the magistrates, that by order of Humphry Ditton, justice, and Robert Good, mayor, she was stripped, and fastened to the whipping-post in the market, and then whipped. Afterwards coming thither again, and speaking to the people in the market, by way of admonition, she was sent to Bridewell, and put into a dark nasty place. After her return from Malta, imprisonment fell to her share in England several times: once at Welchpool in Montgomeryshire in the year 1666, for refusing to swear; and several years after she was also imprisoned at Bristol; and after many adversities and great sufferings, having lived to a great age, she died, and so entered into everlasting rest.

George Keith appears at the yearly-meeting, but is irreconcilable; preaches at Turners-Hall.

Conforms to the church of England, is ordained, and puts on the surplice.

By his disingenuously misrepresenting the Quakers belief, he obliges

Now I return again to George Keith, who appeared in the annual assembly at London, anno 1694, but there he shewed himself so passionate and boisterous, that no means could be found to compose the difference. Yet he seemed to get adherents among some of the Separatists about London; but these also soon growing weary of him, he got a place called Turners-Hall to preach in. Here at first he had a great concourse of people, since novelties generally beget curiosity; but he from time to time more and more courting those of the church of England, and falling in with the Episcopalians, began to lose his esteem among people of other persuasions, especially when at length he entirely conformed to that church, which formerly in print he had zealously attacked; but in process of time he took a gown, and was ordained to be a preacher. After which he sometimes preached with the surplice on, which in all probability he would have abhorred before ever he joined with the Quakers; for he had been a member of the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland, which always hath been a zealous opposer of the Episcopal ceremonies. And since he had contradicted that, which formerly he had asserted and defended in good earnest, and charged the Quakers with a belief, which they never had owned to be theirs, they found themselves obliged publickly

to

to ſet forth their faith anew in print, which they had often before aſſerted both in words and writing, thereby to manifeſt that their belief was really orthodox, and agreeable with the holy ſcriptures. This they did by the following repreſentation, which in the year 1693, came forth in print at London, as follows, with this title: 1692. them anew to publiſh an account of their chriſtian doctrine. 1693.

The chriſtian doctrine, and ſociety of the people called QUAKERS, *cleared, &c.*

WHEREAS divers accounts have been lately publiſhed in print, of ſome late diviſion and diſputes between ſome perſons under the name of Quakers in Pennſylvania, about ſeveral fundamental doctrines of the chriſtian faith, (as is pretended by one party) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occaſion very unduly taken by our adverſaries to reproach both the chriſtian miniſtry, and whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and chriſtian profeſſion, both in England and elſewhere, though no ways concerned in the ſaid diviſion or matters charged, but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiſcreet and reproachful management thereof in print; to the amuſing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occaſion to the looſe, ignorant, and profane, to ſlight and contemn the truth, and the intereſt of the tender religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

We are, therefore, tenderly concerned for truth's-ſake, in behalf of the ſaid people (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are ſincere to God, and faithful to their chriſtian principle and profeſſion) to uſe our juſt endeavours to remove the reproach, and all cauſeleſs jealouſies concerning us, touching thoſe doctrines of chriſtianity, or any of them pretended, or ſuppoſed, to be in queſtion in the ſaid diviſion: in relation whereunto we do in the fear of God, and in ſimplicity and plainneſs of his truth received, ſolemnly and ſincerely declare what our chriſtian belief and profeſſion has been, and ſtill is, in reſpect to Jeſus Chriſt the only begotten Son of God, his ſuffering, death, reſurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

We ſincerely profeſs faith in God by his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, as being our Light and Life, our only way to the Father, and alſo our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father (a).

That God created all things, he made the worlds, by his Son Jeſus Chriſt, he being that powerful and living Word of God by whom all things were made (b); and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are One, in divine Being inſeparable; one true, living and eternal God, bleſſed for-ever (c).

Yet that this Word, or Son of God, in the fulneſs of time, took fleſh, became perfect man; according to the fleſh deſcended and came of the ſeed of Abraham and David (d), but was miraculouſly conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary (e): and alſo further, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the ſpirit of ſanctification, by the reſurrection from the dead (f). That

(a) Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 21. John xiv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5. (b) Eph. iii. ix. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. (c) 1 John v. 7. (d) Rom. i. 3, 4. (e) Mat. i. 23. (f) Rom. i. 3, 4.

1693. That in the Word (or Son of God) was life, and the ſame life was the light of men; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world (a); and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become children of the light (b): hereby we believe in Chriſt the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us; and wherein we muſt needs have ſincere reſpect and honour to, and belief in Chriſt, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehenſible glory and fulneſs (c); as he is the Fountain of life and light, and Giver thereof unto us--Chriſt as in himſelf, and as in us, being not divided: and that as man, Chriſt died for our ſins, roſe again, and was received up into glory in the heavens (d); he having, in his dying for all, been that one great univerſal offering and ſacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man (e); and he is the propitiation not for our ſins only, but for the ſins of the whole world (f): we were reconciled by his death, but ſaved by his life.

That Jeſus Chriſt who ſitteth at the right-hand of the throne of the majeſty in the heavens, yet is he our King, High-Prieſt and Prophet (g); in his church, a Miniſter of the ſanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man (h). He is Interceſſor and Advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the preſence of God for us (i), being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, ſufferings and ſorrows; and alſo by his ſpirit in our hearts, he maketh interceſſion according to the will of God, crying Abba! Father (k).

For any whom God hath gifted (l) and called, ſincerely to preach faith in the ſame Chriſt, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Chriſts, but one and the ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt (m); having reſpect to thoſe degrees of our ſpiritual knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus in us (n), and to his own unſpeakable fulneſs and glory (o), as in himſelf, in his own entire being; wherein Chriſt himſelf and the leaſt meaſure of his light or life, as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor ſeparable, no more than the ſun is from its light. And as he aſcended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things (p), his fulneſs cannot be comprehended, or contained in any finite creature (q), but in ſome meaſure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the ſame, as of his fulneſs we have received grace for grace. Chriſt our Mediator, received the ſpirit, not by meaſure (r), but in fulneſs; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of his gift (s).

That the goſpel of the grace of God ſhould be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt (t), being one (u), in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, and indiviſible, (or not to be divided) in the great work of man's ſalvation.

We

(a) John i. 4, 9. (b) John xii. 36. Iſai. ii. 5. (c) 1 Tim. vi. 16. (d) 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28, and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26, and xxiv. 26. (e) Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Eph. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. (f) 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. (g) Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1, 6. Deut. xviii. 15, 18. Acts iii. 22, and vii. 37. (h) Heb. viii. 1, 2. (i) Heb. vii. 25. and ix. 24 (k) Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34. Gal. iv. 6. (l) Eph. iii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. (m) 1 Cor. viii. 6, and xv. 3, 8. (n) John xv. 26, and xvi. 13, 14, 15. (o) John i. 16. (p) Eph. iv. 10. (q) Col. i. 19, and ii. 9. (r) John iii. 34. (s) Eph. iv. 7. (t) Mat. xxviii. 19. (u) John i. 1, 2, 3, 4.

1693.

We ſincerely confeſs and believe in Jeſus Chriſt, both as he is true God, and perfect man (a); and that he is the author of our living faith in the power and goodneſs of God, as manifeſted in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and by his own bleſſed ſpirit, or divine unction, revealed in us (b); whereby we inwardly feel and taſte of his goodneſs (c), life and virtue, ſo as our ſouls live and proſper by and in him: and the inward ſenſe of this divine power of Chriſt, and faith in the ſame, and this inward experience is abſolutely neceſſary to make a true, ſincere and perfect chriſtian in ſpirit and life.

That divine honour and worſhip is due to the Son of God (d); and that he is, in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt called upon, as the primitive chriſtians did (e); becauſe of the glorious union or oneneſs of the Father and the Son (f); and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praiſes to God, nor receive a gracious anſwer or bleſſing from God, but in and through his dear Son Chriſt.

That Chriſt's body that was crucified was not the godhead, yet by the power of God was raiſed from the dead; and that the ſame Chriſt that was therein crucified, aſcended into heaven and glory (g), is not queſtioned by us. His fleſh ſaw no corruption (h), it did not corrupt; but yet doubtleſs his body was changed into a more glorious (i) and heavenly condition, than it was in when ſubject to divers ſufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raiſed from the dead, ſo as to become ſuch a glorious body, as it is declared to be, is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend or pry into, and more meet for angels to ſee: the ſcripture is ſilent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to inquire or diſpute it; nor do we eſteem it neceſſary to make ourſelves wiſe above (k) what is written, as to the manner or condition of Chriſt's glorious body, as in heaven; no more than to inquire how Chriſt appeared in divers manners or forms (l), or how he came in among his diſciples, the doors being ſhut (m), or how he vaniſhed out of their ſight, after he was riſen. However, we have cauſe to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a moſt glorious condition, far tranſcending what it was in on earth; otherwiſe how ſhould our low body be changed, ſo as to be made like unto his glorious body (n): for when he was on earth, and attended with ſufferings, he was ſaid to be like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted (o); which may not be ſo ſaid of him as now in a ſtate of glory, as he prayed for (p); otherwiſe where would be the change both in him and in us?

True and living faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Son of the living God (q), has reſpect to his entire being and fulneſs; to him entirely as in himſelf, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto

(a) John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. (b) 1 John ii. 20, 27. and i. 1. (c) 1 Peter ii. 3. John vi. 33, 35, 51, 57, 58. (d) John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. (e) 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. (f) John x. 30. 1 John v. (g) Luke xxiv. 26. (h) Pſal. xvi. 10. Acts ii. 31. and xiii. 35, 37. (i) Phil. iii. 21. (k) 1 Cor. iv. 6. (l) Mat. xvi. 12. John xx. 15. (m) John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36, 37. and xxiv. 31. (n) Phil. iii. 21. (o) Heb. ii. 17. and iv. 15. (p) John xxii. 5. (q) John xiv. 1.

1693. him (a); and alſo an eye and reſpect to the ſame Son of God (b) as inwardly making himſelf known in the ſoul, in every degree of his light, life, ſpirit, grace, and truth, and as he is both the word of faith, and a quickening ſpirit in us (c), whereby he is the immediate cauſe, author, object, and ſtrength of our living faith in his name and power, and of the work of our ſalvation from ſin and bondage of corruption: and the Son of God cannot be divided from the leaſt or loweſt appearance of his own divine light, or life in us or in mankind, no more than the ſun from its own light; nor is the ſufficiency of his light within, by us ſet up in oppoſition to him the man Chriſt, or his fulneſs conſidered as in himſelf, or without us; nor can any meaſure or degree of light, received from Chriſt, as ſuch, be properly called the fulneſs of Chriſt, or Chriſt as in fulneſs, nor exclude him ſo conſidered from being our complete Saviour; for Chriſt himſelf to be our light, our life and Saviour (d) is ſo conſiſtent, that without his light we could not know life, nor him to ſave us from ſin, or deliver us from darkneſs, condemnation or wrath to come: and where the leaſt degree or meaſure of this light and life of Chriſt within, is ſincerely waited in, followed and obeyed, there is a bleſſed increaſe of light and grace known and felt; as the path of the juſt it ſhines more and more, until the perfect day (e), and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, hath been, and is truly experienced. And this light, life or ſpirit of Chriſt within, (for they are one divine principle) is ſufficient to lead unto all truth, having in it the divers miniſtrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and goſpel, even that goſpel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven; it does not only, as in its firſt miniſtration manifeſt ſin, and reprove and condemn for ſin, but alſo excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance, and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Chriſt Jeſus, which he has obtained for mankind in thoſe goſpel terms of faith in his name, true repentance and converſion to Chriſt, thereby required.

So that the light and life of the ſon of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the ſecond or new covenant, as Chriſt the light is confeſſed to be (even as he is the ſeed or word of faith in all men) this does not leave men or women, who believe in the light, under the firſt covenant, nor as ſons of the bond-woman, as the literal Jews were, (when gone from the ſpirit of God, and his Chriſt in them) but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, into the new and living way, and to the adoption of ſons, to be children and ſons of the free-woman, of Jeruſalem from above.

'Tis true, that we ought not to lay aſide, nor any way to undervalue (but highly to eſteem) true preaching and the holy ſcriptures, and the ſincere belief and faith of Chriſt, as he died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification, together with Chriſt's inward

(a) Mat. xxviii. 18. and xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. i. 4. and ii. 8. (b) John xiv. 23. and xvii. 21, 22, 23, 24, 26. (c) 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. (d) John i. 4. 9. and iii. 19, 20. and xii. 35, 36, 46. and viii. 12. (e) Prov. iv. 18. Pſal. xxxvi. 9.

ward and ſpiritual appearance, and work of grace in the ſoul, livingly to open the myſtery of his death, and perfectly to effect both our reconciliation, ſanctification, and juſtification: and where ever Chriſt qualifies and calls any to preach and demonſtrate the myſtery of his coming, death, and reſurrection, &c. even among the Gentiles, Chriſt ought accordingly to be both preached, believed and received. 1693.

Yet ſuppoſing there have been, or are ſuch pious and conſcientious Gentiles, in whom Chriſt was and is as the ſeed or principle of the ſecond or new covenant, the light, the word of faith, as is granted, and that ſuch live uprightly and faithfully to that light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who therefore in that ſtate cannot periſh, but ſhall be ſaved, as is alſo confeſſed; and ſuppoſing theſe have not the outward advantage, of preaching, ſcripture, or thence the knowledge of Chriſt's outward coming, being outwardly crucified and riſen from the dead—can ſuch thus conſidered be juſtly excluded chriſtianity, or the covenant of grace, (as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof;) or truly deemed no chriſtians, or void of any chriſtian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within; or be only ſons of the firſt covenant, and bond-woman, like the literal outſide Jews? Or muſt all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Chriſt, within them, unleſs they have the knowledge of Chriſt, as without them? No [illegible]re! for that would imply inſufficiency in Chriſt and his light, as within them, and to fruſtrate God's good end and promiſe of Chriſt, and his free and univerſal love and grace to mankind, in ſending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary; that they muſt have ſome true faith and intereſt in Chriſt and his Mediation, becauſe of God's free love in Chriſt to all mankind, and Chriſt's dying for all men (a); and being given for a light of the Gentiles, and for ſalvation to the ends of the earth (b); and becauſe of their living up ſincerely and faithfully to his light in them—their being pious, conſcientious, accepted and ſaved, (as is granted.) We cannot reaſonably think a ſincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of chriſtianity, of what nation ſoever he be, becauſe none can come to God or godlineſs but by Chriſt (c), by his light and grace in them: yet we grant if there be ſuch pious ſincere men or women, as have not the ſcripture or knowledge of Chriſt, as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect chriſtians in all perfections, as in all knowledge and underſtanding, all points of doctrine, outward profeſſion of Chriſt; ſo that, they are better than they profeſs or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward, and chriſtians inward, than in outward ſhew or profeſſion. There are chriſtians ſincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and ſubſtance, tho' not in knowledge and underſtanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true chriſtianity, the fruits of the ſpirit of Chriſt in them, that can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points, or articles of faith (yea many that cannot read letters) yet may be true chriſtians in ſpirit and life; and ſome could die for Chriſt, that could not diſpute for him; and even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of

(a) 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. (b) Iſa. xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii. 47. (c) John xiv. 6.

1693. of God, or ſalvation in and by Chriſt Jeſus; the image and nature of the Son of God, being in ſome meaſure in them, and they under God's care and ſpecial providence. See Mat. xviii. 2, 10.

And tho' we had the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New-Teſtament, and a belief of Chriſt crucified and riſen, &c. we never truly knew the myſtery thereof, until we were turned to the light of his grace and ſpirit within us; we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and ſaved by his life; or what it was to know the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, the power of his reſurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death, we knew not, until he opened our eyes, and turned our minds from darkneſs, unto his own divine light and life within us.

Notwithſtanding, we do ſincerely and greatly eſteem and value the holy ſcriptures, preaching and teaching of faithful, divinely inſpired, gifted and qualified perſons and miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, as being great outward helps, and inſtrumental in his hand, and by his ſpirit for converſion, where God is pleaſed to afford thoſe outward helps and means; as that we neither do nor may oppoſe, the ſufficiency of the light or ſpirit of Chriſt within, to ſuch outward helps or means, ſo as to reject, diſeſteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the ſame light and ſpirit, and tend to turn mens minds thereunto, and all center therein.

Nor can the holy ſcriptures or true preaching without, be juſtly ſet in oppoſition to the light or ſpirit of God or Chriſt within; for his faithful meſſengers are miniſters thereof, being ſent to turn people to the ſame light and ſpirit in them, Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

'Tis certain that great is the myſtery of godlineſs in itſelf, in its own being and excellency, namely, that God ſhould be, and was manifeſt in the fleſh, juſtified in the ſpirit, ſeen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

And it is a great and precious myſtery of godlineſs and chriſtianity alſo, that Chriſt ſhould be ſpiritually and effectually in mens hearts, to ſave and deliver them from ſin, Satan, and bondage of corruption; Chriſt being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith, Chriſt within the hope of glory, our Light and Life, who of God is made unto us, wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this myſtery of godlineſs, both as in its own being and glory, and alſo as in men (in many hid and in ſome revealed) hath been and muſt be teſtified, preached, and believed, where God is pleaſed to give commiſſion, and prepare peoples hearts for the ſame; and not in man's will.

Concerning 'the reſurrection of the dead, and the great day of 'judgment, yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and 'Chriſt's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead' (as divers queſtions are put in ſuch terms)—what the holy ſcriptures plainly declare and teſtify in theſe matters, we have great reaſon to credit, and not to queſtion, and have been always ready to embrace, with reſpect to Chriſt, and his apoſtles own teſtimony and propheſies.

1. For

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1. For the doctrine of the reſurrection: If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. we ſincerely believe, not only a reſurrection in Chriſt from the fallen ſinful ſtate here, but a riſing and aſcending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at laſt appears, we may appear with him in glory, Col. iii. iv. 1 John iii. 2.

But that all the wicked, who live in rebellion againſt the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, ſhall come forth to the reſurrection of condemnation.

And that the ſoul or ſpirit of every man and woman, ſhall be reſerved in its own diſtinct and proper being, (ſo as there ſhall be as many ſouls in the world to come as in this) and every ſeed, yea every ſoul, ſhall have its proper body, as God is pleaſed to give it, 1 Cor. xv. 38. A natural body is ſown, a ſpiritual body is raiſed; that being firſt which is natural, and afterward that which is ſpiritual. And though it is ſaid this corruptible ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal ſhall put on immortality; the change ſhall be ſuch as fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. 50. We ſhall be raiſed out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the reſurrection, ſhall be equal to the angels of God in heaven: Matthew xxii. 30. Mark xii. 25. Luke xx. 36.

And as the celeſtial bodies do far excel terreſtrial; ſo we expect our ſpiritual bodies in the reſurrection, ſhall far excel what our bodies now are; and we hope none can juſtly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we eſteem it very unneceſſary to diſpute or queſtion how the dead are raiſed, or with what body they come; but rather ſubmit that to the wiſdom and pleaſure of Almighty God.

2. For the doctrine of eternal judgment:

God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and he is both judge of quick and dead, and of the ſtates and ends of all mankind, John v. 22, 27. Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

That there ſhall be hereafter a great harveſt, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the holy ſcripture is clear, Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41. chap. x. 15. and xi. 24. Jude i. 6. When the Son of man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then ſhall he ſit upon the throne of his glory, and before him ſhall be gathered all nations, &c. Mat. xxv. 31, 32. to the end, compared with ch. xxii. 31. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26. and 1 Cor. xv. 52. 2 Theſ. i. 7, 8. to the end, and 1 Theſ. iv. 16. Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

That this bleſſed heavenly Man, this Son of man, who hath ſo deeply ſuffered and endured ſo many great indignities and perſecutions from his adverſaries, (both to himſelf, and his members and brethren) ſhould at laſt, even in the laſt and great day, ſignally and manifeſtly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly hoſt and retinue, before all nations, before all his enemies, and thoſe that have denied him: this will be to their

1693. great terror and amazement, that this moſt glorious, heavenly Man, and his brethren, that have been ſo much contemned and ſet at nought, ſhould be thus exalted over their enemies and perſecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that ſuffer with him, ſhould appear with him in glory and dignity, when he thus appears at laſt. Chriſt was judge of the world, and the prince thereof, when on earth, John ix. 39. and xii. 31. He is ſtill judge of the world, the wickedneſs and prince thereof, by his light, ſpirit, and goſpel in mens hearts and conſciences, John xvi. 8, 11. Mat. xii. 8, 20. Iſa. xlii. 1. Rom. ii. 16. 1 Pet. iv. 6. And he will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteouſneſs by that Man whom he hath ordained. Chriſt foretold, It ſhall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his meſſengers or miniſters, &c. Mat. x. 15. and ſee chap. xi. 24. and Mark vi. 11. Luke x. 12, 14. 'Tis certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at laſt to bring them forth, and raiſe them up into glory with Chriſt; ſo he knoweth alſo how to reſerve the unjuſt and finally impenitent unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed, 2 Pet. ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of deſtruction, Job xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reſerve ſuch impenitent, preſumptuous, and rebellious criminals, as bound under chains of darkneſs (as were the fallen angels) unto the judgment of the great day, Jude i. 6. Mat. xxv. 30. 'Tis not for us to determine or diſpute the manner how they ſhall be ſo reſerved; but leave it to God; he knows how.

A poſtſcript relating to the doctrine of the reſurrection and eternal judgment.

AT the laſt trump of God, and voice of the archangel, the dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe firſt, 1 Cor. xv. 52. 1 Theſ. iv. 16. compared with Mat. xxiv. 31.

Many are often alarmed in conſcience here by the word and voice of God, who ſtop their ears, and ſlight thoſe warnings; but the great and final alarm of the laſt trumpet, they cannot ſtop their ears againſt, nor eſcape; it will unavoidably ſeize upon, and further awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their conſciences unto repentance, nor out of their ſins here, muſt certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

Whoſoever do now wilfully ſhut their eyes, hate, contemn, or ſhun the light of Chriſt, or his appearance within, ſhall at laſt be made to ſee, and not be able to ſhun or hide themſelves, from his glorious and dreadful appearance from heaven with his mighty angels; as with lightening and in flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 Theſ. iv. 17. Mat. xxiv. 27. Luke xvii. 24. Dan. x. 6. Job xxxvii. 3.

And tho' many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and ſhut up the records or books thereof

in

in their own conſciences, they ſhall all be at laſt opened, and every one judged of theſe things recorded therein, according to their works, Rev. x. 12, 13, 14, 15. 1693.

Signed in behalf of our chriſtian profeſſion and people aforeſaid.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
AMBROSE RIGG,
WILLIAM FALLOWFIELD,
JAMES PARKE,
CHARLES MARSHALL,
JOHN BOWATER,
JOHN VAUGHTON,
WILLIAM BINGLEY.

This paper generally gave ſatisfaction, and was well received alſo in Holland, where, having tranſlated it into Dutch, I got it publiſhed in print. Now ſince Francis Bugg, an envious apoſtate, charged the Quakers with ſome Socinian notions, and being ſet on by ſome Churchmen, endeavoured alſo to render them odious with the government; the following confeſſion of faith, ſigned by one and thirty perſons, of which G. Whitehead was one, was in December preſented to the parliament:

F. Bugg, an envious apoſtate, charges the Quakers with Socinian notions;

Be it known to all, that we ſincerely believe and confeſs,

'I. That Jeſus of Nazareth, who was born of the virgin Mary, 'is the true Meſſiah, the very Chriſt, the Son of the living God, 'to whom all the prophets gave witneſs: and that we do highly 'value his death, ſufferings, works, offices, and merits for the 'redemption of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine and 'miniſtry.

And thereupon this confeſſion of faith is preſented to the parliament.

'II. That this very Chriſt of God, who is the Lamb of God, 'that takes away the ſins of the world, was ſlain, was dead, and 'is alive; and lives for-ever in his divine eternal glory, dominion, 'and power with the Father.

'III. That the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New-Teſtament, 'are of divine authority, as being given by inſpiration of God.

'IV. And that magiſtracy, or civil government, is God's ordi-'nance; the good ends thereof being for the puniſhment of evil-'doers, and praiſe of them that do well.'

By this and the like writings, the eyes of many that were at the helm began to be more opened; and even among the biſhops were ſome that inclined to moderation: for the king endeavoured as much as he could, to promote the moſt moderate among the Churchmen to thoſe high dignities; and prejudice, which had blinded many in reſpect to the Quakers, began to abate more and more. But yet there was one thing which continually cauſed them much hardſhip, viz. their refuſing to ſwear; for by reaſon of this, they were not only deprived of their rights as freemen, but alſo of giving evidence in courts of judicature. They did not therefore omit from time to time to petition the parliament, wherein they deſired to be relieved of this heavy burden; though hitherto they had not been able to obtain this favour: wherefore, on the 26th of November, they delivered a petition to the parliament, ſetting forth their great ſufferings, for want of their ſolemn declaration being taken inſtead of an oath; and that not in their own

By theſe means ſuch as are in the government are informed, and grow more moderate.

Friends preſent a petition to the parliament for an affirmation inſtead of an oath.

1693. own caſes only, but in evidence wherein others were concerned. This petition they concluded thus:

'We therefore earneſtly and humbly requeſt, that you will 'favourably pleaſe to give leave, to bring in a bill to admit, that 'our ſolemn anſwer, affirmation, or denial, may be accepted in-'ſtead of an oath, to relieve us in the caſes aforeſaid, or in ſuch 'of them as you in your wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet: we freely ſub-'mitting, that if any reputed a Quaker, ſhall falſify the truth, 'and be duly convicted thereof, that every ſuch perſon ſhall un-'dergo the like pains and penalties, as are provided againſt per-'jured perſons. And your petitioners ſhall, as in duty bound, 'pray,' &c.

WILLIAM MEAD, WILLIAM BINGLEY,
GEORGE WHITEHEAD, SAMUEL WALDENFIELD,
WILLIAM CROUCH, JOHN STAPLOE,
WALTER BENTAL, WILLIAM MACKER,
THOMAS HART, JOSEPH WRIGHT, jun.
MICHAEL RUSSEL, THEODOR ECCLESTONE.

This petition being read in the houſe of commons, they came to the following reſolution:

'A petition of the people called Quakers was read. Reſolved, 'that the conſideration thereof be referred to a committee; and 'that they report their opinions therein to the houſe.'

The committee to whom the ſaid petition was referred, agree they ought to have relief;

A committee being ordered accordingly, ſat thereupon, and gave their judgment as followeth:

'Upon the whole it is the opinion of this committee, that the 'Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their 'petition.'

But their enemies find means to retard it.

But nothing was obtained that ſeſſion; for their enemies were yet ſo powerful in parliament, that they found means to retard this beneficial work, and to ſtay the progreſs of it: for ſo long as the Quakers were not relieved in the caſe of oaths, they who now were not liable to proſecution on account of their publick worſhip, might yet for all that be otherwiſe moleſted and vexed; wherefore, on

1694. the 22d of December, in the year 1694, a repreſentation of their caſe of not ſwearing, being ſigned in their behalf by Theodor Eccleſtone, was delivered to the members of parliament, and was as followeth:

A brief repreſentation of the Quakers caſe of not ſwearing; and why they might have been, and yet may be relieved therein, by parliament:

Thereupon T. Eccleſtone in their behalf, gives the members of parliament a repreſentation of their caſe.

'TIS a certain truth, that among chriſtians, and proteſtants eſpecially, there are divers particular things about religion, conſcientiouſly ſcrupled by ſome as unlawful, that others eſteem orthodox: and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the Quakers differ from many others, though not from all, in this caſe of oaths; they believing they are abſolutely forbid to ſwear in any caſe, by that poſitive command of Chriſt, Mat. v. 44. and the

the earneſt exhortation of his apoſtle, James v. 12. And that this is undeniably their chriſtian perſuaſion, is evidenced by their ſufferings theſe many years for not ſwearing. 1694.

And therefore their caſe may be worth the charitable notice of the government, by law to relieve them therein; and not for their religious perſuaſion, to continue them and their families expoſed to ruin, who among their neighbours cheerfully pay to the ſupport of the government, and by their trades and induſtry, according to their capacities, advance the national ſtock.

It may therefore be humbly offered, that it is not the intereſt of the government to refuſe them relief.

Their induſtry in trade, both at ſea and land, bringing profit to the government, as well as others; the ſtation they ſtand in, as merchants, farmers, manufacturers, improvers of lands and ſtocks, is advantageous to their neighbours as truly as others. And as it ſeems not the intereſt of the government in general, that they ſhould be any ways diſcouraged in their honeſt induſtry, ſo neither is it the intereſt of an eminent part of the government, that they ſhould not be relieved, viz. the judges.

For the frequent ſuits that are brought againſt the Quakers, before the chancery and exchequer judges, are no doubt very troubleſome and burdenſome, by the difficulty of getting at a juſt iſſue, for want of ſwearing; whereby juſtice is delayed, and their cauſes often held very long; and no doubt when juſt judges ſee the Quakers wronged and abuſed, and cannot relieve them, it is irkſome to them: ſo that it is humbly conceived, it would be a great eaſe to thoſe courts, to have the Quakers relieved in this caſe of oaths.

Neither is it without advantage to the king's other courts, to be able to uſe the evidence of one who is now a Quaker, that perhaps was not ſo, ſome years ago; when he was a witneſs to a bill, bond, book-debt, or deed of indenture; or when he was ſteward, or truſtee, or ſervant, either to perſons of quality, or to others of trade, or eſtate.

Nor may their teſtimony be unuſeful to coroners, in caſe of unnatural deaths; nor inconvenient in caſes of treſpaſs or felony, &c.

And it is further propoſed, that it is not the intereſt of the ſubject to continue them unrelieved: for it is not the intereſt of thoſe the Quakers are indebted to; becauſe, though ſuch may ſue and harraſs the Quakers in perſon and eſtate, yet they may long want a deciſion of their debt or claim, as to the right of it, for want of an anſwer upon oath.

It is not the intereſt of thoſe they are concerned with, in any doubtful caſe, becauſe of the difficulty to come to trial.

And for thoſe that owe money to the Quakers, to be allowed to fly into chancery for a refuge, to obſtruct paying juſt debts, is ſuch an injury, as it is hoped, no one that is rational will countenance, or deſire ſhould be continued upon them. And may it not then be aſſerted, that it is no honeſt man's true and juſt intereſt, to have the Quakers denied relief; no, not the gown-men of Weſtminſter-Hall, whoſe few fees from the Quakers, as plaintiffs, might ſuggeſt (tho' unduly) that they have no long-tailed debts to ſue for, nor titles to recover; but if they ſo ſuppoſe, it is a miſtake, for it

1694. is rather their deſpair of relief, and their well-known inability to purſue a cauſe, that is their common determent to begin.

So that of all cauſes that crowd thoſe courts, few are brought by the Quakers, though they may need it as much as others, to the great loſs of the learned in the law, as well as the poor injured Quaker.

And one might think it were great pity an induſtrious people ſhould be kept liable to all injurious ſuits, and ſo much barred from ſuing for their rights, be their cauſe never ſo reaſonable, juſt or neceſſary.

Seeing their relief is to them ſo needful, ſo harmleſs to all, and ſo uſeful to the government, and their neighbours; let us a little conſider the common objections; which may be ſummed up in ſhort, thus:

First objection, How ſhall we then be at a certainty?
Secondly, Why ſhould the laws be altered for them? for,
Thirdly, It would be to raſe old foundations:
Fourthly, And let them into the government.

Which it is hoped will not be difficult to anſwer one by one, and that to reaſonable ſatisfaction.

And to the firſt, viz. The doubt of certainty: It may be rationally affirmed, that whoſoever is bound to tell the truth, (eſpecially againſt mens own intereſt, where the temptation, if any, mainly lies) ſuch are either ſo bound by the law of God, or the laws of men, or both.

Now the obligations by the law of God are binding on good men, whether they give anſwers on oath, or on their ſolemn affirmation in the fear of God; and knaves are only bound by the penal laws of men; which if made equally ſevere, to thoſe that give fallacious anſwers, as well without oath as by oath, would be equally effectual and binding, both to them that give anſwers without ſwearing, and to them that ſwear.

The ſecond objection, That it would be an alteration of the law: Not of the ſubſtance of the law, but of a circumſtance; and if that hath no detriment in it, but that the alteration be really an amendment, and a conveniency to an honeſt, induſtrious people, pray why ſhould it not be done? What ſeſſion of parliament is there, that paſſes, but ſome law or other is made for the eaſe, ſecurity, or relief of the ſubject?

If foreigners are too hard for our ſea-faring people; out goes an act of navigation to prevent it.

If our poor at home want ſilk to work with; how ſoon is it granted (notwithſtanding the ſame act) to come over land, and not directly in ſhipping from the places of its produce, as the ſaid act before did enjoin? and ſhall the eaſe of trade be ſo ſoon granted againſt a poſitive ſtatute; and the eaſe of conſcience be ſo long denied in this, as poſitive a command of Chriſt, at leaſt really ſo believed and accepted?

And

1694.

And for the third objection, That it is to raſe old foundations: Anſwer, No, as it was ſaid, it is rather to mend them; a proper work for parliaments!

Did not parliaments abrogate Popery, with all its claim of antiquity? Did not a parliament make the act of Habeas Corpus againſt the claim of prerogative? and was it more reaſonable to ſecure the ſubject from perpetual impriſonment by a king without trial, than it is to ſecure the ſubject from impriſoning another till death, for not giving an anſwer in chancery, or exchequer upon oath? Does it belong to parliaments to ſecure other ſubjects in their eſtates, liberties, and properties? and is it unparliamentary to ſecure the Quakers from ſequeſtrations againſt their whole eſtates, becauſe they dare not comply to a circumſtance of the law; when, as they underſtand it, it is againſt an expreſs command of Chriſt? Surely no! and therefore their relief in parliament is a fitting caſe to be there tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

May it not then be well worth the while for this preſent parliament, to relieve theſe diſtreſſed people, and afford their ſuffering caſe redreſs? that thereby their cauſes may the ſooner come to an iſſue, whether they ſue for juſt debts, or are ſued; whereby many unjuſt and vexatious ſuits, by injurious and litigious perſons, may be prevented, which have often tended rather to the Quakers ruin, and others damage, than recovery of their right.

As to the fourth objection, That it will tend to let them into the government: For anſwer thereto, Bar that as hard as you pleaſe; only don't let the ſuppoſal of that, from which ſo eaſily and ſo willingly they may be excluded, be a hinderance to that eaſe and benefit the government may ſo eaſily afford them.

But now while you have opportunity by the ſtation Providence has placed you in, pray be you of ſuch noble, generous ſpirits, as to relieve them; though they differ from you in the conſtruction of a text they eſteem plain and poſitive on their ſide, and from which they dare not ſwerve; having therein the concurrence of many ancient fathers, and martyrs, and ſince them the Menniſts, and of late Francis Oſbourne, Eſq. in his Political Reflections, ſeventh edition, page 319; who treating of judicial caſes, calls not ſwearing, a yielding a ſincere and faithful obedience to the precept of our Saviour, *ſwear not at all*, which, ſays he, the corrupt gloſſes of expoſitors labour much, tho' all in vain, to elude.

Chryſoſtom, &c. Swinderby's appeal to the king. Walter Brute's declaration. Acts and monuments, vol. I. 570, new edition. Young's firſt exam. fol. 910, old edition; with abundance others.

And Swinderby in his appeal to the king, complaining of the errors of the Papiſts, ſays thus, 'As Chriſt forbids ſwearing, ſo' ſays he, 'the pope juſtifieth ſwearing, and compels men to ſwear;' which no man can rationally ſay, is only ſpoken of ſwearing in communication, for his complaint is againſt juſtifying ſwearing, and compelling men to ſwear; which cannot be pretended to mean other than ſolemn ſwearing; for no age, that we read of, did ever authorize profane ſwearing, much leſs compel to it.

Since therefore not only profane ſwearing, but alſo ſolemn ſwearing, was early complained of by proteſtants, let it not ſeem ſtrange to any, that the Quakers now ſcruple ſwearing, and for eaſe therein have often ſought relief in parliament—the proper place.

Seeing

1694. Seeing then they believe they have the authority of Chriſt's command, and the apoſtle's exhortation, and the martyrs doctrine on their ſide; though divers of you are not ſo perſuaded: yet let the world behold your juſtice and willingneſs, according to your power, to do good to all the honeſt and induſtrious people you both repreſent and govern; by enacting, 'that their ſolemn 'affirmation ſhall be accepted in lieu of an oath; and all that 'falſify therein, ſhall be puniſhed equally with perjured perſons:' it having been made appear to a committee of this parliament, December 2d, 1692, that they are expoſed to great hardſhips, as aforeſaid; and not themſelves only, but others alſo: [which was the caſe of a member or two of this preſent parliament.]

So that upon the whole matter, the ſaid committee were of opinion, and did report it to the houſe, THAT THE QUAKERS OUGHT TO BE RELIEVED ACCORDING TO THE PRAYER OF THEIR PETITION, [then newly preſented to the houſe.]

Wherefore, as liberty hath been given them to declare their allegiance to the government without ſwearing, for which eaſe they are ſincerely thankful; ſo be pleaſed to add to that kindneſs their relief in the matter of oaths, between them and other ſubjects, as well as between the government and them.

London, Dec. 22, 1694. *Signed in behalf of the ſaid people,*

THEODOR ECCLESTONE.

Though after the delivering of the ſaid repreſentation, the parliament this year came not to a full reſolution for their relief; yet ſeveral members ſhewed themſelves more inclined to it, and in the next year the matter was taken in hand again in good earneſt.

The death of the worthy queen Mary the II.

Toward the concluſion of this year, Mary the ſecond, queen of England, deceaſed: ſhe was a princeſs eminent beyond many, being well verſed in reading, and of great knowledge, of which I'll mention only this paſſage, viz. that the ambaſſador of the king her father at the Hague, having tried by many arguments to bring her over to the papal religion, ſaid afterwards in the preſence of ſome great men, 'that he never before believed that 'a woman was to be found any where, ſo well experienced in 'the doctrine of the chriſtian religion; and that therefore he would 'not adviſe any to enter into diſcourſe with her about that matter.' On the 21ſt of December ſome ſymptoms of the ſmall-pox appeared on the queen, who had been ill a day or two before; and her diſtemper ſuddenly increaſed to that degree, that the phyſicians began to deſpair of her recovery; but this was ſo far from frightening her, that ſhe ſaid, 'God be thanked, I am prepared.' And this quietneſs of mind did not leave her, even when ſhe felt death approaching; for then ſhe was heard to ſay, 'I believe now 'that I ſhall die ſhortly; and I thank God, that from my youth 'I have learned this true doctrine, That repentance ought not to 'be deferred to a dying-bed.' In ſuch a chriſtian diſpoſition ſhe continued to her dying hour, and ſo quietly gave up the ghoſt to her Creator from whom ſhe had received it, departing at Kenſington not long after midnight, between the 26th and 27th of December,

The Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague in vain endeavours to reconcile her to the popiſh religion.

Her religious end.

December, and left the king in unſpeakable ſorrow, who, in all the time of her ſickneſs, 'tis ſaid, had not departed from her chamber. Many pens laboured to celebrate her praiſes, and bewail her death; and perhaps no queen in many ages hath been more beloved than ſhe was. But I break off; others have given an account of her excellent qualities and character to the world, and it may be none better than Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, in a treatiſe, entitled, 'An Eſſay on the Memory of the late Queen.'

1694. The king conſtantly with her in the time of her ſickneſs. The biſhop of Saliſbury writes an eſſay on her memory.

Now I return again to the caſe and affairs of the Quakers.

And ſince thoſe of Barbados, in America, were ſtill about this time much moleſted, for not bearing arms, they ſent over a liſt in the year 1695, of what had been taken from them under the government of the colonels Searle and Muddiford, the preſident Wallum, the lords Francis Willoughby, and William Willoughby, the knight Jonathan Atkins, and Richard Dutton, and the colonels Edwin Stede and James Kendal, all which amounted to 1423164 lb. Muſcovado ſugar, and £. 2910 16s. in money. To this liſt was joined an account of the diſaſters which befel ſeveral of the perſecutors in Barbados. In this account I find above thirty marſhals or the deputies named, who, though they had enriched themſelves with the ſpoil and havock of the goods of honeſt people, yet they all died poor, and ſeveral either by an unnatural death, or with great pains; but I decline mentioning all the particulars. Among theſe was John Thurborn, marſhal to colonel Tidcomb, who uſed ſcoffingly to call the Quakers his 'milch-cows,' ſaying, 'that 'George Gray,' one of theſe people, 'was one of his beſt cows, 'and gave a brave meſs of milk every exerciſing-day.' For he and other ſuch birds of prey took always much more than the fine amounted to: but at length he died in poverty, being afflicted with a fiſtula in his fundament, that did admit of no cure.

The ſufferings of the Quakers in Barbados for not bearing arms; 1695.

And fate of many of their perſecutors,

And in particular of John Thurborn.

It was not only for not bearing arms that the Quakers ſuffered thus; but frequent occaſions were ſought to vex them. For when they, to bring their negroes, if poſſible, to ſome knowledge of the true God, cauſed them to meet together for an hour or two once a week, to inſtruct them according to their capacity, by reading to them ſome part of the holy ſcriptures, and ſpeaking ſomething to this purpoſe, a law was made, forbidding the Quakers to let their negroes come into their meetings, tho' kept in their own houſes, on pain of forfeiting every ſuch negro as was found there, or ten pounds inſtead thereof. And by one Tho. Cobham an action was brought againſt Ralph Fretwell, for eighty negroes of his own at a meeting in his own family: but tho' the juſtice John Merrick, did what he could to countenance the ſaid Cobham, yet after ſeveral ſeſſions of the court, at which the ſaid juſtice was an aſſiſtant, judgment was given in favour of the defendant; and it was remarkable that the aboveſaid Cobham, tho' a luſty likely young man, became dejected, and generally ſlighted; and ſoon after was taken with a fever and an inflammation in his neck and throat, which ſo increaſed, that towards his latter end he cried out, 'Fire! fire! 'I am all on fire!' and to his mother he ſaid, 'ſhe need not pro- 'vide a coffin for him; for he ſhould be burnt up before it was 'made,' crying out, 'neither heaven nor hell, but all fire! fire!'

A law made, forbidding Quakers to let their negroes be preſent at their meetings.

An action brought againſt R. Fretwell, for 80 negroes at a meeting, by T. Cobham, who loſes the cauſe, and dies in a dreadful condition.

1695.

The diſmal end of other proſecutors of this new law.

to which he added, 'Now the Quakers will ſay it is a judgment 'fallen on me.' After this manner he miſerably ended his days. And juſtice Merrick's exit was alſo diſmal: for riding to his houſe, after having drank too much, he was thrown from his horſe, whereby his brain was ſo hurt, that he lay ſome days in a violent raving condition, to the terror of his friends, and ſo died. In like manner William Sharp, a judge of the court, who had been a great oppoſer of the Quakers inſtructing their negroes, riding from his houſe to Bridge-Town, fell from his horſe, and was ſo hurt, that he was not heard to ſpeak any thing elſe afterwards but, 'O my 'head!' and three or four days after his fall, he died.

The wicked life and horrible blaſphemies of major general Thornhill, a perſecutor, who died poor.

Sir Timothy Thornhill major-general had often threatened to take away the Quakers lives, and was ſuch an abominable blaſphemer, that I feel myſelf ſeized with horror in reading the moſt deteſtable and direful blaſphemies which this monſtrous wretch belched out: for being at a feaſt, and drinking ſo exceſſively, that ſome of the company refuſed to drink ſo hard, he wiſhed, (ſhall I ſay it, or be ſilent) 'Seipſum eſſe Deum Omnipotentem quo poſſet damnare ani-'mas eorum qui cum ipſo bibere nollent.' At another time being in company where a woman by way of diſcourſe ſpoke of the power and omnipotency of Almighty God, he returned this accurſed language, worſe than that of the Devil himſelf, Mat. iv. 'God 'damn ye, go to the top of yonder tree, and ſee if God Almighty 'can ſave you from breaking your neck before you come to the 'bottom.' Other deviliſh language he ſpoke, I paſs by with ſilence. When once a perſon was brought before him for not appearing in arms, and told him, 'he could not do ſo for conſcience-ſake,' he returned, 'God damn your conſcience; if I cannot make your con-'ſcience bow, I'll make your ſtubborn dog's back bend,' and ſo tied him neck and heels with his own hands, ſo violently, that he almoſt deprived the man of life. He alſo once, when a declaration of war was publiſhed in the Iſland, ſaid, that 'the firſt time an 'enemy appeared, he would hang up the Quakers,' binding his words with abominable oaths, to which he was ſo accuſtomed, that he ſeldom ſpoke without them. But now at length the time came, that he muſt remove from this to the other world. He had been ſick, and being pretty well recovered, he boaſted among his companions of his conqueſt over death, and daringly ſaid, that 'he 'had taken a new leaſe of his life from God Almighty for thirty 'years longer.' But within a few months after, the thread of his life was cut, and his pretended leaſe was taken from him by the Sovereign of the univerſe. Thus he died unlamented by moderate people, and curſed by others who loſt conſiderably by him, notwithſtanding a great eſtate left him by his father.

J. Batt, who had been a perſecutor, died a penitent.

But more happy was his marſhal John Batt, who had taken much goods from the Quakers, yet on his dying-bed, ſome years before, viz. 1679, was ſo ſenſibly touched with repentance, that he cauſed the following paper to be wrote, and ſigned it:

WHEREAS I John Batt the younger, of the Iſland of Barbados, was lately, by commiſſion from colonel Thornhill, marſhal to his regiment of foot ſoldiers, and by that power did diſtrain upon

upon the eſtates of ſeveral of the people called Quakers, and took and carried away many parcels of their ſugar, and other goods, for their defaults in not appearing in arms in the ſaid regiment, which they refuſed out of tenderneſs of conſcience, to which I had not regard; but now the Lord having laid his hand ſorely on me, by afflicting me with a hard and grievous ſickneſs, thoſe things done to the aforeſaid people come freſh in my mind to my very great grief and terror; and I do declare that all the ſins that I have been guilty of beſides, (which are very many) do not trouble or lie ſo heavy upon my conſcience, as thoſe my doings to that people; and do believe that no man will ever be bleſſed or proſper that practiſes ſuch things againſt that people. In witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſet my hand, this tenth day of May, 1679. 1695.

JOHN BATT, jun.

Witneſs, WILLIAM HOWARD,
ANTROBUS.

Well had others done, if they had taken example by it; but it was not in vain that our Saviour in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, made Abraham ſay to the rich man, *If they hear not Moſes and the prophets, neither will they be perſuaded though one roſe from the dead.* But other perſecutors took no caution by this penitent John Batt; for yet long after ſome others in Barbados moſt furiouſly ſhewed their malice and rage againſt the Quakers, and among theſe one Alexander Ruddock, a Scotchman, who was not only a colonel of a regiment of foot, but alſo judge of a court, and one of the council. He cauſed one of the ſociety of the Quakers to be rated four hundred lb. of ſugar, for payment of the prieſt's wages, who was his ſon-in-law; whereas upon complaint of the ſaid perſon, and upon inquiry, it appeared that the pretended due was but ten lb. of ſugar; and it was well known that he and his friends duly paid for maintaining the poor, and for mending highways: but all this could not avail him; for a cow was taken from him worth ten pounds ſterling. And though ſome of the magiſtrates, ſeeing the unreaſonableneſs of theſe proceedings, would have had the cow returned to the right owner; yet ſuch was the power of the ſaid Ruddock, that they were not able to withſtand it. And becauſe the aforeſaid man had complained of the wrong and oppreſſion he ſuffered, this ſo incenſed Ruddock, that he cauſed him to be fined five pounds ſterling, for having refuſed to take the oath as conſtable, though he was willing to have ſerved the office. For this fine Ruddock iſſued out a warrant againſt him, upon which was taken from him a negro woman, that by the management of Ruddock was valued at but two thouſand three hundred lb. of ſugar, which, as the price of ſugar then went, might amount to eleven pounds ten ſhillings: and yet the negro was ſold for ſix and twenty pounds ſterling, and all kept for the fine of five pounds. From this ſame man was taken the value of above ſeven thouſand lb. of ſugar in one year by the direction of Ruddock, which the ſufferer laying before him in the preſence of his daughter, the prieſt's wife, and telling him, 'he had ſuffered all that for complaining of the wrong

Luke xvi. 31.

Colonel Ruddock's inveterate prejudice, and barbarous uſage of the Quakers.

'he

1695. 'he had done him about his cow,' he, as rejoicing at it, ſaid, 'it ſhould be ſo yearly, ſo long as he was magiſtrate.' But he did not live a year after.

He is for putting negroes to death for example.

He was of a fierce temper, and very ready to put negroes to death for example, ſaying, 'What is it for Barbados to put twen-'ty or thirty negroes to death yearly for example-ſake?' And as he vexed the Quakers many ways, ſo he ſhewed his grudge alſo by taking the meat they bought and paid for; nay, ſo malicious he was, that meeting once a butcher carrying meat to the houſe of him that bought it, he commanded him to carry it back, ſaying, 'the Quakers ſhall not eat freſh meat.' But at length the meaſure of his iniquity was full: he came from the council, where an order was iſſued from the governor to break up the Quakers meetings, and he promiſed the governor, diligently to obey all his commands. But in his way home he was taken ill, and being come to his houſe, he called for ſome cremor tartari, which he uſed to take in his broth; but by his own miſtake he took arſenick inſtead thereof, and ſo wretchedly ended his days. And how wicked ſoever he was, yet the prieſt Kennedy his countryman did not ſtick when he was to preach his funeral ſermon, to take his text from theſe words of the apoſtle, *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs.* And in this ſermon it was declared of him, 'that he had attained to the prudence of a judge, 'the dignity of a colonel, and the honour of a counſellor; and that 'he had ſerved his king and country faithfully, and died a ſaint.' This laſt expreſſion ſeemed to regard ſome repentance he had ſhewed; but whatever it was, we muſt commit that to God; and in the mean-while not rely too much on ſuch a repentance; ſince Judas alſo repented of his wickedneſs. If I did not ſtudy brevity, I could relate more remarkable caſes concerning the perſecutors in Barbados; but I break off.

Would not have Quakers eat freſh meat.

Gets an order to diſturb their meetings; but being taken ill, by miſtake poiſons himſelf, and dies wretchedly.

2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

Quakers obtain an act of parliament, that their ſolemn affirmation &c. be taken inſtead of an oath.

Now I return to England, where the parliament ſitting the latter end of this year, had effectually taken in hand the making an act to eaſe the people called Quakers from that heavy burden of ſwearing; but this work met with great oppoſition: for though many good-natured members were inclined to it in good earneſt, yet their enemies were ſo active in altering and clipping the bill, that it looked almoſt as if the whole project would have come to nought. But the king himſelf forwarded the work, and to his praiſe be it ſaid, he was the principal promoter of it: inſomuch that in the beginning of the year 1696, it was enacted by the king and parliament, that the ſolemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers ſhall be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form, as appears by the act, which was as followeth:

1696.

An act that the ſolemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, ſhall be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form:

Act for the Quakers affirmation.

WHEREAS divers diſſenters commonly called Quakers, refuſing to take an oath in courts of juſtice, and other places, are frequently impriſoned, and their eſtates ſequeſtered by proceſs of contempt iſſuing out of ſuch courts, to the ruin of themſelves,

and

and families: for remedy thereof, be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that from and after the fourth day of May, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred ninety-ſix, every Quaker within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, who ſhall be required upon any lawful occaſion to take an oath in any caſe, where by law an oath is required, ſhall inſtead of the uſual form be permitted to make his or her ſolemn affirmation or declaration, in theſe words following, viz. 1696.

Quakers inſtead of an oath to make a ſolemn affirmation.

I A B do declare in the preſence of Almighty God, the witneſs of the truth of what I ſay.

II. Which ſaid ſolemn affirmation or declaration, ſhall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared, to be of the ſame force and effect, to all intents and purpoſes, in all courts of juſtice, and other places, where by law an oath is required, within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, as if ſuch Quaker had taken an oath in the uſual form.

Affirmation to be of the ſame force in law as an oath.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any Quaker, making ſuch ſolemn affirmation or declaration, ſhall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falſely, and corruptly to have affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which, if the ſame had been in the uſual form, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury; every ſuch Quaker ſo offending ſhall incur the ſame penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm are enacted againſt perſons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

Penalty on Quakers making falſe affirmation.

IV. And whereas by reaſon of a pretended ſcruple of conſcience Quakers do refuſe to pay tithes and church-rates, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That where any Quaker ſhall refuſe to pay, or compound for his great or ſmall tithes, or to pay any church-rates, it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the two next juſtices of peace of the ſame county, other than ſuch juſtice of the peace as is patron of the church or chapel, when the ſaid tithes do or ſhall ariſe, or any ways intereſted in the ſaid tithes, upon the complaint of any parſon, vicar, farmer, or proprietor of tithes, church-warden or church-wardens, who ought to have, receive or collect the ſame, by warrant under their hands, and ſeals, to convene before them ſuch Quaker or Quakers neglecting or refuſing to pay or compound for the ſame, and to examine upon oath, which oath the ſaid juſtices are hereby impowered to adminiſter, or in ſuch manner as by this act is provided, the truth and juſtice of the ſaid complaint, and to aſcertain and ſtate what is due and payable by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to the party or parties complaining, and by order under their hands and ſeals to direct and appoint the payment thereof, ſo as the ſum ordered, as aforeſaid, do not exceed ten pounds; and upon refuſal by ſuch Quaker or Quakers to pay according to ſuch order, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any one of the ſaid juſtices, by warrant under his hand and ſeal, to levy the money thereby ordered to be paid, by diſtreſs and ſale of goods of ſuch offender, his executors or

Refuſing to pay tithes or church-rates.

Juſtices on ſtating what is due, may direct payment;

On refuſal, to levy by diſtreſs.

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administrators, rendering only the overplus to him, her or them, neceſſary charges of diſtraining being thereout firſt deducted and allowed by the ſaid juſtice; and any perſon finding him, her or themſelves aggrieved by any judgment given by ſuch two juſtices of the peace, ſhall and may appeal to the next general quarter-ſeſſions to be held for the county, riding, city, liberty or town corporate; and the juſtices of the peace there preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall proceed finally to hear and determine the matter, and to reverſe the ſaid judgment, if they ſhall ſee cauſe; and if the juſtices then preſent, or the major part of them, ſhall find cauſe to continue the judgment given by the firſt two juſtices of the peace, they ſhall then decree the ſame by order of ſeſſions, and ſhall alſo proceed to give ſuch coſts againſt the appellant, to be levied by diſtreſs and ſales of the goods and chattels of the ſaid appellant, as to them ſhall ſeem juſt and reaſonable; and no proceedings or judgment had or to be had by virtue of this act ſhall be removed or ſuperſeded by any writ of Certiorari or other writ out of his majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, or any other court whatſoever, unleſs the title of ſuch tithes ſhall be in queſtion.

Perſons aggrieved may appeal to the quarter-ſeſſions, who are finally to determine.

If judgment be continued, to give coſts.

No judgment to be ſuperſeded.

V. Provided always, that in caſe any ſuch appeal be made as aforeſaid, no warrant of diſtreſs ſhall be granted until after ſuch appeal be determined.

No diſtreſs till appeal be determined.

VI. Provided, and be it enacted, That no Quaker or reputed Quaker ſhall by virtue of this act be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cauſes, or ſerve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government; any thing in this act contained to the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

Quakers not to be evidence in criminal cauſes, &c.

VII. Provided, That this act ſhall continue in force for the ſpace of ſeven years, and from thence to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, and no longer.

Thus the Quakers became diſcharged, and free from that grievous burden, by which they had been oppreſſed ſo many years. This parliament made alſo an act 'For enforcing the laws, which 'reſtrain marriages without licenſes or banns, and for the better 'regiſtering marriages, births and burials:' and 'for keeping a 'diſtinct regiſter of all perſons born; for which no more was to 'be paid than ſixpence.'

Act to reſtrain marriage, &c. and for regiſtering births and burials.

Mention hath been made already, that George Keith had at London got a place called Turners-Hall to preach in; and as his auditory conſiſted chiefly of perſons envious againſt the Quakers, ſo there were among theſe alſo many of the vulgar ſort, who generally are fickle and unſteady, and often inclined to novelties; though Keith would as yet in ſome reſpect be looked upon as an adherent of the Quakers; he had alſo publiſhed ſome papers, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear that they held ſeveral heterodox ſentiments.

Geo. Keith preaches at Turners-Hall, and charges the Quakers with heterodoxy.

The books which he had publiſhed concerning this matter, were ſo fully anſwered by the Quakers, that he being at a loſs to make a reply to their anſwers, pretended that he was not in a condition to ſet the preſs at work, and bear the charges of the impreſſion. But that this was a frivolous evaſion, was well known.

His charge fully anſwered.

Yet

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Yet he, to do ſomething, fell upon another project, and publiſhed an advertiſement, that on the eleventh of the month called June, he would defend his charge againſt the Quakers, and therefore he ſummoned ſome of them to appear there at that time, to anſwer for themſelves. Beginning now to comply with the Epiſcopalians, he had, as he ſaid afterwards, given notice of his intention to the lord-mayor of London, who not having forbidden it, he grew the more bold. But the Quakers did not think it meet to appear there to enter into a diſpute with him; the rather becauſe the king at that time was beyond ſea, and many of the vulgar were idle for want of work and trade, occaſioned by the ſcarcity of money (which then was very great by reaſon of the recoining it:) inſomuch that it could not be foreſeen whether ſome diſaffected perſons might not have got together, and cauſed a dangerous diſturbance. And therefore they declined to appear there, and gave the following reaſons of their refuſal, which were read in the appointed meeting, and afterwards publiſhed in print.

He ſummons them to meet him at Turners-Hall, which they prudentially decline for reaſons read there.

WHEREAS G. Keith hath, after his wonted, irregular, and unruly manner, challenged divers of us to defend ourſelves againſt ſuch charges as he has to exhibit againſt us at Turners-Hall: theſe are to certify all whom it may concern, that the reaſons why we decline any ſuch meeting, are as follow:

Reaſons for not meeting G. Keith at his ſummons.

Firſt. Becauſe the ſaid G. Keith has given us ſuch frequent proofs of his very paſſionate and abuſive behaviour, at the many more ſelect meetings we have had with him, in all manner of ſweetneſs, long-ſuffering and patience, on our ſide, to ſatisfy and preſerve him from theſe extremes: that we cannot aſſure ourſelves now of any better entertainment, or that the meeting can have any deſirable ſucceſs, for a thorough information.

Secondly. We decline to meet, becauſe it is not an agreed meeting on both ſides, which it ought to have been, and where that is not, or cannot be adjuſted, the preſs is the next fair way and expedient, which he has begun with, and now ſeems to decline; nor hath he ſent us a copy of his charge or indictment againſt us, which alſo he ought to have done.

Thirdly. That he has two of our books which lie hard at his door, in vindication of us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and which he has not yet anſwered; ſo that he is not upon equal terms with us; and therefore we think his challenge, appointment, and ſummons, unfair; and that all that are not partial, will be of the ſame mind with us.

Fourthly. Such publick and unlimitted meetings, are too often attended with heats, levity, and confuſion, and anſwer not the end deſired by ſober and inquiring men. Beſides, that it ſets up a practice that authority may judge to be an abuſe to our liberty, and ſo draw that under reflection, as no friend to the civil peace.

Fifthly. We know not what religion or perſuaſion this wavering man is of, or what church or people he adheres to, or will receive him, with his vain ſpeculations, that have led him to deſert

us;

1696. us; nor who are accountable to us for him and his irregularities and abuſes; the generality of ſuch aſſemblies uſually making ill auditors worſe judges, and no good ſecurity for our ſatisfaction: and we muſt therefore take leave to ſay, it ſeems to us an indirect way of diſquieting and invading our preſent liberty, that ſo irreligious a meeting ſhould be held, whoſe end is to abuſe other men for their religion. If this ſhould be imitated by all the ſeveral ſorts of different perſuaſions in this city, what heats and confuſions muſt neceſſarily enſue.

Sixthly, and laſtly. Wherefore be it known unto all, that for the ſake of religion, the liberty granted us, and the civil peace, we decline to meet him; and not from any apprehenſions we have of his abilities, or our own conſciouſneſs of error, or injuſtice to the ſaid G. Keith, whoſe weak and unbridled temper we know is ſuch, that what learning and parts he hath, have not been able to balance and ſupport him on leſs occaſions, ſo that we may ſay they are in ill hands; and if he proceeds as he begins, they will be employed to an ill end, which his (poor man!) cannot but be, unleſs he change his courſe; which we heartily pray for, that a place of repentance he may find; and through a true contrition, the remiſſion of his great ſin of envy, and evilly entreating the Lord's people and way, which we profeſs, and which he, the ſaid George Keith, hath long and lately both profeſſed, and zealouſly vindicated as ſuch.

Theſe reaſons the Quakers, as hath been ſaid, publiſhed in print, to ſhew the world, that it was not without a weighty cauſe, that they did not accept G. Keith's ſummons. Now though G. Whitehead and W. Penn, for the aboveſaid reaſons, did not appear in Turners-Hall, yet ſome of their friends were there as ſpectators, to ſee what would be the iſſue of this buſineſs. G. Keith ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed in his intention, took upon him for all that, to defend his charge in the abſence of his adverſaries, which now he could do eaſily, ſince none contradicted him, and he was applauded by the frequent ſhoutings of the mob that was there in great numbers. After the reaſons of non-appearance was read, Keith ſignified that they were not ſatisfactory, by calling them ſlender, weak and frivolous. 'What!' ſaid he, 'may a malefac-'tor make this excuſe; "you ſhall not call me before a juſtice with-"out my conſent?" If a man robs me, I may complain of him as 'a robber, and without his conſent call him to account. But here 'is a ſtrange thing: If injuring men may not be called to account 'without their conſent, it will treſpaſs againſt the law, and in-'trenches upon liberty of conſcience.' This reaſon he publiſhed in print, in his narrative of that day's work: but who would formerly ever have thought, that ſuch a little man as he was, would have been ſo big. It looked juſt as if the Quakers were obliged to appear as malefactors before the pretended judge Keith, accompanied with his aſſiſtants the mob, and I don't know who. And to keep to G. Keith's compariſon, though a malefactor may not ſay, 'You ſhall not call me before a juſtcie without my conſent,' yet with ſome good reaſon he might ſay, 'You ſhall not make your-

'ſelf

Which he objects to very frivolouſly.

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'ſelf a juſtice,' as Keith now did. It is probable that he was ſupported by ſome great Churchmen, otherwiſe ſuch a bold action might eaſily have turned to his diſadvantage.

My limits do not admit of a circumſtantial relation of what was tranſacted at that time in Turners-Hall; yet to ſhew briefly how he treated matters, I'll produce one or two inſtances, by which my reader may know, 'ut ex ungue leonem,' and ſo judge of the reſt. He ſaid, 'he would charge the Quakers with nothing but what 'he could prove from their own writings,' and he went on thus: 'I offer to prove that G. Whitehead hath denied Chriſt both to be 'God and man.' A ſtrange thing indeed, ſince it was very well known, that G. Whitehead had publiſhed a book of above twenty ſheets, under this title, 'The DIVINITY of CHRIST, and unity 'of the three that bear record in heaven, with the bleſſed end and 'effect of Chriſt's appearance, coming in the fleſh, ſufferings and 'ſacrifice for ſinners, confeſſed and vindicated by his followers, 'called Quakers.' This book G. Keith could not pretend ignorance of, for he picked ſomewhat out of it in his narrative: but to maintain his charge, he appealed to a book of G. Whitehead's, called, 'The light and life of Chriſt within.' This book George Whitehead had written in anſwer to W. Burnet, a Baptiſt preacher, who writing of Chriſt, ſaid, 'As he was God, he was Co-cre-'ator with the Father, and ſo was before Abraham, and had glory 'with God before the world was, and in this ſenſe came down 'from heaven.' To which G. Whitehead anſwered, 'What non-'ſenſe and unſcripture-like language is this, to tell of God being 'Co-creator with the Father? or that God had glory with God? 'Doth not this imply two Gods, and that God had a Father? let 'the reader judge.' Certainly it appears from this plainly, that G. Whitehead did not intend any thing elſe, but to cenſure the unſcriptural expreſſions of his antagoniſt, as 'Co-creator,' and implying 'two Gods:' for not only the apoſtle ſaith, *God is one;* but Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *I and the Father are one.* Yet G. Keith did not ſtick to ſay, 'G. Whitehead denieth the divinity of Chriſt, 'and he deceives the nation and the parliament, by telling them, "The Quakers own Chriſt to be both God and man, and believe "all that is recorded of him in the holy ſcripture." This he ſtrove to prove from a paſſage taken out of the afore-mentioned book, which in ſenſe agreed with the former; and ſpeaking in another page of the ſame matter, viz. 'The Baptiſts calling God the Word 'Co-creator with the Father'—G. Whitehead anſwers thus to it: 'To tell of the Word God Co-creator with the Father, is all one 'as to tell of God being Co-creator with God, if the Father be 'God; and this is to make two Gods and two Creators: for God 'Co-creator with the Father, plainly implies two.' Was this ſhewing of others their abſurd expreſſions, a denial that Chriſt was God, as Keith would have it? Might it not be aſked here, whether the acute wit of Keith was now altogether flown away? But a great part of his auditory conſiſted of an ignorant crew, and one or other of them was continually heard to cry out, 'It is ſufficient.'

His abuſive perverſion of G. W's writings.

Gal. iii. 20.
John x. 30.

Now to prove that G. Whitehead had denied Chriſt to be man, Keith cited from the fore-mentioned book, called, 'The divinity of

1696. 'Chriſt,' &c. theſe words, 'If the body and ſoul of the Son of 'God were both created, doth not this render him a fourth per-'ſon?' Here Keith ſtopped, and broke off with an &c. without adding the following words: 'For creation was in time, which 'contradicts the doctrine of three diſtinct, uncreated, co-eter-'nal, co-eſſential perſons in the Deity, ſeeing that which was 'created, was not ſo.' This G. Whitehead aſked, and ſaid, to ſhew his opponent, T. Danſon, the abſurdity of his aſſertions about the perſonalities of the Deity. But Keith went on, reading from G. Whitehead's book thus, 'Where doth the ſcripture ſay, 'that his ſoul was created? for was not he the brightneſs of the 'Father's glory, and the expreſs image of his divine ſubſtance! 'But ſuppoſing the ſoul of Chriſt was with the body created in 'time,' &c. Here Keith broke off again, omitting the following words: 'I aſk, if from eternity he was a perſon diſtinct from 'God and his holy ſpirit, without either ſoul or body? where doth 'the ſcripture ſpeak of any perſon without either ſoul or body? 'Let's have plain ſcripture.'

Now though G. Whitehead had written this to ſhew, how we often enter into inextricable ſtraits, when we do not keep to the words of the holy ſcripture, which no where ſpeaks of three perſons in the Deity: yet Keith perverting the paſſage abuſively, ſaid to his auditory, 'Here ye ſee he will not own that Chriſt had 'a created ſoul.' At this rate, and after this manner, Keith reaſoned, and treated the other paſſages. But how ſmartly would he have carped at others, if they had cited his words thus peacemeal!

W. C. endeavours to ſhew Keith to be an apoſtate in every reſpect.

But now he had a temporal reward in his view; and ſeeing for that end he began more and more to declare himſelf in favour of the Epiſcopal church, ſome body of that perſuaſion, who did no further make himſelf known, than by theſe initial letters, W. C. made it his buſineſs to ſhew the changeableneſs of Keith's opinion and ſentiments from his own writings, which he had publiſhed in print, and thereby evidently proved, that in every reſpect Keith was turned an apoſtate, though he appeared much offended at the Quakers, becauſe they had called him ſo: but ſaid this author, 'If the Preſbyterian principles,' (of which ſociety Keith once was a member) 'were better than the Quakers; then is Mr. Keith an 'apoſtate, in revolting from, and deſerting the Preſbyterians, and 'turning his coat Quaker-faſhion: but if the Quakers were more 'in the right than the Preſbyterians, then è contrà.'

G. K. by oppoſing the Quakers, ſeems to hope for the beſt recompence from the Epiſcopalians.

Now he appeared to fawn on the Epiſcopal clergy, and eſteemed lawful what formerly he had zealouſly oppugned: for he was in hopes that by oppoſing the Quakers, he ſhould be beſt rewarded among the Epiſcopalians; and this was not altogether without reaſon; for it being no more in their power now to perſecute the Quakers in manner as formerly, they made uſe of other means as much as poſſibly they could, to render them and their doctrine odious; for which Keith ſeemed to them no unfit tool; for he being both of a witty and impetuous temper, was alſo crafty, ſubtle, cunning, and violent in his expreſſions. And to charge the Quakers with inorthodoxy, he himſelf launched out into an heterodox ſentiment: for it was believed, that for maintaining this poſition,

'that

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'that the hiſtorical knowledge of Chriſt's ſufferings, death, reſur-
'rection, &c. was abſolutely neceſſary for ſalvation,' he had no other ground than the twelve pretended tranſmigrations or tranſitions of man's ſoul from one body into another; becauſe the ignorant ſouls from hence ſeemed to get opportunity of being informed before the end of the world, concerning the death and reſurrection of our Saviour. Who would have imagined before, that this ſame G. Keith ſhould have accuſed the Quakers of inorthodoxy in point of doctrine, which he had often ſo effectually defended, and among the reſt in a book againſt one Cotton Mather? wherein upon the charge of their being guilty of many hereſies and blaſphemies, he ſaid after this manner: 'Our principles do moſtly agree with the fundamental 'articles of the chriſtian proteſtant faith. According to my beſt 'knowledge of the people called Quakers, and thoſe owned by 'them, as preachers and publiſhers of their belief, being of an 'unqueſtionable eſteem among them, and worthy of double ho-'nour, as there are many ſuch, I know none of them that are 'guilty of ſuch hereſies and blaſphemies as they are charged 'with: and I think I ſhould know, and do know thoſe called 'Quakers, having been converſant with them in publick meetings, 'as well as in private diſcourſes, with the moſt noted and eſteemed 'among them, for about twenty-eight years paſt, and that in many 'places of the world, both in Europe and America.' Who would ever have thought then, that one who had converſed ſo many years with the Quakers, preached their doctrine, and defended it publickly both by writing, and by word of mouth, ſhould afterwards have decried them, as deniers of the moſt eſſential points of the chriſtian faith! but to what extravagancies may not temporal gain tranſport a man! the caſe of Balaam may ſerve for an evidence.

He charges the Quakers with inorthodoxy, in points he had formerly very notably defended, particularly againſt C. Mather.

I have in all this relation of Keith's behaviour, ſet down nothing but what I believe to be really true; neither have I endeavoured to aggravate his failures; for I never bore him ill will, but a good eſteem when I believed him to be upright, becauſe in that time I perceived in him ſome good abilities. And I yet wiſh from my very heart, that it may pleaſe God, in his unſearchable mercy, ſo to touch his heart before the door of grace be ſhut, that ſeeing the greatneſs of his tranſgreſſion, he may by true repentance, obtain forgiveneſs from the Lord, of his evil; which I take to be worſe, becauſe by his craftineſs he endeavoured to ſet falſe colours on things that were really good, thereby to inſinuate himſelf into favour with the Epiſcopal party.* And ſince ſome others ſuborned thereto, did not omit alſo to render the Quakers odious as ſuch that held inorthodox ſentiments, theſe did not neglect to ſhew in print, how they were injured and wronged. For now the old tale, 'that there were popiſh emiſſaries among them,' was revived and divulged anew: but it was no hard matter for them to ſhew how ill-grounded this conceit was; and therefore they might ſay, 'We 'are ſo well known to our neighbours, that if this was true, our 'adverſaries would be very active to find out and diſcover ſuch 'emiſſaries, ſince the law againſt them is ſtill in force.' Three Epiſcopal clergymen in Norfolk had alſo drawn up a paper to the king

The author's apology for what he had ſaid of G. K.

* This was written ſome years before I heard G. K. was deceaſed.

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Three Norfolk clergymen, misrepresent the Quakers to the king and parliament.

king and parliament, to blacken the Quakers, from their own writings; but George Whitehead, William Penn, and others, were not backward to shew how their words, or the true meaning thereof were perverted; since at such a rate, even the salutary lessons of the holy scriptures might be exposed as wicked expressions.

The late king James preparing for an invasion, a plot is discovered against K. William.

Now the late king James intending an invasion upon England, and great preparations being made in France, in order thereto, a plot was discovered in England, against king William; this gave occasion to the house of commons, to draw up a kind of declaration, which was called an Association, to be signed by all their members, as follows:

Association of the house of commons.

WHEREAS there has been a horrible and detestable conspiracy, formed and carried on by Papists, and other wicked and traiterous persons, for assassinating his majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws and liberties; we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, That his present majesty king William, is rightful and lawful king of these realms. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, against the late king James, and all his adherents. And in case his majesty come to any violent and untimely death, (which God forbid!) we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown, according to an act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled, 'An act declaring the rights and liberties of the 'subjects, and settling the succession of the crown.'

An association was also signed by the lords, and both presented to the king, and were followed by all the corporations in England. See Life of King WILLIAM, vol. III. The dissenters also presented declarations to the king, that had some resemblance with the other. But the Quakers professing non-resistance, and an inoffensive behaviour, could in no wise enter into such a league; yet to shew that they were loyal and faithful to the king, they drew up the following declaration, and published it in print:

The ancient testimony and principle of the people called QUAKERS, *renewed with respect to the* KING *and* GOVERNMENT, *and touching the present association;*

Quakers testimony relating to the association.

WE the said people do solemnly and sincerely declare, That it hath been our judgment and principle from the first day we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus manifested in our consciences, unto this day, that the setting up, and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busy-bodies in matters above our station; much less to plot and contrive the ruin

or

or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king, and for the ſafety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty under the government which God is pleaſed to ſet over us. 1696.

And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our teſtimony, and now do, againſt all plotting, conſpiracies, and contriving inſurrections againſt the king, or the government; and againſt all treacherous, barbarous, and murderous deſigns whatſoever, as works of the Devil and darkneſs: and we ſincerely bleſs God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them by law; eſteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

And whereas we the ſaid people are required to ſign the ſaid aſſociation, we ſincerely declare, that our refuſing ſo to do, is not out of any diſaffection to the king or government, nor in oppoſition to his being declared rightful and lawful king of theſe realms; but purely becauſe we cannot for conſcience-ſake fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourſelves, or any man elſe.

And we believe that the timely diſcovery and prevention of the late barbarous deſign, and miſchievous plot againſt the king and government, and the ſad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God; for which we, and the whole nation, have great cauſe to be humbly thankful to Him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

From a meeting of the ſaid people in London, the 23d of the firſt month, called March, 169⅝.

In this year Roger Haydock died of a fever, at his houſe in Penketh in Lancaſhire, about the age of fifty-three years. He had been in Holland the year before; in which time I had more than once opportunity to ſpeak with him privately, and thereby diſcovered ſuch chriſtian qualities in him, as were indeed excellent; therefore the news of his deceaſe did much affect me: and becauſe of his miniſtry, in which he was eminent, being more than ordinary full of matter in his preaching, his death was much lamented among thoſe churches in England where he had laboured moſt in the goſpel. His wife Eleanor, in her teſtimony concerning him, ſaid, 'My ſpirit hath been, and is bowed under a deep ſenſe of my 'great loſs and exerciſe, in the removal of my dear huſband, whom 'it hath pleaſed God in his wiſdom to take away from me; who 'was comfort to my life, and joy to my days in this world, be-'ing given me of God, in great mercy and loving kindneſs; and 'ſo he hath been enjoyed by me in thankfulneſs of heart, to the 'cloſe of that time God had appointed; and now is taken from 'the world, with all its troubles and exerciſes; as alſo from all his 'labours and travels, which were great amongſt the churches of 'Chriſt, which with me have no ſmall loſs in his removal. But 'what ſhall I ſay! wiſe and good is the Lord, who doth what he 'will in heaven and in earth, and amongſt his churches and his 'choſen. He can break and bind up, wound and heal, kill and 'make alive again, that the living may ſee his wonders, and mag-'nify his power in all, through all, and over all, who is God 'eternal, bleſſed for-ever. Amen!'

Death of R. Haydock, and character by Eleanor his widow.

1696. Then in her teſtimony ſhe gives an account of his life, and how in her young years he had been to her a faithful inſtructer in godlineſs, and at length became her huſband. After a deſcription of his life, and his many travels in the miniſtry of the goſpel, to edify and build up the churches, ſhe ſaith alſo, 'That though his 'love to her was above all viſibles, as the beſt of enjoyments he had 'in this world, yet ſhe was not too dear to him to give up to ſerve 'the truth of God. I was made,' ſaith ſhe, 'a bleſſing to him, 'more comfortable every day than other: he would often expreſs 'it; and truly ſo was he to me every day, every way, and in 'every reſpect. No tongue nor pen can relate the full of that com-'fort and joy we had in God, and one in another. Yet we find 'ſuch hath been the pleaſure of God concerning them he hath 'loved, to try them in the moſt near and dear enjoyments, that it 'might be manifeſt he was loved above all; that no gifts may be 'preferred above the Giver; but that he may be all in all, who is, 'and is to come, God bleſſed for-ever! And truly there hath been 'great care and watchfulneſs one over another, and over our own 'ſpirits, to ſee that our love, though great, was bounded and kept 'within its compaſs, the truth being its original, the Alpha and 'Omega alſo. Altho' it hath been the pleaſure of God to try me, 'in the removal of ſo great a bleſſing from me, ſure it is, that I 'may be the more inward to him, and have his love always in my 'remembrance; who gives and takes away, and in all bleſs his 'name. My ſoul travails that I may always follow his footſteps 'of ſelf-denial in all things; that I may finiſh my courſe in this 'world, to the glory of God, as he did; and have my part in that 'manſion of glory with him eternal in the heavens; tho' it may 'be my lot to ſtay for a time in this world of troubles, yet I have 'hope in immortality and eternal bleſſedneſs, when time in this 'world ſhall be no more.' Thus ſhe wrote, but to ſhun prolixity I break off. She then giving ſome further account of his life and miniſtry, mentions, that being gone from home, ſhe was not preſent at his death; but that they having taken leave of each other before, had parted in great love, with mutual breathings to God for one another's welfare: and ſhe concludes with theſe words—'Though I ſaw not his going away, yet I have ſeen in what he 'went, that it was full of zeal and fervency in the love of God, 'and life of righteouſneſs. So in pure ſubmiſſion to the will of 'God, I conclude this ſhort but true relation of my worthy dear 'huſband, whoſe name and memory is bleſſed, and will live, and 'be of a ſweet ſavour in the hearts of the righteous through ages.' With ſuch a teſtimony it was, that Eleanor tranſmitted the memorial of her beloved conſort to poſterity.

1697. Peace between England, France, and Holland; An artificial diſtich thereupon.

Meeting in this year with no more remarkable occurrences, I paſs over to that of 1697, in which a treaty of peace was concluded between England, France, and Holland; and tho' many thought it would be laſting, yet among the popiſh clergy there were thoſe that had another opinion of it; of which this artificial diſtich ſent over by a clergyman from Ghent in Flanders to Holland, ſo that it fell firſt into my hands, was an evidence:

'Proſpicimus

' Proſpicimus modò quod durabunt fœdera longo
' tempore, nec nobis pax citò diffugiet.' 1697.

which may be turned into Engliſh thus, ' We foreſee now that the ' confederacy ſhall laſt a long time, and that peace will not quickly ' fly away from us.' But if one reads this diſtich backward, it runs thus:

' Diffugiet citò pax nobis, nec tempore longo
' fœdera durabunt, quod modò proſpicimus.'

and it makes out a quite contrary ſenſe, viz. ' Peace will ſoon fly ' away from us, and the covenant ſhall not laſt long; which we ' foreſee already.'

This peace being concluded, the inhabitants of England vied with one another to congratulate their king on that account, who was now acknowledged as king of Great-Britain by the French king Lewis XIV: and ſince the magiſtrates of cities, the heads and fellows of the univerſities, and people of all ſocieties and perſuaſions addreſſed the king, the Quakers were not wanting in this reſpect, and therefore drew up alſo an addreſs, which they preſented to the king, and was as followeth:

TO KING WILLIAM THE IIId. OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The grateful acknowledgment of the people commonly called QUAKERS, *humbly preſented;*

May it pleaſe the king,

SEEING the moſt high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomſoever he will, hath by his over-ruling power and providence placed thee in dominion and dignity over theſe realms; and by his divine favour has ſignally preſerved and delivered thee from many great and imminent dangers, and graciouſly turned the calamity of war into the deſired mercy of peace; we heartily wiſh that we and all others concerned may be truly ſenſible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the ſame, that the peace may be a laſting and perpetual bleſſing. Dan. v. 21.

And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in ſafety, it is cauſe of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and ſeaſonable reſolution effectually to diſcourage profaneneſs and immorality; righteouſneſs being that which exalteth a nation: and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give eaſe and liberty of conſcience to his ſubjects of different perſuaſions (of whoſe favours we have largely partaken) ſo we eſteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the ſame, earneſtly beſeeching Almighty God to aſſiſt the king to proſecute all theſe his juſt and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a laſting crown that will never fade away.

London, the 7th of the eleventh month called January, 1697.

This addreſs being ſigned, and preſented to the king by George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Daniel Quare, John Vaughton, John Edge, and Gilbert Latey, was favourably received, and accepted by

1697. by that prince; who gave ſignal proofs, that he bore no ill will to any for difference of opinion in religion, if they were honeſt people; of which this may ſerve for an evidence, that both his watch-maker, and the nurſe of the young duke of Glouceſter, were of the Quakers perſuaſion.

The king's watch-maker, and the duke of Glouceſter's nurſe, Quakers.

I think it was about the beginning of the year 1698, that a bill was brought into parliament, 'For reſtraining the licentiouſneſs 'of the preſs.' Thoſe called Quakers perceiving that this might be pernicious, drew up the following remarks, which they delivered to the members of parliament:

1698.

Some CONSIDERATIONS *humbly offered by the people called Quakers, relating to the bill for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the preſs;*

Conſiderations on the bill for reſtraining the preſs.

THIS bill is they conceive of like nature with the expired act, 13 and 14 Car. 2. cap. 33. and many inconveniencies did attend the ſubjects by it whilſt in force, by which the ſaid people were ſufferers.

To prevent the printing and publiſhing of ſeditious or treaſonable books againſt the government, and ſcandalous pamphlets tending to vice and immorality, is the wiſdom of all good governments, and muſt be the deſire of all good men.

But to limit religious books to a licenſe, where the tolerated perſuaſions are many, they conceive, ſeems altogether unſafe to all, but that whoſe opinion the licenſer is of; who by this bill hath power to allow what he ſhall judge ſound and orthodox, or reject what he ſhall conſtrue to be either heretical, ſeditious or offenſive.

Hiſtory and experience have taught how the obſcure term of hereſy hath been turned and ſtretched againſt primitive chriſtians, martyrs, and famous reformers: nor is it forgotten for what reaſons the * writ 'de hæretico comburendo' was aboliſhed.

* 29 Car. 2. cap. 9.

'Tis no ſtrange thing to have learned men ‡ of the ſame church interfere in their opinions concerning ſeveral texts of holy ſcripture; and it is uncertain when their opinions come to the licenſer, whether the world ſhall have the beſt or no.

‡ Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock.

The different apprehenſions men have of divers parts of ſcripture, gives birth to different perſuaſions, who yet all make the ſcripture the teſt thereof; which by the kindneſs of the government being tolerated, they conceive, they ought to be left free to defend them, from the miſrepreſentations, prejudice, or miſtake of others, without being ſubjected to the cenſure of a licenſer of a different perſauſion.

They therefore humbly hope, that nothing may be enacted that will leſſen the toleration, which they thankfully enjoy under the favour of this, as well as the late government.

The bill dropped.

These conſiderations, with what others were offered, were of ſuch effect, that the bill dropped.

A. Bourignon's writings tranſlated and printed.

About this time the writings of Antonia Bourignon were not only tranſlated into Engliſh, but alſo publiſhed in print at London. This diſpleaſed many of the clergy, and an author was employed to write againſt them, but chiefly againſt the Quakers. He called his book, 'The ſnake in the graſs;' but his own name he concealed;

cealed ; though it was diſcovered afterwards, that he was a ſuppreſſed parſon,* who had refuſed the oath of allegiance to king William. This man, to render the Quakers odious, had picked up and collected many things from their writings ; but he had ſo mutilated their expreſſions, by omitting ſeveral words that went before, or followed, and by ſkipping over ſome in the midſt of the period, that they made out quite another ſenſe than the authors had given. To this he added relations of ſeveral things that happened, as he ſaid, among the Quakers ; whereas ſome of theſe were fictitious, and mere untruths : he alſo raked up things that never had been approved by the Quakers ; as the caſe of J. Nayler, deſcribed here before in its due place ; notwithſtanding the ſaid J. Nayler had publickly given eminent tokens of true repentance.

1698.

* Leſley writes againſt her and the Quakers.

Among the author's untruths this was one, 'that the Quakers in 'their ſchools did not ſuffer the children to read the holy ſcriptures:' the falſeneſs of which was made to appear evidently, by a certificate of the French uſher of one of their ſchools at Wanſworth near London, who himſelf was no Quaker; as alſo by the teſtimonies of ſome of the neighbours that were people of note; and declared that the Bible was daily read by the ſcholars in the ſaid ſchool, beginning with Geneſis, and going on to the end of the Revelations ; and then from Geneſis again. The falſe citations of the aforeſaid author were alſo clearly ſet forth : for if any would be ſo malicious, it might by his method be inſinuated from Pſal. xiv. 1. and liii. 1. that in the holy ſcriptures was ſaid, *there is no God ;* becauſe theſe words are indeed found there : but who would be ſo deſperate as to draw ſuch a wicked concluſion from thence, unleſs he were an athieſt, who openly made a mock of what is ſacred ? The anſwerers of this poiſonous book, 'The ſnake in the 'graſs,' were George Whitehead and Joſeph Wyeth ; this being a work which required more toil and labour than art, to review all thoſe manifold citations from many authors, and to ſhew the unfairneſs and diſingenuity of the Snake. Now ſince many were very ready to take for true the falſities in that book, and alſo in the pamphlets of the apoſtate Francis Bugg, who was gone over to the church of England ; at the requeſt of John Crook, (who was ſtill alive, though above eighty years of age) a book of his was reprinted, firſt publiſhed in the year 1663, and ſo five and thirty years before, the title of which was, 'Truth's principles 'concerning the man Chriſt, his ſuffering, death, reſurrection, 'faith in his blood, the imputation of his righteouſneſs,' &c. By this it appeared that the ſentiments of the Quakers concerning theſe points were not only orthodox now, but that they had been ſo in thoſe early days.

G. Whitehead and J. Wyeth anſwer this book.

Bugg alſo abuſes the Quakers, which occaſions the reprinting a book of J. Crook's.

Having thus again made mention of John Crook, of whom I have ſpoken ſeveral times in this hiſtory, I proceed now to mention ſomewhat concerning his deceaſe, ſince he departed this life in the year 1699. He left behind in writing an exhortation or advice to his children and grandchildren, written ſcarce two months before his death, and of this tenor :

Some account of J. Crook.

1699.

1699.

His advice to his children and grandchildren.

DEAR CHILDREN,

I MUST leave you in a wicked age, but commend you to the meaſure of the grace of God in your inward parts, which you have received by Jeſus Chriſt; and as you love it, and mind the teachings of it, you will find it a counſellor to inſtruct you in the way everlaſting, and preſerve you out of the ways of the ungodly.

I have ſeen much in my days, and I always obſerved, that the fear of the Lord God proved the beſt portion, and thoſe that walked in it were the only happy people, both in this life (while they continued faithful) and when they come to die, though they meet with many hardſhips in their paſſage. By experience I can ſpeak it, that the ways of holineſs afford more true comfort and peace to the upright ſoul, than the greateſt pleaſures this world can afford: the former reaches the heart and ſoul, while the delights of this world are but a ſhew, and appearance only, vaniſhing like a dream; and whoever believes otherwiſe of them, will certainly find them to be but lying vanities: therefore the apoſtle, Rom. vi. 21. might boldly put the queſtion to the converted Romans, viz. *What fruit had you then in thoſe things whereof you are now aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is death.*

Therefore, dear children, be in love with holineſs; make it your companion, and thoſe that walk in it; you may find buddings of it from an holy ſeed in your hearts; as you mind the inner man, the light will manifeſt the ſtirrings of it after God, which I felt from my tender years, although I underſtood them not ſo plainly, till I heard the truth declared.

I adviſe you to keep a pure conſcience, both towards God and man; for if that be defiled, hypocriſy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God's preſence; and then deadneſs and dryneſs will be your miſerable portion.

Be careful how you ſpend your precious time, for an account muſt be given of every idle word, tho' but few regard it; but fooliſh jeſting, and vain talking, are ſaid to grieve the ſpirit of God; read Eph. iv. 29, 30: but improve your time in prayer, and religious exerciſes, &c. and be diligent in your lawful callings; for *the deſire of the ſlothful man killeth him*, Prov. xxi. 25.

Be careful what company you frequent, for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing; and of your behaviour in company, for I have found that a wiſe and ſober deportment, adds much to a man's reputation and credit in the world.

Watch to the light and its diſcoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of Satan's devices; ſo *the net will be ſpread in vain in the ſight of the bird;* for watchfulneſs will make you in love with a retired eſtate: and the more truly and perfectly any man knows and underſtands himſelf, the better diſcerning will ſuch have of other men. As in the beginning, when deep ſilence of all fleſh was more in uſe, the ſpirit of diſcerning was more common, and quicker, than ſince it hath been neglected; therefore be ſure you ſpend ſome time at convenient ſeaſons in waiting upon God in ſilence, though it be diſpleaſing to fleſh; for I have had more comfort, and confirmation in the truth,

truth, in my inward retiring in ſilence, than from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreſhed by them alſo. 1699.

Love the holy ſcriptures, preferring them to all other books whatſoever; and be careful to read them with an holy awe upon your ſpirits, leſt your imaginations put conſtructions upon them to your hurt: but exerciſe faith in the promiſe of Chriſt, who hath ſaid, *My ſpirit ſhall take of mine, and ſhew them unto you.*

Keep conſtantly to religious meetings amongſt friends; but look to your affections, that you reſpect not perſons, but the power and life of truth, from whomſoever it comes; not minding the tickling of your affections, but the demonſtration of the truth to your underſtandings and conſciences; for that will abide, when flaſhes of affections will fade and come to nothing, after the words are ended.

Love one another truly, manifeſting your love by good counſel, and being helpful to each other upon all occaſions; being good examples to all you converſe with, eſpecially to your children, and thoſe of your own families, that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reproved; remembering, while they are under your government, you muſt give an account of the diſcharge of your duty to God towards them.

Laſtly, Be always mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how ſoon your days may be finiſhed in this world: and while you do live in it, deſpiſe not the chaſtenings of the Lord, whatever they be he is pleaſed to viſit you withal. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I ſerved provided for me, when all my outward relations forſook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin the world withal. This I ſpeak to let you know, I ſhall leave more outwardly, even to the leaſt of you, than was left me by all my relations, &c. I need not mention this ſharp affliction, beyond expreſſion, in my old age, becauſe in ſome meaſure you know it; but I could not have been without it, as the Lord hath ſhewed me, for I have ſeen his wonders in the deeps: therefore I ſay again, deſpiſe not afflictions, but embrace them as meſſengers of peace to your ſouls, though diſpleaſing to the fleſh.

Theſe things I commend unto you, out of true love to your ſouls, knowing how the vain mind of man little regards ſuch advice as this I leave behind me: but by this advice I ſhew my true love to you all, deſiring God's bleſſing upon it; to whom I commit you all, my dear children, and end my days.

Your loving father, and grandfather,

Hertford, the 1ſt of the firſt month, 1698-99. JOHN CROOK.

His bodily afflictions, patience and ſupport under them.

The ſharp affliction he ſpeaks of in this writing was more than one diſtemper, for the ſtone, gout and colick attacked him ſometimes ſorely; and tho' this had been for a long time, yet he always behaved himſelf patiently, though his pain was ſometimes ſo violent, that he was often heard to ſay, that 'did he not feel and 'witneſs an inward power from the Lord, he could not ſubſiſt un-'der his great pains.' That of the ſtone was the greateſt, which

continued

1699. continued with him to his end; and yet he was not heard to utter any unſavoury word, or to cry out impatiently; but when the extremity of his fits was over, then he expreſſed his inward joy and peace, and ſo praiſed the Lord. He had an excellent gift in opening the myſteries of the holy ſcriptures, ſo that he was like Apollos, of whom we find upon record, that *he was an eloquent man, and mighty in the ſcriptures:* and by his zealous and effectual preaching, when he was in his ſtrength of life, many were convinced of the truth. In his latter days he ſaid ſometimes, 'that the furnace of affliction was of good uſe to purge away 'the droſs and earthly part in us.' And under the ſorrow and grief he had concerning ſome of his offſpring, he would ſometimes comfort himſelf with the words of David, *Although my houſe be not ſo with God, yet he hath made with me an everlaſting covenant, ordered in all things, and ſure.* In his old age he was many times heard to ſay, 'Many of the ancients are gone to their 'long home, and we are making haſte after them: they ſtep away 'before me, and I, that would go, cannot—Well, it will be my 'turn ſoon alſo;' and then he ſeemed to rejoice in the conſidera tion, that the time of his diſſolution, to be freed from his ſore diſtempers, approached apace. Yet in the latter part of his life he often appeared ſo ſtrong in the ſpiritual warfare, that ſome judged, that in ſome reſpect he might have ſaid with Caleb, *As yet I am as ſtrong this day as I was in the day that Moſes ſent me; as my ſtrength was then, even ſo is my ſtrength now, for war, both to go out, and to come in.* About three weeks before his death, though he was weak in body, yet he ſaid powerfully, and after a prophetical manner, 'Truth muſt proſper, truth ſhall proſper; but a trying time muſt firſt 'come, and afterwards the glory of the Lord ſhall more and more 'appear.' He continued in a ſedate and truly chriſtian frame of mind to the laſt period of his life, and departed the 26th of the month called April, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, in his houſe at Hertford, where he had lived many years. I knew him in England, and he hath alſo been in Holland, ſo that I do not ſpeak of one that was unknown to me.

His qualifications.

2. Sam. xxiii.

Joſh. xiv. 11.

His age and death.

George Keith, by vilifying the doctrine of the Quakers, was now ſo much in favour with the Epiſcopal clergy, that he began to ſerve them as a vicar, having been ordained by the biſhop of London about the year 1700. And ſince this ſeemed ſtrange and wonderful to many, ſome body, of what perſuaſion I do not know, made a collection of his ſentiments concerning a national church and its clergy; and what account he gave of their rites and ceremonies, from books and papers he had publiſhed many years before; to which the author gave this title, 'Mr. George Keith's ac- 'count of a national church and clergy, humbly preſented to the 'biſhop of London:' to this were added ſome queries he once wrote concerning what is called 'The ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.' This account was now publiſhed in print, and preſented to the biſhop of London, ending with theſe words of the apoſtle, *If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor.*

1700. An account of G. Keith's former ſentiments of a national church clergy, and the ſacrament, ſo called, of the Lord's ſupper.

Gal. ii. 18.

1701. In the next year, viz. 1701, the late king James died in France. I mentioned before how that unhappy prince, after having aſcended the

the throne, fell ſuddenly by his haſty conduct, and ardent deſire to introduce Popery in England, and all his endeavours to regain his loſt kingdoms, proved ineffectual. In September, being at maſs, he was ſeized with a qualm, and the diſtemper increaſing, within a day or two he vomited blood, and all remedies made uſe of, were unprofitable. If what was written about that time from Paris, be true, he declared that he forgave all men what they had done amiſs to him; and on the 16th of the ſaid month he died at St. Germains in France, where he kept his court.

1701.

The death of the late king James in France.

King William was returned from Holland, where he had been becauſe of new troubles drawing on from France. And ſince the ſucceſſion of the crown of England was now ſettled in the proteſtant line, and for want of nearer proteſtant heirs, then to the houſe of Hanover, the king was congratulated on that account with many addreſſes from his ſubjects: and therefore thoſe called Quakers thought it alſo their duty to addreſs him (againſt whoſe life a horrible plot was diſcovered) with a thankful acknowledgment of his favours. This they did as followeth, it being preſented to the king in December, by George Whitehead, William Mead, and Francis Camfield.

The ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled in remainder on the houſe of Hanover. Plot diſcovered againſt king William.

To king William III. over England, &c.

An addreſs from the people commonly called Quakers humbly preſented;

May it pleaſe the king,

WE thy dutiful ſubjects ſincerely expreſs our joy for thy ſafe return to thy people, having great cauſe to love, honour, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government; under whoſe reign we enjoy great mercies and favours, and particularly that of liberty to tender conſciences in religious worſhip, as a proper expedient to unite thy proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection.

Quakers addreſs on that occaſion.

For which great mercy we cannot but be humbly thankful to God, and renew our grateful acknowledgment to the king, whom God by his almighty power hath eminently preſerved, and made exemplary in prudence as well as goodneſs to other kings and princes, whereby thy memorial will be renowned to poſterity.

We are alſo engaged to bleſs the Lord, for that he hath manifeſtly fruſtrated the miſchievous and treacherous deſigns of thine and the nation's adverſaries, both againſt the lawful eſtabliſhment of thy throne, and the true intereſt of thy proteſtant ſubjects.

And we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs the good deſigns and juſt undertakings of the king, and his great council, for the good of his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm and laſting peace; and continue thee, O king, a bleſſing to theſe nations, eſtabliſh thy throne in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and proſperous reign over us, and hereafter a glorious immortality, is, and ſhall be the fervent prayer of us, thy true and faithful ſubjects.

Signed in behalf and by appointment of the aforeſaid people, at a meeting in London, the 8th month, 1701.

1701. This addreſs being read to the king was favourably received, and he thanked thoſe that preſented it. George Whitehead and the others ſaying what they thought material to the caſe, the king returned, 'I have protected you, and ſhall protect you;' and repairing with the addreſs to his cloſet, he read it over again, as was underſtood afterwards, and ſpoke in its commendation. But he keeping the paper ſome days by him, without giving it to be made publick by the Gazetteer, ſome French news-writers at London forged a very ridiculous addreſs, and ſent it beyond ſea; and the French Gazetteers in Holland were very ready to divulge in their prints ſuch fictitious ſtuff, though the expreſſions therein were ſo exceeding blunt and unmannerly, that they could not be ſpoken to a king, but by ſuch who were impudent enough publickly to make a mock of crowned heads, which the Quakers never have been guilty of. After a few days the king gave the addreſs to be made publick; and then every body could ſee how ſhamefully the French news-mongers had expoſed their malice.

Miſrepreſented by the French news-writers.

1702. This year being come to an end, that of 1702 followed, and alſo the end of king William's life.

The French king places his grandſon on the throne of Spain, and acknowledges the pretender as king of England.

The French king, upon the death of the king of Spain, had not only placed his grandſon the duke of Anjou, on the throne of that kingdom, but had alſo acknowledged the pretended prince of Wales as king of England; by which, in a manner, he attainted king William's crown; who thereupon took occaſion to make alliances for his ſecurity, with other princes and potentates. Of this he gave notice to the parliament that was then ſitting, who promiſed, 'to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, and to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line.' And an abjuration was alſo drawn up, wherein it was declared, 'that the aforeſaid pretended prince, who now ſuffered himſelf to be called "James the third, king of England," &c. had no right or claim to the crown of that kingdom, or any dominions appertaining thereto.' Now though all this was intended for maintaining and aſſiſting the rightful king William, yet he lived not to ſee the effect of it; for his time was near expired, and his glaſs run, as ſoon appeared.

King William by a fall from his horſe breaks his collar bone.

About the beginning of the month called March he went a hunting, and riding a horſe he never rode on before, the horſe fell, and the king at the ſame time broke his collar bone: the fracture was ſoon ſet, and all ſeemed like to do well; but the king having endured many fatigues and hardſhips, had been weak in body ſome time before, inſomuch, that this ſore fall ſeemed to occaſion his ſickneſs, which ſoon followed, and put a period to his life. But before his departure, he did yet one good work more for the Quakers; for the term of ſeven years granted for their affirmation, to be accepted inſtead of an oath, was near expiring; and therefore they ſolicited the king and parliament that this act might be continued, and confirmed by a new one, which was obtained; for the king always ſhewed himſelf willing to favour them as his peaceable ſubjects; and in parliament many eminent members were well affected towards them. Thereupon this renewed act, containing a prolongation of the ſaid grant for

Renews the affirmation act.

the

the ſpace of eleven years, paſſed at length, after mature conſideration, the king having named commiſſioners, who on the third of March, gave the royal aſſent to it in the houſe of lords, becauſe by reaſon of his illneſs, he could not appear himſelf on the throne. 1702.

Recommends to the parliament the uniting England and Scotland.

He alſo ſent a meſſage to the parliament, recommending the uniting of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, into one; commiſſioners being already appointed in Scotland, to treat with the Engliſh concerning that affair: but time ſhewed that he was not to bring that work to an end, ſince the accompliſhing thereof was reſerved for his ſucceſſor, tho' ſome hopes appeared of his recovery; for he had been walking a little in his garden to take the air, and ſitting down afterwards, he caught cold, which was followed by a fever; and his ſickneſs ſo increaſed, that on the next firſt-day of the week, being the eighth of the month called March, he died at Kenſington, to the great grief of all his faithful ſubjects—nay, ſuch was the ſorrow on the death of that excellent prince, that the news of it being come to Holland, it cauſed a general dejection, and drew tears from many eyes; for perhaps no king in theſe late ages hath been more beloved than he was. The day before his demiſe, he had by commiſſioners given the royal aſſent to the bill of abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales; and the following night, feeling death approaching, he ſent for the princeſs Ann, ſiſter of his deceaſed conſort, queen Mary; and having kept her ſome time with him, after tender embracing, he wiſhed her the laſt farewell. Then he ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his underſtanding continuing good to the laſt, with evident tokens of piety, and a reſignation to the will of his Creator, in the morning about eight of the clock, he gave up the ghoſt to him from whom he had received it, being entered into the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and having reigned as king above thirteen years.

And on the 8th of the month called March, dies at Kenſington greatly lamented, both here and in Holland: after he had taken his laſt farewell of the princeſs Ann; and ſent for the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Queen Ann proclaimed.

In the afternoon the princeſs Ann was proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the parliament promiſed to aſſiſt her, in maintaining thoſe alliances that were already made, or ſhould yet be made, with foreign powers. This the queen accepted with much ſatisfaction, and confirmed the miniſters and high officers in their reſpective ſtations. She alſo wrote to the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands, 'that ſhe would 'keep to the alliances made with the States by the deceaſed king 'her brother.'

The body of the deceaſed king opened.

The body of the king, which was lean, and much emaciated, was opened after his death, and many of the inward parts appeared ſound, eſpecially the brain; yet in general little blood was found in the body; but in the lungs, which adhered much to the pleura, was more than in all the other parts: his heart was firm and ſtrong; but ſome imflammation on the left ſide of the lungs, was thought to have been the immediate cauſe of the king's death, for he had long been aſthmatical.

His character.

He was of a middle ſtature; his face lean and oblong; his eyes were exceeding good, quick and piercing; his hands very fine and white; he did not talk much, but was ſolid in thought; of a ſtrong memory, quick of apprehenſion, of a compoſed mind, and not

1702. not given to voluptuouſneſs, but grave in his deportment: he often gave evidence of a devout attention at the hearing of the name of GOD; and even in the midſt of dangers, put great truſt in Divine Providence. Thus he was valiant and undaunted without temerity; for where he judged his preſence to be neceſſary, he repaired thither without fear. He was a great lover of hunting, that being his moſt pleaſant diverſion, which made him the more fit to endure the fatigues of war. He was eaſy of acceſs, and gave a favourable hearing to every body; and thoſe that ſpoke to him he treated diſcreetly: and ſuch was his devotion, that he often retired privately, when ſome thought he was about other buſineſs. Many had conceived hopes that this great prince, in that critical juncture, ſhould have lived yet ſomewhat longer: but his work was done; and God hath ſince that time ſhewed very eminently, that he is not limited to any inſtruments; and the queen, who ſucceeded on the throne, gave afterwards ſignal proofs of it to the world. His corps was interred the 12th of the month called April, about midnight, in the chapel of king Henry the VIIth, in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

It was by the favour of this king, (a Hollander by birth) that the Quakers, ſo called, were tolerated as a free people; ſo that now they ſaw fulfilled the truth of what ſome of their deceaſed friends had prophetically foretold, viz. 'That it ſhould not be in 'the power of their enemies to root them out, but that God in 'his own time ſhould work their deliverance.'

The number of friends very ſmall in their firſt appearance.

Thus we have now ſeen from what weak beginnings they had their riſe, and how they increaſed and became a great people againſt all oppoſition, of which at firſt there ſeemed little probability; as in the beginning of this hiſtory may be ſeen: and to look a little back, it may appear alſo, by a teſtimony of George Fox, publiſhed after his death, in the collections of his epiſtles, viz.

An epiſtle of G. Fox concerning his firſt miſſion.

WHEN the Lord firſt ſent me forth in the year 1643, I was ſent as an innocent lamb, and young in years, amongſt men in the nature of wolves, dogs, bears, lions and tigers, into the world, which the Devil had made like a wilderneſs, no right way then found out of it: and I was ſent *to turn people from darkneſs to the light*, which Chriſt, the ſecond Adam, did enlighten them withal; that ſo they might ſee Chriſt, their way to God, with the ſpirit of God, which he doth pour *upon all fleſh*, that with it they might have an underſtanding to know the things of God, and to know him, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, *which is eternal life*; and ſo might worſhip and ſerve the living God, their Maker and Creator, who takes care for all, who is Lord of all; and with the light and ſpirit of God they might know the ſcriptures, which were given forth from the ſpirit of God in the ſaints, and holy men and women of God.

And when many began to be turned to the light, (which is the life in Chriſt) and the ſpirit of God, which gave them an underſtanding, and had found the path of the juſt, the ſhining light; then did the wolves, dogs, dragons, bears, lions, tigers, wild beaſts, and birds of prey, make a roaring and a ſcreeching noiſe

againſt

againſt the lambs, ſheep, doves, and children of Chriſt, and were ready to devour them and me, and to tear us to pieces: but the Lord's arm and power did preſerve me, though many times I was in danger of my life, and very often caſt into dungeons, and priſons, and haled before magiſtrates. But all things did work together for good: and the more I was caſt into outward priſons, the more people came out of their ſpiritual and inward priſon, through the preaching of the goſpel. But the prieſts and profeſſors were in ſuch a great rage, and made the rude and profane people in ſuch a fury, that I could hardly walk in the ſtreets, or go in the highways, but they were ready oft-times to do me a miſchief. But Chriſt, who hath all power in heaven and in the earth, did ſo reſtrain and limit them with his power, that my life was preſerved; though many times I was near killed. 1702.

Oh, the burdens and travails that I went under! often my life preſſed down under the ſpirits of profeſſors and teachers without life, and the profane! and beſides, the troubles afterwards with backſliders, apoſtates and falſe brethren, which were like ſo many Judas's in betraying the truth, and God's faithful and choſen ſeed, and cauſing the way of truth to be evil ſpoken of! but the Lord blaſted, waſted, and confounded them, ſo that none did ſtand long; for the Lord did either deſtroy them, or bring them to nought, and his truth did flouriſh, and his people in it, to the praiſe of God, who is the revenger of his choſen.

G. F.

G. Fox then having in England been the firſt of the Quakers that preached and proclaimed Chriſt the light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world, had in a ſhort time, as we have ſeen in this hiſtory, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, many adherents, whereby ſeveral others alſo began to publiſh that doctrine. And many of theſe firſt preachers were like ſons of thunder; for they teſtifying of the light of Chriſt ſhining in the conſciences of men, proclaimed that the day of the Lord was dawned, and ſhould yet further break forth, to the deſtroying of the former buildings of human inventions and inſtitutions, though not of that which had formerly been felt and enjoyed by true experience of the operations of the ſpirit of God in people's hearts. By their powerful way of preaching repentance, many were awakened out of the ſleep of careleſs ſecurity, and came to ſee that their covering was too ſhort, and that they were not clothed with the true wedding-garment: and many that had been of a rude life, came to be ſo touched to the heart by theſe zealous preachers, that crying out, '*What ſhall* we *do to be ſaved?*' they were brought to repentance and converſion; and ſo from wild and rough, came to be ſedate and ſober. And as in the beginning many of theſe firſt preachers did run on like a mighty ſtream, and ſeemed fit to threſh and grind mountains and ſtones, and to hew down tall cedars, and waſh away all oppoſition; ſo there were others alſo, who as ſons of conſolation, proclaimed glad tidings to the hungry and thirſty ſouls, many of which were in England about that time, inſomuch that ſome ſaid, 'Now the everlaſting goſpel is preached again.' The fruits thereof.

1702. And it was indeed remarkable, that though theſe promulgators of the doctrine of the inward light ſhining in the hearts of men, were mean and illiterate, yet many people of note, not only ſuch as were in magiſtracy, but alſo many preachers of ſeveral perſuaſions, were ſo touched at the heart by their lively preaching, that they not only received their doctrine, but came themſelves in proceſs of time, to be zealous publiſhers thereof, and thus a great crop was gathered; nay, ſometimes even men of great ſkill, and ſharp wit, were deeply ſtruck by plain and homely preaching; of whom

Iſaac Penington, mentioned more than once in this hiſtory, was a ſignal inſtance, as may appear from a relation concerning himſelf, wrote with his own hand, and found among his papers after his death, wherein he ſpeaks thus:

I. Penington's relation concerning himſelf, well worthy the readers ſerious conſideration.

I Have been a man of ſorrow and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord, and mourning after him, ſeparated by him from the love, nature, and ſpirit of this world, and turned in ſpirit towards him, almoſt ever ſince I could remember.

In this ſenſe of my loſt eſtate, I ſought after the Lord, I read ſcriptures, I watched over mine own heart, I cried unto the Lord for what I felt the want of, I bleſſed his name in what he mercifully did for me, and beſtowed on me, &c. Whatever I read in the ſcriptures, as the way of God to my underſtanding, I gave myſelf to the faithful practice of; being contented to meet with all the reproach, oppoſition, and ſeveral kinds of ſufferings, which it pleaſed the Lord to meaſure out to me therein; and I cannot but ſay, that the Lord was good unto me, did viſit me, did teach me, did help me, did teſtify his acceptance of me many times, to the refreſhing and joy of my heart before him.

But my ſoul was not ſatisfied with what I met with, nor indeed could be, there being further quickenings and preſſings in my ſpirit, after a more full, certain and ſatisfactory knowledge; even after the ſenſe, ſight and enjoyment of God, as was teſtified in the ſcriptures to have been felt and enjoyed in the former times: for I ſaw plainly, that there was a ſtop of the ſtreams, and a great falling ſhort of the power, life and glory which they partook of. We had not ſo the ſpirit, nor were ſo in the faith, nor did ſo walk and live in God, as they did. They were come to Mount Sion and the heavenly Jeruſalem, &c. which we had hardly ſo much as the literal knowledge or apprehenſion what they were: ſo that I ſaw the whole courſe of religion among us, was for the moſt part, but a talk to what they felt, enjoyed, poſſeſſed, and lived in.

This ſenſe made me ſick at heart indeed, and ſet me upon deep crying to God, cloſe ſearching the ſcriptures, and waiting on God, that I might receive the pure ſenſe and underſtanding of them, from and in the light, and by the help of his ſpirit. And what the Lord did beſtow on me in that ſtate, with thankfulneſs I remember before him at this very day; for he was then my God, and a pitier and a watcher over; though he had not pleaſed then to direct me, how to ſtay my mind upon him, and abide with him. And then I was led (indeed I was led, I did not run of myſelf) into a way of ſeparation from the worſhip of the world, into a gathered ſociety: for this both the ſcripture and the ſpirit of God in me, gave teſtimony unto; and what we then met with, and what leadings and help we then felt, there is a remembrance and teſtimony in my heart to this day. But there was ſomewhat wanting, and we miſtook our way: for whereas we ſhould have preſſed forward into the ſpirit and power, we ran too much outward into letter and form: and though the Lord in many things helped us, yet therein he was againſt us, and brought darkneſs, confuſion and ſcattering upon us. I was ſorely broken and darkened, and in this darkened ſtate, ſometimes lay ſtill for a long ſeaſon, ſecretly mourning and crying out to the Lord night and day; ſometimes I ran about, hearkening after what might appear or break forth in others, but never met with any thing, whereto there was the leaſt anſwer in my heart, ſave in one people, who had a touch of truth: but I never expreſſed ſo much to any of them, nor indeed felt them at all able to reach my condition.

At laſt, after all my diſtreſſes, wanderings and ſore travails, I met with ſome writings of this people called Quakers, which I caſt a ſlight eye upon and diſdained, as falling very ſhort of that wiſdom, light, life and power, which I had been longing for and ſearching after: I had likewiſe (ſome pretty diſtance of time after this) opportunity of meeting with ſome of them, and divers of them were by the Lord moved (I know it to be ſo ſince) to come to me: as I remember, at the very firſt they reached to the life of God in me, which life anſwered their voice, and cauſed a great love in me to ſpring to them; but ſtill in my reaſonings with them, and diſputes alone in my mind concerning them, I was very far off from owning them, as ſo knowing the Lord, or ſo appearing in his life and power as my condition needed, and as my ſoul waited for. Yea, the more I converſed with them, the more I ſeemed in my underſtanding and reaſon to get over them, and to trample them under my feet, as a poor, weak, ſilly, contemptible generation, who had ſome ſmatterings of truth in them, and ſome honeſt deſires towards God, but very far off from the clear and full underſtanding of his way and will. And this was the effect almoſt of every diſcourſe with them, they ſtill reached my heart, and I felt them in the ſecrets of my ſoul, which

which cauſed the love in me always to continue, yea ſometimes to increaſe towards them: but daily my underſtanding got more and more over them, and therein I daily more and more deſpiſed them. 1702.

After a long time I was invited to hear one of them, (as I had been often, they in tender love pitying me, and feeling my want of that which they poſſeſſed) and there was an anſwer in my heart, and I went in fear and trembling, with deſires to the Moſt High, who was over all and knew all, that I might not receive any thing for truth which was not of him, nor withſtand any thing which was of him, but might bow before the appearance of the Lord my God, and none other: and indeed, when I came, I felt the preſence and power of the Moſt High among them, and words of truth, from the ſpirit of truth, reaching to my heart and conſcience, opening my ſtate as in the preſence of the Lord. Yea I did not only feel words and demonſtrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, the ſeed raiſed, inſomuch as my heart, (in the certainty of light and clearneſs of true ſenſe) ſaid, 'This is he, this is he, there is no other; 'this is he whom I have waited for and ſought after from my childhood, who was always near 'me, and had often begotten life in my heart, but I knew him not diſtinctly, nor how to receive 'him or dwell with him.' And then in this ſenſe, in the melting and breakings of my ſpirit, was I given up to the Lord, to become his, both in waiting for the further revealings of his ſeed in me, and to ſerve him in the life and power of his ſeed.

Now what I met with after this, in my travails, in my waitings, in my ſpiritual exerciſes, is not to be uttered; only in general I may ſay this, I met with the very ſtrength of hell. The cruel Oppreſſor roared upon me, and made me feel the bitterneſs of his captivity, while he had any power: yea, the Lord was far from my help, and from the voice of my roaring. I alſo met with deep ſubtilties and devices to entangle me in that wiſdom, which ſeemeth able to make wiſe in the things of God, but indeed is fooliſhneſs and a ſnare to the ſoul, bringing it back into captivity, where the enemy's gins prevail. And what I met with outwardly from my own dear father, from my kindred, from my ſervants, from the people and powers of the world, for no other cauſe but fearing my God, worſhipping him as he hath required of me, and bowing to his ſeed, which is his Son, who is to be worſhipped by men and angels for evermore, the Lord my God knoweth—before whom my heart and ways are—who preſerved me in love to them, in the midſt of all I ſuffered from them, and doth ſtill ſo preſerve me, bleſſed be his pure and holy name!

But ſome may deſire to know, what I have at laſt met with: I anſwer I have met with the ſeed. Underſtand that word, and thou wilt be ſatisfied, and inquire no further. I have met with my God, I have met with my Saviour; and he hath not been preſent with me without his ſalvation, but I have felt the healings drop upon my ſoul from under his wings. I have met with the true knowledge, the knowledge of life, the living knowledge, the knowledge which is life, and this hath had the true virtue in it, which my ſoul hath rejoiced in, in the preſence of the Lord. I have met with the ſeed's Father, and in the ſeed I have felt him my Father: there I have read his nature, his love, his compaſſions, his tenderneſs, which have melted, overcome and changed my heart before him. I have met with the ſeed's faith, which hath done and doth that, which the faith of man can never do. I have met with the true birth, with the birth which is heir of the kingdom, and inherits the kingdom. I have met with the true ſpirit of prayer and ſupplication, wherein the Lord is prevailed with, and which draws from him whatever the condition needs, the ſoul always looking up to him in the will, and in the time and way which is acceptable with him. What ſhall I ſay! I have met with the true peace, the true righteouſneſs, the true holineſs, the true reſt of the ſoul, the everlaſting habitation, which the redeemed dwell in. And I know all theſe to be true, in him that is true, and am capable of no doubt, diſpute or reaſoning in my mind about them, it abiding there, where it hath received the full aſſurance and ſatisfaction. And alſo I know very well and diſtinctly in ſpirit, where the doubts and diſputes are, and where the certainty and full aſſurance is, and in the tender mercy of the Lord am preſerved out of the one, and in the other.

Now, the Lord knows, theſe things I do not utter in a boaſting way; but would rather be ſpeaking of my nothingneſs, my emptineſs, my weakneſs, my manifold infirmities—which I feel more than ever. The Lord hath broken the man's part in me, and I am a worm and no man before him: I have no ſtrength to do any good or ſervice for him, nay I cannot watch over or preſerve myſelf: I feel daily that I keep not alive my own ſoul, but am weaker before men, yea weaker in my ſpirit, as in myſelf, than ever I have been. But I cannot but utter to the praiſe of my God, that I feel his arm ſtretched out for me; and my weakneſs (which I feel in myſelf) is not my loſs, but advantage before him. And theſe things I write, as having no end at all therein of my own, but felt it this morning required of me, and ſo in ſubmiſſion and ſubjection to my God, have I given up to do it, leaving the ſucceſs and ſervice of it with him.

Aliſbury, 15th of 3d month, 1667. I. PENINGTON.

From this concluſion, we ſee the humility of the mind of this friend, who, when he wrote this, was already much advanced in the way of godlineſs, and had lived ſeveral years in the communion of thoſe called Quakers. Now, though it be the duty of every one, not to be conceited of himſelf, yet certain it is, that men

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A caution to conceited wits.

men of refined wits above all others, have need to continue truly humble, and not to rely thereon, ſince the truſting to acuteneſs of wit, hath rather drawn off many from the way of truth, than led them to it; nay, it hath occaſioned the fall of ſome. But that I. Penington endeavoured to continue in true humility, appears plainly from the relation above. He was a man of a very compaſſionate temper, and yet valiant in adverſities: he alſo ſuffered not a little on the account of his religion, but endured many tedious and long impriſonments, which were the more hard to him, becauſe he being of a weakly conſtitution, the ſuffering of cold and hardſhip did him the more hurt; and yet he never fainted, but continued ſteadfaſt to the end of his life, which was in the latter part of the year 1679, when he departed in a pious frame of mind.

I. Penington a patient ſufferer.

By the foregoing relation, it appears evidently that he was very earneſtly ſeeking after the true way to ſalvation, before he attained to a perfect quietneſs of mind; yet in that time there wanted not ſuch as were helpful to him with good and wholeſome advice; and among theſe John Crook, whoſe occurrences make up no ſmall part of this hiſtory, was none of the leaſt. And ſince there is yet extant a letter of his to him, wherein he not only ſpoke very effectually to the inward ſtate of I. Penington, but for his inſtruction and encouragement, gave alſo an account of the great difficulties and temptations he himſelf had met with, I cannot well omit to inſert the ſame here; becauſe from the ingenuous and open-hearted letters of familiar friends to one another, we generally may diſcover very plainly their inward ſtate, and alſo their outward qualities. This letter was as followeth:

DEAR FRIEND,

A weighty letter of advice and comfort by J. Crook, to I. Penington.

MY dear and tender love ſalutes thee, in that love from whence I had my being, and from whence ſprang all my Father's children, who are born from above, heirs of an everlaſting inheritance. Oh! how ſweet and pleaſant are the paſtures which my Father cauſeth all his ſheep to feed in; there is variety of plenty in his paſtures, milk for babes, and ſtrong meat for them of riper years, and wine to refreſh thoſe that are ready to faint, even the wine of the kingdom, that makes glad the heart when it is ready to faint, by reaſon of the infirmities: ſure I am, none can be ſo weary but he takes care of them, nor none ſo nigh fainting, but he puts his arm under their heads; nor none can be ſo beſet with enemies on every ſide, but he will ariſe and ſcatter; nor none ſo heavy laden and big with young, but he takes notice of them, and gently leads them, and will not leave them behind unto the mercileſs wolf, becauſe they are his own, and his life is the price of their redemption, and his blood of their ranſom; and if they be ſo young that they cannot go, he carries them in his arms, and when they can feel nothing ſtirring after him, his bowels yearn after them; ſo tender is this good ſhepherd after all his flock. I can tell, for I was as one that once went aſtray, and wandered upon the barren mountains; and when I had wearied myſelf with wandering, I went into the wilderneſs, and there I was torn

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as with briars, and pricked as with thorns, ſometimes thinking this was the way, and ſometimes concluding that was the way, and by and by concluding all was out of the way, and then bitter mourning came upon me, and weeping for want of the interpreter; for when I ſought to know what was the matter, and where I was, it was too hard for me: then I thought I would venture on ſome way where it was moſt likely to find a loſt God, and I would pray with them that prayed, and faſt with them that faſted, and mourn with them that mourned, if by any means I might come to reſt, but found it not, until I came to ſee the candle lighted in mine own houſe, and my heart ſwept from thoſe thoughts and imaginations, and willings, and runnings, and to die unto them all, not heeding of them, but watching againſt them, leſt I ſhould let my mind go a whoring after them: and here I dwelt for a time, as in a deſolate land uninhabited, where I ſat alone as a ſparrow upon the houſe top, and was hunted up and down like a partridge upon the mountains, and could reſt no where, but ſome luſt or thought or other followed me at the heels, and diſquieted me night and day, until I came to know him in whom was reſt, and no occaſion of ſtumbling, in whom the Devil hath no part, and he became unto me as a hiding place from the ſtorms, and from the tempeſts: then came my eyes to ſee my Saviour, and my ſorrow to fly away, and he became made unto me all in all, my wiſdom, my righteouſneſs, and my ſanctification, in whom I was and am complete, to the praiſe of the riches of his grace and goodneſs that endures for-ever. Therefore be not diſcouraged, O thou toſſed as with tempeſts, nor diſmayed in thyſelf, becauſe thou ſeeſt ſuch mighty hoſts of enemies riſing up againſt thee, and beſetting thee on every ſide; for none was ſo beſet, and tried, and tempted as the true ſeed was, who was a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief: but be thou ſtill in thy mind, and let the billows paſs over, and wave upon wave, and fret not thyſelf becauſe of them, neither be caſt down, as if it ſhould never be otherwiſe with thee: ſorrow comes at night, but joy in the morning, and the days of thy mourning ſhall be over, and the accuſer will God caſt out for-ever. For therefore was I afflicted and not comforted, and tempted and tried, for this end, that I might know how to ſpeak a word in due ſeaſon unto thoſe who are tempted and afflicted as I once was; as it was ſaid unto me in that day when ſorrow lay heavy upon me. Therefore be not diſconſolated, neither give heed unto the reaſonings and diſputings of thine own heart, nor the fears that riſe therefrom; but be ſtrong in the faith, believing in the light which lets thee ſee them, and his grace thou wilt know to be ſufficient for thee, and his ſtrength to be made perfect in thy weakneſs; and ſo wilt thou rather glory in thy infirmities, that his power may reſt upon thee, than in thy earneſt deſires to be rid of them; for by theſe things thou wilt come to live in the life of God, and joy in God, and glory in tribulation, when thou haſt learned in all conditions to be contented; and through trials and deep exerciſes is the way to learn this leſſon. Theſe things in dear love to thee I have written, being ſomewhat ſenſible of thy condition, and the many ſnares

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1702. thou art daily liable unto: therefore watch that thou fall not into temptation; and my God and Father keep thee in the arms of eternal love, over all, unto the end, unto his praiſe! Amen!

JOHN CROOK.

A further hint concerning J. Crook.

This John Crook had been a man of note in the world, not only becauſe he had been a juſtice of peace, as hath been ſaid in due place, but alſo becauſe he was a man of good intellects; and yet his zeal for what he believed to be truth, was ſuch, that he became willing to bear the reproach of the world, that ſo he might enjoy peace with God. But though he was a man of learning, yet moſt of the firſt preachers of the doctrine held forth by thoſe called Quakers, were people of ſmall account in the world; but yet they were ſo powerful in their preaching, that many thereby were turned to true godlineſs.

Some convinced by dying penitents.

Some have been reached by the ſayings of dying penitents; for there have been remarkable inſtances of young people, ſprung from honeſt parents, who having walked in the broad way, did very earneſtly bewail their out-goings on a dying-bed; and then declared, that if it pleaſed God to raiſe them up again, they would not, as before, be aſhamed of the deſpiſed way of the Quakers, nor fear any mockings, or perſecution, but that they would ſerve the Lord in uprightneſs, and with all their heart. Theſe thus repenting with tears for their tranſgreſſions, have experienced after great agonies, that God wills not the death of ſinners, but that they ſhould repent, and ſo live in everlaſting happineſs.

A warning to young people againſt pride, &c. in the remarkable repentance of S. Whitrow.

Of ſeveral ſuch like caſes, I'll only mention one, viz. that of a young maid at London, called Suſanna Whitrow, whoſe mother was of the ſociety of the Quakers, but not her father. On her dying-bed ſhe complained exceedingly of her rebellion and vain behaviour: 'Ah!' ſaid ſhe to her mother, 'how often haſt thou ſaid, the 'Lord would plead with us! Now the day is come. Pride and diſ-'obedience were my curſed fruits, which I brought forth when I 'was a hearer in the publick church. How often have I adorned 'myſelf, as fine in their faſhion as I could make me! yet they de-'ſpiſed my dreſs, and ſaid to me, How like a tawdry have you dreſſ-'ed yourſelf? you are not at all in the mode. Then coming home 'on the ſabbath-day, I went immediately up into my chamber, and 'locking the door, I altered all my laces, and ſo I went to their wor-'ſhip in the afternoon, dreſſed in their mode, and then I pleaſed 'them.' At another time ſhe ſaid, 'O that I might have a little 'time longer to go into the country, and walk in the woods to ſeek 'the Lord! O what matter for fine houſes, and ſilk apparel! O re-'member him that ſate on the ground, and wore a garment with-'out a ſeam, our bleſſed holy Lord, who went up to the mountains 'to pray, and withdrew himſelf into gardens, and deſolate places. 'I have done nothing for the Lord, but he hath done all for me; 'therefore I deſire to live, that I might live an holy and righteous 'life, that my converſation might be in heaven, tho' my body be 'here on earth. How would I then invite and warn others, not to 'ſpend their precious time in adorning themſelves like Jezebel, 'patching and painting, and curling their hair! O the chriſtian

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'life is quite another thing: we muſt not give ourſelves the liberty 'to think our own thoughts, much leſs to act ſuch abominations.' Several days ſhe was in a ſtrong wreſtling and conflict of ſpirit, and in fervent prayer to God, ſo that when ſome body was for removing her head a little, ſhe refuſing it, ſaid, 'I would not ſuffer a thought 'to wander; if I move, I ſhall be drawn off from my watch, and 'then the Tempter will prevail.' Continuing in this conflict, ſhe conceived at length hopes of forgiveneſs; and being thus ſtrengthened by mercy, ſhe ſaid to the Lord, 'O what can my ſoul ſay of 'thy power! When I ſought thee, but could not find thee, I 'knocked hard, but none did open; for my ſins ſtood like mountains, that I could not come near thee: I would fain have prayed 'to thee, but could not. Thus I lay ſeveral days and nights ſtruggling for life, but could find none; and I ſaid, there is no mercy 'for me. Then I ſaid, I will never leave thee; if I periſh, I will 'periſh here; I will never ceaſe crying unto thee—and then I 'heard a voice ſay, *Jacob wreſtled all night before he obtained the 'bleſſing*. Oh then thy word, O Lord! was ſtrong to my ſoul: then 'my ſtony heart was broken to pieces, and the ſpirit of prayer and 'ſupplication was poured upon me. And now I can ſing as David 'did, of mercy and of judgment: unto thee, O Lord! will I ſing 'with a rent heart; and with my mouth in the duſt will I ſing 'praiſes to thee, my bleſſed Saviour!' In this frame ſhe endeavoured to continue; and once ſhe prayed for her father, called Robert Whitrow, part of which prayer was as followeth: 'O Lord! re'member not his offences, let me bear them; let it be eaſy to him; 'make his friends to be enemies to him, that thou mayſt have mer'cy upon him. His temptations are great, Lord carry him through! 'O let him not periſh with the world! do thou ſupport him over 'this world! ſhall a little dirt of this world draw away his mind? 'O Lord! let his mind be ſet on things above; fix his mind upon 'thee!' Thus fervently this young maid prayed for her father, herſelf now having attained to a full aſſurance of her ſalvation, ſo that ſhe once ſaid to the Lord, 'O thou beloved of my ſoul, what 'ſhall I ſay of thee! for thou art too wonderful for me: O praiſes 'be unto thee!' And afterward perceiving that her end was approaching, ſhe ſaid to her mother, 'I muſt lay down this body, 'the Lord will not truſt me longer in this preſent wicked world: 'happy am I. My Saviour, my ſoul loves thee dearly! *thy love 'is better than wine:* my Saviour, my Holy One, how glorious art 'thou! I have ſeen thy glory; I am overcome with thy ſweet 'countenance: O how lovely art thou! my heart is raviſhed with 'the ſweet ſmiles of thy glorious countenance. O, come away, 'come away! Why doſt thou ſtay? I am ready, I am ready.' Then ſhe lay ſome time very ſtill, and ſo departed this life without ſigh or groan, which was about the year 1677.

Such like dying perſons have been the means ſometimes to ſtir up others to true godlineſs, whereby they came to be joined with the people called Quakers: and tho' theſe in time came to be very numerous, yet at firſt there were but few labourers in the miniſtry of the word. But theſe recommending one another to give diligent heed to the word of God in the heart, and to mind that as their

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Some convinced by beholding the weighty frame of friends in their ſilent aſſemblies.

teacher, did often meet together, and keep aſſemblies; ſitting down with ſuch a deep retiredneſs of mind, being turned inward to God, that tears trickled down their cheeks, to the aſtoniſhment of many that looked upon them; ſome of which only by beholding this ſerious retiredneſs, came to be ſo effectually reached, that they alſo joined with them, and frequented their meetings. In the meanwhile, many of theſe became more and more confirmed in their minds by this ſilent exerciſe, and their underſtandings came to be ſo opened, that in proceſs of time, they became apt and fit inſtruments to exhort others to godlineſs: and among theſe, ſeveral women alſo found it their duty to preach the goſpel.

C. Bacon going to a meeting in a vain mind, is ſo reached, that in time he became a zealous preacher and ſufferer among friends.

There have been many who were very averſe to the Quakers, and yet came to join with them in the faith; as among others, Chriſtopher Bacon in Somerſetſhire, who, about the year 1656, coming into a meeting, not with intention to be edified there, but rather to ſcoff, and to fetch his wife from thence, who went thither againſt his mind, was ſo reached by the lively exhortation he heard, that he was not only convinced of the truth preached there, but in time became a zealous preacher of it himſelf, and was valiant in ſufferings. Once being taken up at a meeting at Glaſtenbury, and brought before biſhop Mew at Wells, who called him a rebel, for meeting contrary to the king's laws; Chriſtopher, having formerly been a ſoldier for the king, ſaid to him, 'Doſt thou call me 'rebel? I would have thee to know, that I have ventured my life 'for the king in the field, when ſuch as thou lay behind hedges.' By this he ſtopped the biſhop's mouth, who did not expect ſuch an anſwer, and therefore was willing to be rid of him.

W. Gibſon convinced going to diſturb T. Holmes, &c. at a meeting;

The like inſtance of an unexpected converſion, was ſeen alſo in William Gibſon, whom I knew well, and who at the time of the civil wars being a ſoldier at Carliſle, he and three others having heard that a Quakers meeting was appointed in that city, they agreed to go thither, and abuſe the preacher, whoſe name was Thomas Holmes: but Gibſon hearing him powerfully declare the truth, was ſo affected by his teſtimony, that he ſtepped in near him, to defend him, if any ſhould have offered to abuſe him; and he himſelf afterwards came to be a zealous preacher of that truth he had been at unawares convinced of.

And a trumpeter much in the like manner.

To theſe inſtances I may add that of a certain trumpeter, who coming into a Quakers meeting, began in an inſolent manner to ſound his trumpet, thereby to drown the voice of him that preached; but this had a contrary effect, and ſtirred up the zeal of the preacher the more, ſo that he went on as if none diſturbed him. The trumpeter at length to recover his breath, was fain to ceaſe blowing; but being ſtill governed by an evil ſpirit, after ſome intermiſſion began to ſound again: but whatever he did, he was not able to divert the preacher from his diſcourſe, though he hindered the auditory from hearing what was ſpoken. Thus he wearied himſelf ſo much, that he was forced to reſt again for reſpiration; whereby, in ſpite of his evil will, he came to hear what the preacher ſpake, which was ſo piercing, that the trumpeter came to be deeply affected with it, and burſting out into tears, confeſſed his crime, and came to be a true penitent—a remarkable evidence

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of the truth of that ſaying of the apoſtle: *So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy.* 1702. Rom. ix. 16.

Among theſe, who contrary to their intent entered into communion with the Quakers, ſo called, may be reckoned alſo Anthony Pearſon, the juſtice, of whom in this hiſtory it hath been mentioned, that he was ſo reached by G. Fox at Swarthmore, that he came to be one of his followers; which, though true, yet it was before that time that he was in ſome reſpect convinced of the doctrine maintained by the people called Quakers, which happened to be by James Nayler; who, upon an indictment of blaſphemy, appearing at the ſeſſions at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, found the ſaid juſtice Pearſon ſitting there on the bench, as one of his perſecutors, who aſking him ſeveral queſtions, received ſuch pertinent anſwers from J. Nayler, that in a great degree he was convinced of the truth held by J. Nayler and his friends. As likewiſe juſtice Pearſon by J. N. and G. F.

By what hath been related here, may be ſeen how unexpectedly ſome entered into ſociety with the Quakers, ſo called; more inſtances of which might be produced, if needful; ſince I have known ſuch, who being naturally of a boiſterous temper, yet were ſo ſtruck with the terror of the Lord, that they came to be of ſuch a quiet ſpirit, and harmleſs behaviour, that as formerly they could not ſuffer the leaſt provocation, ſo now they bore all revilings and mockings with an even and undiſturbed mind; becauſe the fear of God had made ſuch deep impreſſion upon them, that they were careful, leſt by an angry or impetuous deportment they ſhould ſin againſt him: and thus continuing to live in fear, and a reverential awe, they improved in true godlineſs; inſomuch, that by their pious lives they preached as well, as others with words. After this manner, the number of their ſociety increaſed; but then grievous ſufferings enſued; for the prieſts could not endure to ſee that their hearers left them; the furious mob was ſpurred on, and among the magiſtrates there were many, who being of a fierce temper, uſed all their ſtrength to root out the profeſſors of the light, (as they were called at firſt) and to ſuppreſs and ſtifle their doctrine: but all proved in vain, as appears abundantly from this hiſtory, although there were hardly any priſons in England, where ſome of theſe people were not ſhut up; beſides the ſpoil of goods, and cruel whippings that befel ſome of them. Yet all this they bore with a more than ordinary courage, without making reſiſtance, how great ſoever their number was; and notwithſtanding many of them had been valiant ſoldiers, who often had ſlain their enemies in the field, without regarding danger. The concluſion of this book manifeſts, the increaſe of this people notwithſtanding the ſeverity and cruelty of their adverſaries, and at length their being tolerated by law.

In the conſideration of this undaunted ſteadfaſtneſs, it hath ſeemed to me, that there have been ſome ſuch among this people, whoſe talent was valiantly to endure perſecution for a good cauſe, and who perhaps in eaſe would not have been ſuch good chriſtians, as they proved to be under theſe ſufferings; reſembling the camomile in this, which the more it is depreſſed or rubbed, the better it grows, and yields the ſtronger ſcent. Being then thus oppreſſed, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of continuing vigilant and watchful, and according to king Solomon's advice, *to keep their heart with all diligence.* This made them love what they judged

1702. to be truth more than their lives; and it cauſed them to be careful, leſt that ſhould come over them which the church of Epheſus was threatened with, becauſe ſhe had left her firſt love, viz. *the removing of her candleſtick out of its place*. Thus their mutual love increaſed, and their own lives they valued not, when the grieving of their conſciences ſtood in competition with it.

Having thus paſſed through many adverſities, with an unwearied and laſting patience, and being become a great people, known by the name of QUAKERS, they were at length, by the generous clemency of king WILLIAM the Third, and the favour of the PARLIAMENT, declared to be a ſociety, who ſhould henceforth be tolerated in the kingdom as Proteſtant Diſſenters, with liberty to perform their religious worſhip in publick without diſturbance.

THE TWELFTH BOOK.

QUEEN Ann having now aſcended the throne, and taken in hand the reins of government, was congratulated from all quarters; and the people called Quakers thought themſelves no leſs obliged than others to condole the king's death, and to teſtify their affection and fidelity to the queen; and therefore they drew up an addreſs; and when ſome of them, of whom G. Whitehead was one, went to preſent it (which was on the 11th of the ſecond month, April) they were introduced by the then earl, but now duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Ormond. The addreſs was as followeth:

TO QUEEN ANN OVER ENGLAND, &c.

May it pleaſe the queen,

Quakers addreſs to the queen,

WE thy peaceable ſubjects cannot but be ſorrowfully affected, with a deep ſenſe of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of our late king William the third, whom God made the inſtrument of much good to theſe nations; a prince who indeed deſired to be the common father of his people, and as ſuch did, by his great example, as well as precept, endeavour to unite them in intereſt and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender conſciences; by all which his reign was adorned to the renown of his memory.

And it having pleaſed the all-wiſe God, the diſpoſer of kingdoms, to preſerve thee to ſucceed to the government of theſe nations, and thereby to the maintaining and conſummating thoſe great works ſo happily begun; we humbly beg leave to congratulate thy free and peaceable acceſſion to the throne; from whence we obſerve the queen's excellent declaration, manifeſting her care for the good of all her people, and therefore doubt not but we her proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, ſhall partake of her royal favour and protection.

We ſincerely declare, that with the aſſiſtance of the grace of God, we will always, according to our chriſtian duty, demonſtrate our good affection, truth, and fidelity to the queen and her government; and heartily pray that his wiſdom may direct, and his

bleſſing

bleſſing be upon the queen and her great council, to the ſuppreſſing of vice and immorality, and the promoting of piety, peace, and charity, to the glory of God, and the benefit of theſe nations. 1702.

May the King of kings make thy reign long and glorious! to which temporal bleſſing we ſhall pray for thy eternal happineſs.

Signed on behalf and by appointment of the aforeſaid people, at a meeting in London, the 10th of the ſecond month, 1702.

This addreſs was very favourably received by the queen, and after it was read to her, ſhe anſwered,

'I thank you for your addreſs, and I aſſure you of my protection.' And her anſwer.

It was ſcarce a month after when war was proclaimed in England againſt France, which had been proclaimed in Holland alſo againſt that crown ſome days before. Not long after followed the general yearly-meeting of thoſe called Quakers, held at London, in which it was thought fit to thank the queen for her declaration, That ſhe would maintain the act of toleration in favour of the diſſenters; and therefore an addreſs was drawn up by the ſaid aſſembly, which was as followeth:

TO QUEEN ANN OVER ENGLAND, &c.

The humble and thankful acknowledgment of the people commonly called QUAKERS, *from their yearly-meeting in London, the 30th day of the 3d month called May, 1702.*

May it pleaſe the queen,

WE, thy peaceable and dutiful ſubjects, met from moſt parts of thy dominions at our uſual yearly-meeting (for the promotion of piety and charity) being deeply affected with thy free and noble reſolution, in thy late ſpeech at the prorogation of the parliament, to preſerve and maintain the act of toleration for the eaſe and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude eſteem ourſelves engaged, both to thank Almighty God for that favourable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgments to the queen for the ſame; aſſuring her (on behalf of all our friends) of our ſincere affection and chriſtian obedience. Their yearly meeting addreſs.

And we beſeech God, the fountain of wiſdom and goodneſs, ſo to direct all thy counſels and undertakings, that righteouſneſs which exalts a nation, and mercy and juſtice that eſtabliſh a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the bleſſings of theſe kingdoms under it.

Signed by the appointment and on the behalf of the ſaid meeting.

Of thoſe who preſented this addreſs, William Penn was the deliverer, and the queen was pleaſed to ſpeak to him in a very kind manner, and not only received the ſaid addreſs favourably, but after it was read to her, ſhe made the following moſt gracious anſwer:

'Mr. Penn, I am ſo well pleaſed that what I have ſaid is to 'your ſatisfaction, that you and your friends may be aſſured of 'my protection.' The queen's anſwer.

This

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A ſhort hiſtorical account of the life and death of Margaret, the widow of judge Fell, and afterward of G. Fox.

This year died Margaret, the widow of G. Fox, at about eighty-ſeven years of age, as appears to me from an account of her ſon-in-law Dr. Thomas Lower, in which I find that ſhe was born at Marſh-Grange, in the pariſh of Dalton in Lancaſhire. Her father was John Aſkew, a gentleman of an ancient family, a man of a good eſtate, and famous for his piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religious even in her young years, and was married before ſhe had attained the age of eighteen, to Thomas Fell of Swarthmore; who being bred a lawyer, became a juſtice of peace, and having afterwards been a member in ſeveral parliaments, was made vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaſter, and in proceſs of time a judge, being beloved becauſe of his juſtice, wiſdom, moderation, and mercy.

In the year 1652, George Fox coming the firſt time to his houſe, when he himſelf was from home, did by his exhortations ſo reach to the family, that a prieſt with ſome gentlemen went and told judge Fell, that a great diſaſter had befallen his wife and family, they being ſeduced and turned Quakers. This was ſo odiouſly repreſented to him, that it troubled him not a little; but being come home, and received very kindly by his wife, according to her uſual manner, he ſoon perceived that it had been intended to make him believe untruths, and poſſeſs him with prejudice. Not long after George Fox got opportunity to ſpeak to him, which gave him ſuch ſatisfaction, that he owned that which was ſpoken to be truth; and his wife ordered a dinner to be made ready for her friend G. Fox, and thoſe that were with him. And ſome time after he told his wife, when he heard that ſhe and her friends were conſulting where to have a meeting, that they might meet in his hall; which they did; and though he himſelf did not come there, yet when a meeting was kept, he uſed to ſit in a chair ſo near to it, that tho' he could not be ſeen of every body, yet he could hear what was preached; which he liked ſo well, that it is not known, that after he had heard G. Fox, he ever frequented the publick church; inſomuch, that though he entered not into full ſociety with the Quakers, yet he favoured them, and ſeveral times ſtopped the malice of their perſecutors, when it was in his power ſo to do.

Death of judge Fell.

After he had been married ſix and twenty years to Margaret, and had nine children by her, he deceaſed in the year 1658, leaving behind him a ſon and ſeven daughters.

Margaret being thus become a widow, neglected no opportunity to ſerve her friends. In the year 1660, when king Charles the IId. was reſtored, ſcarce two weeks after he came in, ſhe went to London, and ſpoke ſeveral times with that prince, that he would cauſe the ſufferings of her friends to ceaſe; and in order thereto ſhe wrote, not only to him, but alſo to the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the queen mother, the princeſs of Orange, and the queen of Bohemia: and after having been about fifteen months at London, ſhe at length prevailed with the king, that her friends who were in priſon, were releaſed by proclamation. But perſecution afterwards beginning again, ſhe went to ſpeak with the king and the duke of York at Hampton-Court. In the year 1664 for refuſing to ſwear, ſhe was confined in Lancaſter-Caſtle, and

kept

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kept long in durance; for, becauſe of her great ſervice in the church, ſhe was much envied as well as George Fox, to whom ſhe was married about eleven years after the deceaſe of her firſt huſband judge Fell. But not long after ſhe was again impriſoned, and continued a year in gaol, being moſt part of that time ſickly; and afterwards was ſeveral times fined for preaching. In the ſeventieth year of her age ſhe ſpoke again with the king, which was the laſt time; but ſhe was not received ſo favourably as formerly, for he ſeemed to be ſomewhat angry; and therefore ſhe wrote to him, and ſtaid at London in hopes of an anſwer; but he was ſuddenly taken away by death. Afterwards ſhe ſpoke with king James, and wrote to him alſo. And at length, after a laborious and godly life, ſhe piouſly departed from hence in a great age, as hath been ſaid already, having uttered in the time of her ſickneſs many excellent ſayings, by which it appeared that ſhe was prepared for death, and longed to be diſſolved. She had been a zealous preacher, and alſo written much, and among the reſt a book entitled, 'The call of the Jews out of Babylon,' which ſhe dedicated to the famous Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael, and charged him, as he would anſwer it before God, to cauſe it to be read among his brethren. This book being tranſlated by William Ames, into Dutch, was alſo printed in that language, whilſt her firſt huſband lived.

Margaret his wife wrote 'The call of 'the Jews out 'of Babylon,' and many other pieces.

The ſame year ſhe died, George Keith, who now preached up and down where the biſhops thought fit, went by their order to New-England, New-York, Pennſylvania, &c. for it ſeems he imagined that in thoſe parts he ſhould get many adherents among the Quakers: but he came much ſhort of his aim; for even in Pennſylvania, where many of the Baptiſts formerly ſided with him, he was by them looked upon with diſdain, and rejected for wearing a clergyman's gown; and now appearing to be a great apoſtate, there was no likelihood for him to get entrance, or to be eſteemed there. After ſome time being returned into England, he got a living in the pariſh of Edburton in Suſſex, worth about one hundred and twenty pounds a year. Now tho' the Epiſcopalians ſeemed to be in great expectation that Keith ſhould ſuppreſs the doctrine of the Quakers, yet all his endeavours proved in vain; for whatever ſome may think, it is certain, and appears from this hiſtory, that they are become a great people after a very ſingular manner, and that all projects and attempts to root them out, have been quaſhed, and come to nought: and from this conſideration it was, as I have reaſon to think, that many of the Quakers, ſo called, in their preaching did ſound forth theſe words, being as it were extorted from Balaam: *there is no inchantment againſt Jacob, nor divination againſt Iſrael;* as I myſelf have often heard. And now the ſtrength and power of their violent oppoſers was broken by the favour of king William the IIId; and his ſucceſſor queen Ann, hath favourably confirmed the liberty of conſcience and worſhip, granted by an act of parliament to the Quakers; ſo that now we may look upon them as a free people, and a ſociety tolerated by ſupreme authority; and therefore I might now finiſh this hiſtory, as to the import of the title.

G. Keith ſent to preach in America, returns with very little ſucceſs, but gets a benefice of about 120 l. per annum in Suſſex.

His endeavours, as well as thoſe of all others, to ſuppreſs the doctrine of the Quakers, vain.

But before I conclude, I intend to ſay ſomething concerning

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Something as to their doctrine. Concerning the light. John i. 1.

their doctrine, of which mention hath been often made in this work, viz. That their chief principle, in which they differ from the generality of modern chriſtian ſocieties, is, That every man is enlightened with the divine light, according to the evangeliſt John, who in the firſt chapter, ſpeaking of Chriſt, as he was from eternity with the Father, calls him *the Word*, and ſaith, that *the Word was God, that all things were made by him, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men.* And the evangeliſt ſpeaking concerning John the Baptiſt, who was ſent from God, ſaith, *He was not that light, but was ſent to bear witneſs of that light: that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* By this it appears, that the Quakers have not coined a new phraſe, but only made uſe of the expreſs words of the holy ſcripture. I am not unacquainted that, during the great apoſtacy, people generally have not clearly underſtood this; yet it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, becauſe the evangeliſt ſaith, *The light ſhineth in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehendeth it not.* But to elucidate this doctrine a little more, it may ſerve for information, that the Quakers believe this light to be the ſame that the apoſtle Paul calls *the grace of God that bringeth ſalvation, and hath appeared to all men;* and concerning its operation, he ſaid, *teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world.*

Thus much briefly concerning the above-mentioned denominations of this divine light: and to make it appear more plainly what this phraſe means, *take heed to the light;* thereby we underſtand, that each one minding the counſel of the light in their ſouls, may learn to fear God and hate pride, arrogancy, and every evil way, which will beget in us ſuch a reverential awe towards God, that we dare not do any thing which we certainly know will diſpleaſe him: and this is the firſt ſtep to godlineſs; and therefore both David and Solomon have ſaid, that *the fear of God is the beginning of wiſdom*, viz. that fear which is filial and accompanied with circumſpection and cautiouſneſs; and as we perſevere in this fear, *we are enabled to ſerve the Lord in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life.*

Prayer.

But ſince we can do this only by the grace of God, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we take heed thereto; and therefore we ought to pray to God continually for his aſſiſtance. But here ſtarts up ſomething, of which people generally have a wrong notion; for all ſorts of chriſtians agree, that we muſt often pray to God, but in the manner of it many err greatly: for ſome think they perform this duty of praying to God, when in the mornings and evenings, and at other certain times of the day, they repeat or recite ſome forms of prayer, and don't ſeem to conſider, *that men ought always to pray, and not to faint;* and the apoſtle Paul exhorts to *pray without ceaſing;* and what this means he himſelf explains in theſe words, *praying always with all prayer and ſupplication in the ſpirit;* which plainly ſhews, that it conſiſts not in a continual repeating of prayers, but in pious and devout breathings to God, raiſed in the ſoul by the ſpirit of Chriſt, that it may pleaſe him to keep us continually in his fear and counſel, ſince we are in want of daily

Luke xviii. 1.
1 Theſ. v. 17.
Eph. vi. 18.

ſupport

ſupport from him. And thus praying in faith, we receive an anſwer to our breathings in ſome meaſure, though not always ſo ſoon as we deſire: but we muſt not faint; and our prayer muſt be from a ſincere believing and breathing of the heart; otherwiſe we pray amiſs, and do not receive according to the ſaying of the apoſtle James, *Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs.* But what devices and wiles have not been invented by the enemy of man's ſoul, to keep him off from this continual ſtate of prayer! although Chriſt very expreſsly ſaith, *Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation;* and, *What I ſay unto you, I ſay unto all, watch:* which in regard to the inſtruction we may reap thence, doth not imply a continual watching without ſleeping, but a vigilancy of the mind, which Solomon recommends in theſe words, *Keep thy heart with all diligence.* Now though our conſtitution doth not ſeem to admit an inceſſant continuance in the deepeſt retiredneſs of mind, yet this is certain, that the more fervently we turn our minds to God, the more we are kept from evil; and man perſevering in this godly exerciſe, is the leſs in danger of falling into ſpiritual pride; ſince he finds that his preſervation is in true humility, and in a continual dependance upon God: for if he once departs from thence, and thinks himſelf ſafe enough, and that now he needs not to walk circumſpectly in fear as he once did, then he is caught already, and ſomewhat gone aſtray from his ſpiritual guide, to wit, from that which ſhewed unto him his tranſgreſſions, and troubled him whilſt he was in the evil way; and this is *the manifeſtation of the ſpirit*, which the apoſtle ſaith, *is given to every man to profit withal.*

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James iv. 3.

Mat. xxvi. 41.

Mark xiii. 37.

Prov. iv. 23.

1 Cor. xii. 7.

Now to call this principle which reproves men for evil, and conſequently diſcovers it, Light, doth not carry with it any abſurdity; eſpecially if we conſider that this denomination is found in ſacred writ. Evil deeds are called by the apoſtle the *works of darkneſs;* and ſaith he, *all things that are reproved, are made manifeſt by the light; for whatſoever doth make manifeſt, is light.* By which it appears plainly, that the Quakers have not coined a new phraſe, but only followed the ſcripture language; and that they are not the only people that have declared of the light, might be proved from other authors of good eſteem, if neceſſity required.

Eph. v. 11.

Eph. v. 13.

As to oaths, they judge the taking of an oath unlawful, and why, may abundantly be ſeen in this hiſtory from a multitude of inſtances.

Oaths.

The making of war, they alſo believe to be inconſiſtent with pure chriſtianity, and eſteem that its followers being led by its precepts, will come *to beat their ſwords into ploughſhares, and their ſpears into pruninghooks*, and not to *learn war any more;* according to the prediction of the prophet Iſaiah ii. 4: and Chriſt, the author of our faith, unto whom we are commanded *to look*, ſaith expreſsly, *My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight;* and the apoſtle James iv. giveth us to underſtand that *wars and fightings come of luſts:* and we believe, that by receiving the ſpirit of Chriſt in our ſouls, and being entirely guided by it, enmity and luſts, the root of wars and fightings, come to be deſtroyed, and his love remains; by which we

Wars.

John xviii. 36.

not

1702. not only love one another ſincerely, but alſo can love our enemies, and pray for them; as alſo for thoſe who hate and perſecute us for his name, not rendering evil for evil, but good for evil: and this we believe to be that lamb-like ſpirit which will prevail, and muſt overcome. And therefore they judge it not lawful for them to make war; and for all that, they think that they may very ſafely be tolerated by the civil government, not only becauſe they are willing and ready to pay taxes to Cæſar, but alſo that ſince they cannot fight for the government, neither can they fight againſt it.

Magiſtracy. Concerning the ſword of magiſtracy, they do in nowiſe aſſert, that it is unlawful for ſome chriſtians to be magiſtrates: for to ſay ſo, what doth it imply, but the unchriſtianing of magiſtrates, whom they truly honour; magiſtracy being the ordinance of God. But although they believe this office to be conſiſtent with chriſtian religion, yet they think it more ſafe for themſelves not to ſeek for it.

Tithes. Tithes to the prieſts they do not look upon as a goſpel-maintenance; ſince our Saviour ſaid in expreſs terms to his diſciples, Mat. x. 8. *freely ye have received, freely give:* yet they don't ſtretch this ſo far, as not to ſuffer that any one who hath imparted of his ſpiritual gifts to others, might not receive temporal gifts of them, if he himſelf was in want thereof; provided the maintenance of a miniſter of the goſpel be free and not forced, and alſo that it conſiſts not in a fixed ſtipend, which leads to turn the miniſtry of the goſpel into a proviſion of a livelihood; which they look upon to be far beneath the dignity of the miniſterial office, which ought to be performed purely out of love to God and our neighbour, and not with any regard to ſecular gain.

Salutations and greetings. The ordinary way of ſhewing reſpect or honour in common converſation is alſo what they ſcruple: for to give the ſame outward ſign of reſpect to men, which is given to God, viz. the uncovering of the head, they think, not without good reaſon, to be unfit; and ſo they eſteem alſo the giving flattering titles of honour, Mat. xxiii. 7, 8. ſince Chriſt ſo ſharply reproves *the greetings in the markets*, and the being *called of men Rabbi, Rabbi*, ſaying, *be not ye called Rabbi*, which title of that time may be equalled with the modern Maſter or Sir: thus Chriſt ſaith alſo, John v. 44. *How can ye believe who receive honour one of another?* Yet they limit this only to common converſation with one's equals: for a ſervant may call his maſter by that title, and ſubjects their magiſtrates by the title of their office, and this may be ſpoken not contrary to truth; whereas the other is nothing but mere flattery, invented to gratify and cheriſh pride; and therefore they think it inconſiſtent with the true gravity of a chriſtian to call one's ſelf a ſervant of one who has not any maſterſhip over us; and they believe we cannot Mat. xii. 36. be too cautious in ſpeaking, ſince our Saviour ſaith, *that every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, they ſhall give account thereof in the day of judgment.* The common faſhion of greeting they alſo decline, thinking it more ſafe not to imitate the ordinary cuſtom therein; but that it is more agreeable with chriſtian ſimplicity to greet one another by giving their hand, or by other innocent and harmleſs notice in paſſing by, which are ſigns of friendſhip and

reſpect,

reſpect, that may be ſhewed, without giving to man that which appertains to God, as the uncovering of the head is among chriſtians: for the uncovering of the head is an outward ſign of the worſhip and honour that is paid to God; and if we give the ſame token alſo to men, it may be queried, wherein the difference conſiſts? If it be anſwered that it conſiſteth in the meaning and intention, then uſe is made of the ſame argument, whereby Papiſts endeavour to excuſe their adoration of images and relicks.

Vain recreations, &c.

As the Quakers teſtify againſt the common way of ſalutation, ſo likewiſe againſt gaming, interludes, jeſting, and all ſinful and unprofitable recreations, and drinking of healths; all which they believe to be contrary to the exhortation of the apoſtle, *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatſoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.*

Marriage.

In their method of marriage they alſo depart from the common way: for in the Old Teſtament they find not that the joining of a couple in marriage ever was the office of a prieſt, nor in the goſpel any preacher among chriſtians appointed thereto: therefore it is their cuſtom, that when any intend to enter into marriage, they firſt having the conſent of parents or guardians, acquaint the reſpective mens and womens meetings of their intention; and after due inquiry, all things appearing clear, they in a publick meeting ſolemnly take each other in marriage, with a promiſe of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death ſeparates them. Of this a certificate is drawn, mentioning the names and diſtinctions of the perſons thus joined, which, being firſt ſigned by themſelves, thoſe then that are preſent ſign as witneſſes.

Burial of the dead.

In the burying of their dead they mind decency, and endeavour to avoid all pomp: and the wearing of mourning is not approved among them; for they think that the mourning which is lawful, may be ſhewed ſufficiently to the world by a modeſt and grave deportment.

Water baptiſm.

As to water-baptiſm, and the outward ſupper, though they don't uſe the external ſigns, witneſſing Chriſt the ſubſtance to be come, yet they are not for judging others who do uſe them conſcientiouſly and devoutly. They do not deny that water-baptiſm was uſed by ſome in the primitive church: but let it be conſidered unto whom it was adminiſtered, viz. to ſuch that came over either from the Jews or Gentiles, to the chriſtian ſociety: and baptiſm was as well a judaical ceremony as circumciſion; for according to the account of Maimonides,* a Gentile, who would be received into the covenant of the Jews, muſt be baptized as well as circumciſed, whereby he became a proſelyte. Whence it evidently appears that baptiſm did not come in the place of circumciſion, as it hath been often urged to perſuade the ignorant. But as a jewiſh proſelyte needed not to get the child ſhe brought forth baptized, (ſince the Jews did not baptize their children, but adminiſtered baptiſm only to ſuch of the Gentiles that came over to them) ſo we do not find the leaſt evidence that the primitive chriſtians in the time of the apoſtles, did baptize their iſſue, that ſo they might claim to be members of the church; but the contrary ſeems rather to appear from what the apoſtle ſaith, *the unbelieving husband is ſanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is ſanctified by the husband;*

* Vid. John Leuſden Philolog. Hebræo-mixt. Diſſertat. xxi. de proſelyt. Sect. 1. page mihi 144.

1 Cor. vii. 14.

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Ezek. xxxvi. 24, 25.

It is a common objection, that Chriſt himſelf was baptized with water, and that we are required to follow his footſteps: but let it be conſidered that he was circumciſed alſo, though the one as well as the other needed not to his melioration, but was done for our ſake, to ſhew us by the latter, that our hearts muſt be circumciſed, that is, ſeparated from all evil inclinations and luſts: and by the baptiſm which he ſuffered to be adminiſtered to him, is ſignified to us that we muſt be baptized by his ſpiritual baptiſm. And if it be objected, that Chriſt ſaid to Nicodemus, *Except a man be born of water and of the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;* it may be anſwered, that if this muſt be underſtood of outward water, the conſequence will be, that water-baptiſm is of ſuch an abſolute neceſſity, that if any be deprived of it, he is to be ſhut out of heaven, which, tho' believed by Papiſts, yet I think proteſtants will hardly ſay ſo; neither was John Calvin* of that opinion. It is alſo worth taking notice, that John the Baptiſt ſaid, *that Chriſt ſhould baptize with fire;* by which it appears, that both water and fire in this ſenſe, are metaphorical expreſſions; for they both ſerve for cleanſing and purifying, tho' in a different way. Now although ſome did baptize with water, yet it ought to be conſidered, that if the command of Chriſt to his diſciples, *Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt,* related abſolutely to water-baptiſm, it would indeed have been very ſtrange, that Paul, that eminent apoſtle of the Gentiles, did not think himſelf commiſſionated for the adminiſtration of that baptiſm; whereas if the apoſtles had really received a commiſſion from the Lord to that purpoſe, he by no means would have been ſingled out; ſince ſpeaking of himſelf he ſaith, that he ſuppoſed he *was not a whit behind the very chiefeſt apoſtles;* and yet he alſo ſaith in expreſs terms, *Chriſt ſent me not to baptize, but to preach the goſpel;* and *I thank God that I baptized none of you but Criſpus and Gaius; and I baptized alſo the houſhold of Stephanas; beſides, I know not whether I baptized*

* Vid. Calvin, epiſt. 184. & 229.

2 Cor. xi. 5.

1 Cor. i. 17. —— 14. —— 16.

I baptized any other ; and yet he ſaith, *There is one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm*, which was the baptiſm of the ſpirit. And the ſame apoſtle ſaith alſo, *As many as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt :* and this cannot have relation to water-baptiſm, becauſe many receive that, who never put on Chriſt, and become conformable to his image, which however is required of all chriſtians. To this may be added, that if the command to baptize, Mat. xxviii. 19, were literally reſtricted to water-baptiſm, then why may not our Saviour's words be as well underſtood literally concerning the waſhing his diſciples feet, when he ſaid to Peter, *If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no part with me ;* and to his diſciples, *If I then, your Lord and Maſter, have waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one another's feet.* More might be ſaid on this ſubject ; but ſince R. Barclay hath treated of this matter at large long ago, the reader may apply to his apology for the true chriſtian divinity.

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Eph. iv. 5. Gal. iii. 27.

John xiii. 8. —— 14.

Concerning the outward ſupper, it may be truly ſaid, that it was the paſſover that was kept by Chriſt at the eating of the paſchal lamb, which likewiſe was a judaical ceremony, that chriſtians generally take to be a figure or ſhadow. But is not the modern uſe of the outward ſupper in remembrance of Chriſt's ſufferings, alſo a figure, viz. of his ſpiritual ſupper with the ſoul? and doth it not ſeem abſurd, that one figure ſhould be the antitype of the other? The paſſover was not a memorial of another ſign that was to follow, but it was a memorial of the ſlaying of all the firſtborn in Egypt, and of the preſervation of Iſrael and their firſtborn. Moreover it may be ſaid, that the paſchal lamb was eaten in their families, whereas the outward ſupper now is celebrated in publick places for worſhip. We find, that the apoſtles, *breaking bread from houſe to houſe, did eat their meat with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart ;* which implies an uſual meal or eating : and certainly they do well, who daily at meals remember Chriſt and his ſufferings ; for the ſpiritual ſupper, which is the thing required, ought to be partaken of by every true chriſtian ; and this cannot be, unleſs we being attentive, open the door of our hearts to Chriſt, and let him come in. Let it alſo be conſidered, that the ſoul wants daily food as well as the body ; and being deſtitute of that, will faint and languiſh, and ſo become unable to do good; and therefore our Lord recommended his diſciples to pray for * *daily bread:* for that this chiefly had relation to the ſpiritual manna, the bread that comes down from heaven, appears from this ſaying of Chriſt, *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlaſting life.* Beſides, the apoſtle tells us, That *the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteouſneſs and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt ;* and the author to the Hebrews ſaith, *It is a good thing that the heart be eſtabliſhed with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein.*

The outward ſupper.

Acts ii. 46.

John vi. 27.

Rom. xiv. 17.

Heb. xiii. 9.

All this then being duly conſidered by thoſe called Quakers, it hath reſtrained them from the uſe of thoſe ceremonies : for the man who through

* Τὸν ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, ſignifying according to the nice explanation of Paſor, bread to maintain or uphold the eſſence or ſubſtance ; though others have tranſlated it ſupereſſential bread.

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Way of worſhip. But I leave this matter, to ſay ſomething alſo concerning the Quakers way of worſhip. It is uſual among them, when they meet together in their religious aſſemblies, to ſpend ſome time in a devout ſilence and retiredneſs of mind, inwardly praying with pure breathings to God, which they generally call, waiting upon the Lord; and if under this ſpiritual exerciſe any one feels himſelf ſtirred up of God to ſpeak ſomething by way of doctrine or exhortation, he doth ſo, and ſometimes more than one, but orderly, one after another: and that this was uſual in the primitive apoſtolical church, appears from what Paul ſaith, *If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all propheſy one by one.* And what propheſying ſignifieth under the new covenant, the apoſtle himſelf explains with theſe words, *He that propheſieth edifieth the church.* Yet let none think this liberty of ſpeaking to be ſo unlimited, that every body that can ſay ſomething, may freely do ſo in the congregation; for he that will ſpeak there, muſt alſo by all means be of a good, and honeſt, and holy life, and ſound in doctrine: and if in proceſs of time he finds in himſelf a concern from the Lord to travel in the miniſtry, and deſires a certificate of his ſoundneſs in doctrine and orderly life, he may have it from the congregation where he reſides. And certainly a preacher himſelf ought to have experience of the work of ſanctification, before he is qualified to inſtruct others in the way thereto; for mere brain knowledge cannot do that effectually. Sometimes in their meetings there is a publick prayer before preaching; and preaching is generally concluded with a prayer.

1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31.

1 Cor. xiv. 4.

Womens preaching. Now preaching among them is not confined to the male ſex, as among others; for they believe that women whom the Lord hath gifted for goſpel miniſtry, may exerciſe their gifts among them to edification: for who will preſume to ſay to him, *What doſt thou?*— to him namely, who by his apoſtle hath ſaid, *Quench not the ſpirit.* They are not ignorant that the ſame apoſtle ſaid to the Corinthians, *Let your women keep ſilence in the churches.* Now not to inſiſt on the word *your*, which ſeems to carry an emphaſis along with it, as being chiefly applicable to thoſe Corinthian women; yet by what follows it appears plainly, that it regards ignorant women, ſince it is ſaid there, *If they will learn any thing*, that is, if they will be further inſtructed concerning ſome points of doctrine, *let them aſk their husbands at home:* whereby it appears that this ſaying hath relation to ſuch women, who either from indiſcretion or curioſity, or out of a deſire to be looked upon as ſuch that knew alſo to ſay ſomething, propoſed queſtions to the church, and thereby cauſed more confuſion than edification; *for it is* indeed *a ſhame for* ſuch *women to ſpeak in the church:* and the apoſtle's precept is, *Let all things be done decently and in order.*

1 Thef. v. 19.

1 Cor. xiv. 34.

1 Cor. xiv. 35. — 40.

Moreover,

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Moreover, it ought to be conſidered alſo, that theſe words, *let your women keep ſilence*, have a tendency alſo to the ſubjection which women owe to their huſbands, becauſe it is ſaid there alſo, that women are commanded *to be under obedience*. This the apoſtle explains further in one of his epiſtles to Timothy, where he ſaith, *Let the woman learn in ſilence with all ſubjection: but I ſuffer not a woman to teach, nor to uſurp authority over the man.* Now that the apoſtle doth not abſolutely forbid women ſpeaking to edification in the church, appears from his own words, when he ſaith, *Every woman that prayeth or propheſieth with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head*; for here he gives to women a preſcript how to behave themſelves when they propheſy; and what he means by propheſying, he himſelf declareth in the ſame epiſtle, as hath been hinted already, where he ſaith, *He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort*; and *he that propheſieth ediſieth the church*; and pray what is this but that which we now-a-days call Preaching? for though propheſying under the old covenant ſeemeth chiefly to ſignify a prediction of what is to come, yet it is credible that the ancient prophets were alſo preachers; and according to the New-Teſtament language, it is evident that propheſying is chiefly preaching. Hence we may eaſily underſtand what kind of virgins the four daughters of Philip were, *which did propheſy*, and what kind of *ſervant of the church* Phœbe was, and Tryphena, and Tryphoſa, *who laboured in the Lord*, and Perſis, *which laboured much in the Lord*; which is conſiderably more than what is ſaid of that Mary, *who beſtowed much labour on the apoſtles*. How ſignificantly doth the apoſtle call Priſcilla and Aquila, *his helpers in Chriſt Jeſus!* and what he means by his *helpers* in that ſenſe, we may ſee Philip. i. v. 3. where he ſpeaks of *women which laboured with him in the goſpel*. All this then being duly conſidered, the Quakers ſo called, think it unlawful to forbid ſuch women to preach whom the Lord hath gifted, and who are of a godly life and converſation, ſince it appears ſufficiently that in the primitive church they were not debarred from that ſervice. And as in thoſe days, ſo in ours, it hath evidently appeared, that ſome pious women have had a very excellent gift to the edification of the church—All which tends to the glory of God, who is no reſpecter of perſons, and is pleaſed to make uſe of weak inſtruments to ſhew forth his praiſe.

1 Cor. xiv. 34. 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. 1 Cor. xi. 5. 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 4. Acts. xxi. 9. Rom. vi.

Singing in the churches.

As to ſinging the words of David, ſince they do not ſuit the ſtate and condition of mixed aſſemblies, they diſuſe the cuſtomary formal way of ſinging in the churches, which has neither precept nor precedent in the New-Teſtament.

The reſurrection.

Concerning the reſurrection, their belief is orthodox, and agreeable with the teſtimonies of the holy ſcriptures: but becauſe they judge it to be very improper to ſay that we ſhall riſe again with the ſame numerical bodies we now have, their oppoſers have often falſely accuſed them, as ſuch who deny the reſurrection, tho' they fully believe this ſaying of the apoſtle, *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable:* and as to the qualities of the bodies wherewith we ſhall ariſe, he ſaith, *It is ſown a natural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body; for*, ſaith the ſame

1 Cor. xv. 19. — v. 44.

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apoſtle, *our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to ſubdue all things unto himſelf;* and he ſaith alſo in expreſs words, *we ſhall all be changed.* And therefore they have counted it more ſafe, not to determine with what kind of bodies we ſhall be raiſed, provided we have a firm belief that there is to be a reſurrection of the dead, for from ſuch a determination many difficulties may ariſe, which otherwiſe are avoided; and therefore they have alſo ſaid to their antagoniſts, 'Chriſt's reſurrection is indeed an argument for our reſurrection; but would it be valid from thence thus to argue: becauſe Chriſt's body, which was without ſin, and was not corrupted in the grave, was raiſed the ſame it was buried; therefore our bodies which admit of corruption, muſt alſo be raiſed the ſame they are buried? Nay, by inſiſting ſtiffly on this point, we fall into many difficulties: who will venture to ſay, that when people die, and are buried about the age of ninety years, their bodies in the reſurrection ſhall be the ſame decrepit bodies they were when buried; and that unborn children dying, ſhall be raiſed with ſuch ſmall bodies they had then?' To ſhun therefore ſuch kind of abſurdities, they think it better not to ſuffer human wit to expatiate too far, ſince the apoſtle ſaith, *mind not high things;* and adviſeth every man, *not to think of himſelf more highly than he ought to think.*

Phil. iii. 20, 21.

1 Cor. xv. 51.

Rom. xii. 16.

—— 3.

Church-government.

Now as to church-government, both for looking to the orderly converſation of the members, and for taking care of the poor, and of indigent widows and orphans, and alſo for making enquiry into marriages ſolemnized among them, they have particular meetings, either weekly, or every two weeks, or monthly, according to the greatneſs of the churches. They have alſo quarterly-meetings in every county, where matters are brought that cannot well be adjuſted in the particular meetings. To theſe meetings come not only the miniſters and elders, but alſo other members, that are known to be of ſober converſation; and what is agreed upon there, is entered into a book belonging to the meeting. Beſide theſe meetings a general annual aſſembly is kept at London in the Whitſon week ſo called; not for any ſuperſtitious obſervation the Quakers have for that more than any other time, but becauſe that ſeaſon of year beſt ſuits the general accommodation.

To this yearly-meeting, which ſometimes laſteth four, five, or more days, are admitted ſuch as are ſent from all churches of that ſociety in the world, to give an account of the ſtate of the particular churches; which from ſome places is only done by writing: and from that meeting is ſent a general epiſtle to all the churches, which commonly is printed; and ſometimes particular epiſtles are ſent alſo to the reſpective churches; by which it may be known every year, in what condition the churches are; and in the ſaid epiſtle generally is recommended a godly life and converſation, and due care about the education of children. If it happens that the poor any where are in want, then that is ſupplied by others who have in ſtore, or ſometimes by an extraordinary collection.

As

1702. Name Quakers given in ſcorn.

As to the denomination by which they are diſtinguiſhed from other religious ſocieties, it is, as is well known, Quakers; but ſince that name was given them in ſcorn, as hath been ſaid in due place, they don't aſſume it any further than for diſtinction-ſake from others; but the name whereby they call one another is that of FRIENDS: and herein they have the example of the primitive chriſtians, as may be ſeen Acts xxvii. 3. where it is ſaid, that Julius the centurion *courteouſly entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto * the friends* (for ſo the Greek hath it) *to refreſh himſelf;* and third epiſt. John 14, we read, *The friends ſalute thee; and greet the friends by name.* Now this name of friends is ſo common among the Quakers in England, that others alſo know them, and ſometimes call them by that name.

Among themſelves, &c. diſtinguiſhed by the name of Friends.

1705. A further account of A. Audland, afterwards the wife of T. Camm, her ſufferings and religious exit.

It was, as I find, in the year 1705, that Ann, the late wife of Thomas Camm, deceaſed in a great age; and having already made mention of her by the name of Ann Audland, I'll ſay ſomething more of her before I deſcribe her exit. She was daughter of Richard Newby, in the pariſh of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, being born in the year 1627, and well educated; and being come to maturity, ſhe converſed much with the moſt religious people of that time. About the year 1650, ſhe was married to John Audland, and in the beginning of 1652 they both were, by the miniſtry of G. Fox, convinced of that truth he preached; and in the next year they began to preach that doctrine to others; for which in the following year ſhe was committed to priſon in the town of Aukland in the county of Durham, where ſhe had opportunity to ſpeak to the people through the window, which ſhe did ſo pathetically, that ſeveral were affected with her teſtimony; and after being releaſed, ſhe travelled up and down the country, and had good ſervice; but not long after ſhe was again committed to priſon on an accuſation of having ſpoken blaſphemy, for which ſhe was tried at Banbury in Oxfordſhire; the indictment drawn up againſt her containing that ſhe had ſaid, 'God did not live;' whereas that which ſhe ſaid was, 'that true words might be a lie in the mouth of ſome that 'ſpoke them,' alledging for truth the ſaying of the prophet Jeremiah, v. 2. *Though they ſay the Lord liveth, ſurely they ſwear falſely.* The judge before whom ſhe appeared, behaved himſelf moderately, and obſerving how wiſely ſhe anſwered to his queſtions with a modeſt boldneſs, propoſed the matter to the jury thus: 'that ſhe 'acknowledged the Lord her God and Redeemer to live, and that 'there were gods of the heathen that were dead gods.' Some of the juſtices upon the bench, who ſought her deſtruction, perceiving they ſhould not obtain their end, (for it had been divulged that ſhe ſhould be burnt) went off to influence the jury, and biaſs them; which had this effect, that they brought her in guilty of miſdemeanour; which made one preſent ſay, 'it was illegal to indict 'her for one fact, and to bring her in guilty of another; ſince they 'ought to have found her either guilty or not guilty upon the matter 'of fact charged in the indictment.' The judge, tho' he had carried himſelf diſcreetly, had a mind however ſomewhat to pleaſe the juſtices

* Πρὸς τὺς φιλυς, and ὅι φιλοι, which is not *his friends*, or *our friends*, as it is rendered, but *the friends*.

1705. juſtices that were her enemies; and therefore at her refuſal to give bond for her good behaviour, ſhe was ſent to priſon again; tho' he was heard to ſay, 'that ſhe ought to have been diſcharged.' And the priſon whither ſhe was ſent was a naſty place, ſeveral ſteps under ground; on the ſide whereof was a common ſewer, which ſometimes ſtunk very much, and frogs and toads crawled in the room. Here ſhe was kept about eight months, but ſhewed herſelf content, being perſuaded that it was for the Lord's ſake ſhe thus ſuffered.

Her huſband, John Audland, died, as hath been ſaid before, about the beginning of the year 1664; and two years after ſhe was married to Thomas Camm, a miniſter alſo of the goſpel. She lived very retiredly, and ſpent much time in ſolitarineſs, and was almoſt daily exerciſed in reading the holy ſcriptures and other edifying books. Her huſband ſuffered impriſonment three years at Kendal, and about ſix years at Appleby; inſomuch that ſhe came to be well acquainted with adverſities: but by all theſe ſhe was the more ſpurred on to advance in true piety; and was a very remarkable teacher in the church, having an extraordinary gift to declare the truth. And yet ſhe was very modeſt and humble, inſomuch that how full ſoever ſhe was of matter, ſhe rarely appeared to preach in large meetings, where ſhe knew there were men qualified for that ſervice; and ſhe was grieved when ſhe perceived any of her ſex to be too forward on ſuch occaſions; and therefore ſhe adviſed them to be cautious, tho' ſhe did not omit to encourage the good in all, and endeavoured not to quench the ſpirit in any. Thus ſhe continued in a virtuous life to the end of her days. At Briſtol ſhe once fell ſo ſick, that it was thought ſhe was nigh death; and then ſhe exhorted thoſe that ſtood by, to 'prize their time, and to prepare for 'their latter end, as God,' ſaid ſhe, 'hath inclined me to do, ſo 'that I enjoy unſpeakable peace here, with full aſſurance of eternal 'reſt and felicity in the world to come.'

Againſt womens forwardneſs to ſpeak on publick occaſions.

But ſhe recovered from this ſickneſs; and when her dying hour came, which was in her dwelling-place near Kendal, ſhe was not leſs prepared, but ſaid, 'I bleſs the Lord I am prepared for my 'change. I am full of aſſurance of eternal ſalvation, and a crown 'of glory, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.' Many other excellent ſayings ſhe uttered during the time of her ſickneſs; and when ſhe drew near her end, ſome of her friends aſking her, 'Whether ſhe knew them?' 'Yes,' ſaid ſhe, 'I know you every 'one; I have my underſtanding as clear as ever; for how ſhould 'it be otherwiſe, ſince my peace is made with God through the 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt? I have no diſturbance in mind, therefore is 'my underſtanding and judgment ſo good and clear; but to lie 'under affliction of body and mind, to feel pinching pangs of bo-'dy even to death, and to want peace with God—O that would be 'intolerable to bear!' She adviſed her huſband to quit himſelf of the cumber of the things of this world after her death, that he might with the more freedom attend the miniſtry of the goſpel; and, ſaid ſhe, 'Warn all, but eſpecially the rich, to keep love, and 'not to be high-minded: for humility and holineſs is the badge 'of our profeſſion.' A little before her departure, ſome fainting

fits

fits taking her, ſhe revived again, and ſaid, 'I was glad, thinking 1705.
'I was going to my eternal reſt, without diſturbance. I have both
'a ſight and earneſt of eternal reſt with God in the world to come.'
A little after ſhe ſaid, 'methinks I grow weak and cold; my hands
'and feet are grown very cold, yet my heart is very ſtrong. I
'muſt meet with ſharper pangs than I have yet felt——this pain
'is hard to fleſh and blood, but muſt be endured a little time;
'eaſe and eternal reſt is at hand; I am glad I ſee death ſo near
'me.' A little after, ſeeing her friends weep, ſhe ſaid, 'Be not
'concerned, for all is well: I have only death to encounter, and
'the ſting of it is wholly taken away: the grave hath no victory,
'and my ſoul is aſcending above all ſorrow and pains. So let me
'go freely to my heavenly manſion, diſturb me not in my paſſage.
'My friends, go to the meeting; let me not hinder the Lord's bu-
'ſineſs, but let it be the chief, and by you all done faithfully, that
'at the end ye may receive your reward: for mine is ſure; I have
'not been negligent, my days-work is done.' Feeling afterwards
her pains increaſing, ſhe prayed the Lord to help her through the
agony of death; and a little after ſhe ſaid, 'O my God! O my
'God! thou haſt not forſaken me, bleſſed be thy name for-ever! O
'my bleſſed Saviour, that ſuffered for me and all mankind great
'pains in thy holy body upon the croſs, remember me thy poor
'handmaid in this my great bodily affliction! My truſt is in thee,
'my hope is only in thee, my dear Lord! Oh come, come dear
'Lord Jeſus, come quickly! receive my ſoul to thee, I yield it up,
'help me now in my bitter pangs!' Then her huſband prayed to
God, that he would be pleaſed to make her paſſage eaſy; and ſhe
had no more ſuch pangs, but drew her breath ſhorter by degrees,
and ſaid little more, but 'that it was good to leave all to the Lord:'
and ſo ſhe ſlept in the Lord the 30th of November 1705, in the
79th year of her age. Thus Ann Camm departed this life, and
her huſband ſaid afterwards that he counted it a great bleſſing to
have had her to wife: for ſhe was indeed a very excellent woman,
and therefore I have deſcribed her latter end thus circumſtantially.

Having now related what hath come to my knowledge, that I thought remarkable and of ſingular moment, in reſpect of the riſe and progreſs of the people called Quakers, I think what I have written may ſuffice, and anſwer the contents of the title of this hiſtory; and therefore I'll add only a few occurrences, and then come to a concluſion.

The union of England and Scotland accompliſhed.

Many years ago, even in the time of king James I. endeavours were uſed to unite England and Scotland into one kingdom, but all in vain; king William III. alſo tried what could be done in this caſe, but his life did not permit him to bring the work to perfection. Yet at length the matter was agreed and ſettled about the beginning of the year 1707, in the reign of queen Ann; it being concluded that theſe two kingdoms henceforth ſhould be united into one, and be called Great-Britain. In the forepart of the year 1708, Scotland was threatened with an invaſion by the pretended prince of Wales; but he failed in the attempt, and his deſign came to nought. Now ſince the union of the ſaid kingdom with that of England was accompliſhed, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the

1708. An attempt to invade Scotland.

1708. proteſtant line eſtabliſhed by law, the queen on that account was congratulated by a multitude of addreſſes of her ſubjects; and the Quakers ſo called judged themſelves obliged alſo to teſtify their affection to that princeſs, as they did by the following addreſs:

TO ANN QUEEN OF GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

The grateful and humble addreſs of the people commonly called Quakers, from their yearly-meeting in London, this 28th day of the 3d month called May, 1708;

Yearly-meeting addreſs.

WE having good cauſe to commemorate the manifold mercies of God vouchſafed to this united kingdom of Great-Britain, believe it our duty to make our humble acknowledgments, firſt to the Divine Majeſty, and next to the queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her kind and favourable government; with hearty deſires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath hitherto diſappointed the miſchievous and wicked deſigns of her enemies, both foreign and domeſtick) that he will ſo effectually repleniſh the queen's heart, together with thoſe of her great council, with his divine wiſdom, that righteouſneſs, juſtice and moderation, which are the ornaments of the queen's reign, and which exalt a nation, may be increaſed and promoted.

And we take this opportunity to give the queen the renewed aſſurance of our hearty affection to the preſent eſtabliſhed government, and that we will as a people in our reſpective ſtations, according to our peaceable principles, by the grace of God, approve ourſelves in all fidelity the queen's faithful and obedient ſubjects; and as ſuch conclude with fervent prayers to the Lord of Hoſts, that after a proſperous, ſafe and long reign in this life, thou, O queen, mayſt be bleſſed with an eternal crown of glory!

This addreſs was ſigned in the name of the meeting by fourteen members thereof, who alſo were ordered to preſent it; but it being underſtood that the queen ſeemed willing to be attended with it in private, only ſeven, among whom were G. Whitehead and Tho. Lower, went in with it, and were introduced by the principal ſecretary of ſtate —— Boyle; and G. Whitehead preſenting it, ſaid, 'We heartily wiſh the queen health and happineſs: we are 'come to preſent an addreſs from our yearly-meeting, which we 'could have deſired might have been more early and ſeaſonably 'timed, but could not, becauſe our ſaid meeting was but the laſt 'week; and therefore now hope the queen will favourably ac-'cept our addreſs.' Then G. Whitehead delivering it, the queen ſaid, 'Pray read it:' whereupon he took and read it, and the queen anſwered,

G. Whitehead ſpeaks to the queen.

The queen's anſwer.

'I thank you very kindly for your addreſs, and I aſſure you of 'my protection; you may depend upon it.'

G. Whitehead's reply,

To which G. Whitehead replied, 'We thankfully acknowledge, 'that God by his power and ſpecial providence, hath preſerved 'and defended the queen againſt the evil deſigns of her enemies; 'having made the queen an eminent inſtrument for the good of

'this

'this nation and realm of Great-Britain, in maintaining the tole- 1708.
'ration—the liberty we enjoy in reſpect to our conſciences againſt
'perſecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reaſon in
'the late king's reign, "for the uniting the proteſtant ſubjects in
"intereſt and affection," the union of Great-Britain now ſettled
'tends to the ſtrength and ſafety thereof: for in union is the
'ſtrength and ſtability of a nation or kingdom; and without uni-
'on, no nation or people can be ſafe; but are weak and unſtable.
'The ſucceſſion of the crown being ſettled and eſtabliſhed in the
'proteſtant line, muſt needs be very acceptable to all true proteſtant
'ſubjects!

'And now, O queen, that the Lord may preſerve and defend
'thee for the future, the remainder of thy days, and ſupport thee
'under all thy great care and concern for the ſafety and good of
'this nation and kingdom of Great-Britain, and that the Lord
'may bleſs and preſerve thee to the end, is our ſincere deſire!'

To this the queen returned, 'I thank you for your ſpeech, and With the queen's return,
'for your addreſs; and ye may be aſſured I will take care to pro-
'tect you.'

And G. Whitehead replied, 'The Lord bleſs and proſper the queen And G. Whitehead's reply.
'in all her good intentions!' And thereupon he and his friends withdrew.

The moſt remarkable occurrences the Quakers in England now met with, were, that they enjoying the liberty to perform their religious worſhip publickly without diſturbance, were afterward encountered by the writings of their enemies from ignorance or envy, and repreſented as maintainers of heterodox ſentiments; but they not failing of anſwers, the eyes of many were opened, and ſome came over to them. And though ſometimes thoſe of the publick church had the ſucceſs to draw over one that was born and educated among the Quakers, who inclined to more liberty, and to be eſteemed by the world; yet there have been others of the Epiſcopal church, who not from any earthly conſideration, but merely by a convincement of their mind, have entered into ſociety with the Quakers; not fearing to make publick profeſſion of their religion, as may appear by two letters which I'll inſert here; the one of Samuel Criſp, a clergyman of the Epiſcopal church, who gave the following account of his change, to one of his near relations:

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED a letter from thee, the week before laſt, which was ſent by thy uncle Bolton: there were a great many kind expreſſions in it, and in thy ſiſter Clopton's likewiſe. I acknowledge myſelf much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindneſſes; and if my ſchool had not engroſſed ſo much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to anſwer my dear friend's letter now, and upon that account my delay will be the more excuſable. Letter of S. Criſp, a clergyman, turned Quaker.

The news thou haſt heard of my late change is really true, I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in: neither was it any

proſpect

1708. proſpect of temporal advantage that induced me to it, but a ſincere love to the truth, and pure regard to my own ſoul: neither can I be ſufficiently thankful to God, that he hath let me live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in the midſt of my ſins and provocations againſt him. He is long-ſuffering to us ward, not willing that any ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to repentance: he hath brought me off from the forms and ſhadows of religion, and let me ſee in a more illuſtrious manner what is the life and ſubſtance of it, as he found me in ſome degree faithful to that meaſure of light and knowledge he had beſtowed on me, whilſt I was in the communion of the church of England; therefore he was pleaſed of late, as I humbly waited upon him, to make known to me greater and deeper myſteries of his kingdom: and I can truly ſay, that I find by daily experience, as I keep low and retired into that pure gift which he hath planted within me, things are every day more and more cleared up to me, and the truth ſhines, and prevails greatly over the kingdom of darkneſs; and if I ſhould now turn my back upon ſuch manifeſtations as theſe, and entangle myſelf again with the yoke of bondage, ſurely I ſhould grieve the Holy Spirit, ſo that he might juſtly withdraw his kind operations, and never return more to aſſiſt and comfort me: for God is not mocked; religion is a very ſerious and weighty thing; repentance and ſalvation are not to be trifled with, nor is turning to God to be put off till our own time, leiſure, or conveniency; but we muſt love and cheriſh the leaſt appearance of Chriſt, not ſlighting or deſpiſing the day of ſmall things, but embrace the firſt opportunity of following Chriſt in any of his commands. When he ſpeaks, there is ſuch force and authority in it, that we cannot ſtand to cavil, diſpute, or aſk queſtions; for unleſs we will be ſo obſtinate as to ſhut our eyes againſt the Sun, we muſt needs confeſs to the truth of his doctrine, and preſently ſtrike in with it; and therefore when for ſeveral weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was uſual, faſting twice or thrice in a week, or ſometimes more, ſpending my time in reading the ſcriptures, and in prayer to God; this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me: I lamented the errors of my paſt life, and was deſirous to attain a more excellent degree of holineſs than I had diſcovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement God knew the breathings of my ſoul, how ſincere I was, and reſigned to him when alone. I wanted him to ſet me free, and to ſpeak peace and comfort to my ſoul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my ſin; for tho' I had ſtrictly conformed myſelf to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myſelf from running into any great or ſcandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preſerving me; yet ſtill I had not that reſt and ſatisfaction in myſelf which I deſired, and greatly longed for: I found when I had examined my ſtate and condition to God-ward, that things were not right with me.

As for a ſober and plauſible converſation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very eaſy attainment, a good natural temper, with the advantage of a liberal education, will quickly furniſh a

man

man with abilities for that, ſo that he ſhall be looked upon as a ſaint, and very ſpiritual, when perhaps in chains of darkneſs, in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the very bond of iniquity: if this ſort of righteouſneſs would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretenſions that way, as ſome others; but alas, I quickly ſaw the emptineſs and unſatisfactorineſs of thoſe things; this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty when he comes to judgment. 'Tis not a man's natural temper, nor his education that makes him a good chriſtian; this is not the righteouſneſs which the goſpel calls for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts which God requires; the heart and affections muſt be cleanſed and purified before we can be acceptable to God: therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my reſt in a formal pretence of holineſs, wherein yet I ſaw to my grief abundance of people wrapped themſelves, ſlept ſecurely and quietly, dreaming of the felicity of paradiſe, as if heaven were now their own, and they needed not trouble themſelves any more about religion: I could not entertain ſo dangerous an opinion as this, for then I ſhould be tempted to take up my reſt by the way, whilſt I was travelling towards the promiſed land. I think I made a little progreſs in a holy life, and through God's aſſiſtance I weakened ſome of my ſpiritual enemies, whilſt I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God I can truly ſay, whilſt I uſed thoſe prayers, I did it with zeal and ſincerity, in his fear and dread, but ſtill I ceaſed not my earneſt ſupplication to him in private, that he would ſhew me ſomething more excellent, that I might get a complete victory over all my luſts and paſſions, and might perfect righteouſneſs before him; for I found a great many ſins and weakneſſes daily attending me: and though I made frequent reſolutions to forſake thoſe ſins, yet ſtill the temptation was too ſtrong for me, ſo that often I had cauſe to complain with the apoſtle in the bitterneſs of my ſoul, *O wretched man that I am! who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* who ſhall ſet me free, and give me ſtrength to triumph over ſin, the world and the Devil; that I may in every thing pleaſe God, and there may not be the leaſt thought, word or motion, geſture or action, but what is exactly agreeable to his moſt holy will, as if I ſaw him ſtanding before me, and as if I were to be judged by him for the thought of my heart next moment? O divine life! O ſeraphick ſoul! O that I could always ſtand here! for here is no reflection, no ſorrow, no repentance; but at God's right-hand there is perfect peace, and a river of unſpeakable joy. O that we might imitate the life of Jeſus, and be throughly furniſhed unto every good word and work! This was the frequent breathing of my ſoul to God when I was in the country, but more eſpecially after I had left my new preferment of a chaplain, and took private lodgings in London. In this retirement I hope I may ſay, without boaſting, that I was very devout and religious, and I found great comfort and refreſhment in it from the Lord, who let me ſee the *beauty of holineſs*; and the ſweetneſs that ariſes from an humbled mortified life, was then very pleaſant to my taſte, and I rejoiced in it more than in all the delights and pleaſures of the world.

1708.

1708. And now it pleaſed God to ſhew me, that if I would indeed live ſtrictly and holily as becomes the goſpel, then I muſt leave the communion of the church of England; but knew not yet which way to determine myſelf, nor to what body of men I ſhould join, who were more orthodox, and more regular in their lives. As for the Quakers ſo called, I was ſo great a ſtranger to them, that I had never read any of their books, nor do I remember, that ever I converſed with any one man of that communion in my whole life: I think there was one in Foxly while I was curate there, but I never ſaw the man, though I went ſeveral times to his houſe on purpoſe to talk with him, and to bring him off from his mad and wild enthuſiaſm, as I then ignorantly thought it to be. As for that way, I knew it was every where ſpoken againſt; he that had a mind to appear more witty and ingenious than the reſt, would chooſe this for the ſubject of his profane jeſts and drollery; with this he makes ſport, and diverts the company: for a Quaker is but another name for a fool or a madman, and was ſcarce ever mentioned but with ſcorn and contempt. As for drollery, I confeſs I was never any great friend to it; but indeed if all was true that was laid to the Quakers charge, I thought they were ſome of the worſt people that ever appeared in the world; and wondered with what face they could call themſelves Chriſtians, ſince I was told they denied the fundamental articles of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the higheſt veneration and eſteem: and notwithſtanding I had always lived at the greateſt diſtance from that people, and was very zealous in the worſhip of the church of England, and upon all occaſions would ſpeak very honourably of it, moreover was content to ſuffer ſome few inconveniencies on that account, (as thou very well knoweſt) yet my father ſtill looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers; and ſome years ago ſignified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthuſiaſt; and whilſt I was at Bungan ſchool, he ſent me two books to read that were wrote againſt the Quakers, one of which was John Faldo's, who hath been ſufficiently expoſed for it by William Penn.

Whilſt I lived in London, in that private retired manner I was juſt now ſpeaking of, walking very humbly in the ſight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my paſt life—as I had occaſion to be one day at a bookſeller's ſhop, I happened to caſt my eye on Barclay's works; and having heard in the country, that he was a man of great account amongſt the Quakers, I had a mind to ſee what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themſelves; for ſure, thought I, theſe people are not ſo ſilly and ridiculous, nor maintainers of ſuch horrid opinions, as the author of the Snake, and ſome others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and read him through in a week's time, ſave a little treatiſe at the end, which I found to be very philoſophical, and omitted; but however I ſoon read enough to convince me of my own blindneſs and ignorance in the things of God: there I found a light to break in upon my mind, which did mightily refreſh and comfort me in that poor, low, and humbled ſtate, in which I then was; for indeed I was then, and had been for a conſiderable time before, very hungry and thirſty after righteouſneſs,

and

and therefore I received the truth with all readineſs of mind: it was like balm to my ſoul, and as ſhowers of rain to the thirſty earth, which is parched with heat and drought. This author laid things down ſo plainly, and proved them with ſuch ingenuity and dexterity of learning, and opened the ſcriptures ſo clearly to me, that without ſtanding to cavil, diſpute, raiſe argument or objection, or conſulting with fleſh and blood, I preſently reſigned myſelf to God; and weeping for joy that I had found ſo great a treaſure, I often thanked him with tears in my eyes for ſo kind a viſitation of his love, that he was graciouſly pleaſed to look toward me when my ſoul cried after him: ſo, tho' before I was in great doubt and trouble of mind, not knowing which way to determine myſelf, yet now the ſun breaking out ſo powerfully upon me, the clouds were ſcattered—I was now fully ſatisfied in my own mind which way I ought to go, and to what body of people I ſhould join myſelf. 1708.

So I immediately left the communion of the church of England, and went to Grace-church-ſtreet meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read ſome other books of that kind, among which was an excellent piece, tho' in a ſmall volume, called, 'No croſs, no crown.' Thus I continued reading and frequenting meetings for ſeveral weeks together, but did not let any one ſoul know what I was about. The firſt man I converſed with was George Whitehead, and this was ſeveral weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent their meetings: by him I was introduced into more acquaintance, and ſtill the further I went, the more I liked their plainneſs, and the decency and ſimplicity of their converſation: they do not uſe the ceremonies and ſalutations of the church of England, but ſhake hands freely, and converſe together as brothers and ſiſters, that are ſprung of the ſame royal ſeed, and made kings and prieſts unto God. O, the love, the ſweetneſs and tenderneſs of affection I have ſeen among this people! *By this*, ſays Chriſt, *ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another. Put on therefore*, ſays the apoſtle *(as the elect of God holy and beloved) bowels of mercy, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering.*

Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding on this affair. As to my bodily ſtate, if thou deſireſt to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my health as well as ever, and I bleſs God I have food and raiment ſufficient for me, ſo that I want no outward thing; and I have the neceſſities and conveniencies of life liberally. Let us not burden ourſelves with taking care for the vanities and ſuperfluities of it; let us *poſſeſs our veſſels in ſanctification and honour;* and as we bring our minds into perfect ſubjection to the whole will of God, ſo let us bring our body to the moſt ſimple and natural way of living; being content with the feweſt things, never ſtudying to gratify our wanton appetites, nor to follow the cuſtoms and humours of men, but how we may ſo contract our earthly cares and pleaſures, that we may bring moſt glory to God, moſt health and peace to our own ſouls, and do moſt ſervice to the truth; and if this be our aim, certainly a very ſmall portion of the things of this world will

1 Theſ. iv. 4.

1708. will ſuffice us. Seeing we are chriſtians, we ſhould therefore earneſtly purſue thoſe things which bring us neareſt to God, and which are moſt perfective of human nature: for what is more than a competency, ſeems to be a burden to a generous philoſophical ſoul, which would breathe in a pure vehicle, that ſo it may have a quick ſenſe and reliſh of all bleſſings, both of the ſuperior and inferior worlds.

Thou knoweſt, my dear friend, that religion is a very ſerious thing, and repentance is a great work, and one precious immortal ſoul is of more worth than ten thouſand periſhing worlds, with all their pomp and glory: therefore let us take courage, and be valiant for the truth upon the earth, let us not content ourſelves with a name and profeſſion of godlineſs, let us come to the life and power of it, let us not deſpond of getting the victory; we have a little ſtrength for God; let us be faithful to him, and he will give us more ſtrength, ſo that we ſhall ſee the enemy of our peace fall before us, and nothing ſhall be impoſſible unto us—I ſay, my friend, let us be faithful to that meaſure of light and knowledge which God has given us, to be profited and edified by it in a ſpiritual life; and as God ſees we are diligent and faithful to work with the ſtrength we have, he will more and more enlighten us; ſo that we ſhall ſee to the end of thoſe forms and ſhadows of religion wherein we have formerly lived: but if he ſees we are about to take up our reſt in thoſe ſhadows, that we grow cold and indifferent in the purſuit of holineſs, running out into notions and ſpeculations, and have more mind to diſpute, and to make a ſhew of learning and ſubtilty, than to lead a holy and devout life; then it is juſt with God to leave us, in a carnal and polluted ſtate, to continue yet but in the outward court, where we may pleaſe ourſelves with beholding the beauty and ornaments of a worldly ſanctuary, and never witneſs the vail being taken away, and that we are brought, by the blood of Jeſus, into the holieſt of all, where alone there is true peace with God, and reſt to the weary ſoul. I could ſay much upon this head, if time or leiſure would give leave.

As for a particular anſwer to thy letter, I have not time now to give it; and for the preſent, let this general anſwer ſuffice: and if thou wilt conſider things in their pure abſtracted nature, and not ſuffer the prejudice of education to ſway thee, but in fear and humility wilt ſearch out the truth for thyſelf, thou wilt find that there needs no other anſwer to thy letter than what I have already given; for by waiting upon God, and diligently ſeeking him, thou wilt find anſwer to it in thy own boſom, and this will be much more full, clear, and ſatisfactory, than I or any other man living, can pretend to give thee, or any other friend who hath lovingly wrote to me; for whom I deſire, with all the ſincere hearted in the church of England, that they may come to witneſs the almighty power of God, to ſave and redeem them from every yoke: and that they may ſee clearly to the end of thoſe things which are aboliſhed, and come to the enjoyment of ſpiritual and heavenly things themſelves, is the daily prayer and deep travail of my ſoul, God knoweth. 'Till I can be more particular, if thou pleaſe thou mayſt

communicate

communicate this to them, and let them know that I am well, and thank them for their kind letters. Let us remember to pray for one another with all fervency, that we may ſtand perfect in the whole will of God, amen! ſaith my ſoul. I am thy moſt affectionate friend and ſervant in Jeſus, 1708.

SAMUEL CRISP.

The following letter, or account of one Evan Jevans, is alſo remarkable:

E. Jevans's account of his change.

"SINCE it hath pleaſed the Divine Goodneſs to endue me with reaſon, I heartily thank his moſt excellent Majeſty, that it has been the further product of his good will to give me life and being in that part of the world, where I have had the freedom to uſe it; eſpecially in the choice of my perſuaſion, and way of returning my acknowledgments to him. I wiſh that all, who make any pretenſions to religion, would make uſe of this noble faculty, with ſubjection to the Divine Will, to determine their choice in this grand affair; and not let the religion of their education be that of their judgment. If people were thus truly wiſe unto their own ſalvation, and did not too lazily reſign themſelves to the conduct of their guides, thereby regarding more their eaſe than ſafety; they would not only be the better able to give a reaſon of the hope that is in them, but they would ſhew more warmth in their devotion, more charity in their religion, and more piety in their converſation than at preſent they do.

When I was viſited ſome time ago by the chaſtiſing hand of the Lord for ſin, and my diſobedience to his Holy Will, I laboured under great affliction of mind and anguiſh of ſpirit; and though I was conſtant above many in my attendance on the publick prayers of the church, ſtrict in my obſervation of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the uſe of private devotion, yet my burden increaſed, and I waxed worſe.

In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation's houſe, who had providentially returned from Pennſylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay's Apology for the Quakers; by the reading whereof I was ſo well perſuaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to their doctrine) it gave me victory in a great meaſure, over our common enemy, baniſhed away my diſorderly imaginations, and reſtored me to my former regularity: I received ſuch ſatisfaction and comfort to my diſtreſſed ſoul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myſelf in ſociety with them: and I am the more confirmed in my change, eſpecially where it reſpects the worſhip of our Creator; becauſe it is not only the moſt agreeable to the ſcriptures of * truth, but heaven has given us aſſurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, moſt powerfully attended with the preſence of the Moſt High.

* John iv. 23, 24. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Lam. xxv. 26. Pſal. xxvii. 14. x. 17. Eph. vi. 18. Jude 20, &c.

I hope none will grudge me this mercy, becauſe I received it not by their miniſtry; if they do, I have cauſe to ſuſpect their charity is not of a chriſtian latitude, ſince our bleſſed Redeemer approved not of that narrowneſs in his diſciples in ſomewhat alike caſe.

But here to obviate the objection ſome may make to my change,

1708. becauſe of the diſtreſs I lay under, and the diſcompoſure I was ſubject to at times, I would have it remarked, that I read the ſaid Apology, beyond my expectation with more ſedateneſs than uſual, and a more quiet compoſure of mind; ſo that with the influence of the Almighty, or Providence, or both, I had alſo the benefit of the diſtinguiſhing faculty of man in the change of my opinion. O that I may never forget the Lord's mercy to my ſoul, who had compaſſion on me when I wallowed in my blood, and who ſaid to the dry bones, 'live!' O that all ſuch as are viſited by the chaſtiſing hand of their Maker, would ſeriouſly lay it to heart, and conſider their own welfare and ſalvation! I could wiſh with all my heart, that ſuch who labour under this anxiety of mind, would take encouragement to hope in the Lord's mercy through their bleſſed Redeemer, by his kindneſs and long forbearance with me. I am a living monument of it now; and I hope I ſhall be ſo, while he affords me a being here. If theſe lines ſhould come to the hands of any that are afflicted and diſtreſſed as I was, I have an effectual remedy, through mercy, to preſcribe unto them: turn your minds inward to the grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from your own imaginations, be ſtill, and quietly reſign yourſelves to his holy will; ſo you ſhall find health to your ſouls, refreſhment to your ſpirits, and the ſweet conſolation of the Lord in your own boſoms; you ſhall find your mourning turned to gladneſs, and your heavineſs to joy: this hath been my experience of the goodneſs of the Holy One of Iſrael, who abhors ſin and iniquity; therefore I recommend it to you, and I think this is no miſtruſting of the cauſe, for they are the ſick and wounded in ſpirit, not the whole, that need the phyſician.

As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every chriſtian ought to be under, of forſaking the Devil and all his works, I am ſo far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myſelf wholly obliged to obſerve it: and if I ſhould affirm, that through the grace of God, and his aſſiſtance, (for otherwiſe I am ſatisfied I cannot do it) the obſervation of it is poſſible, I can find no reaſon why it ſhould be falſe doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a Churchman.

As for deſerting that church and miniſtry which the Son of God came down from heaven to eſtabliſh, I am not conſcious to myſelf thereof; for I ſay, Chriſt himſelf is the head of our church, and by his ſpirit and grace the Ordainer of our miniſtry.

And as to the laſt query my ingenious acquaintance is pleaſed to propoſe, I do let him know, that my former deſpair and forlorn condition has been, ſince my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a ſweet enjoyment of the goodneſs of God. I could not conceal the Lord's goodneſs, leſt he ſhould withdraw his mercies from me.

I had no ſecular intereſt to corrupt me in this change—it is apparent to many, I declined it; but as it was peace with God my Maker, and mercy to my ſoul I wanted; ſo having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchaſe it; or rather, I was reſtored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of the divine goodneſs, and of myſelf, by ſetting a due value upon it."

From

From this account it appears, that the writer thereof aimed at nothing in his change of religion, but the quietneſs of his mind, and the ſalvation of his ſoul. 1708.

Now I am to mention, that the queen in the year 1710, in her ſpeech to the parliament, having again declared that ſhe would maintain the toleration and liberty of conſcience, was addreſſed by many; wherefore the people called Quakers eſteemed it their duty to ſhew alſo their grateful acknowledgment of this favour, which they did by the following addreſs: 1710. The queen renews her promiſe to maintain the toleration.

To queen ANN of Great-Britain, &c.

The humble and thankful addreſs of the queen's proteſtant ſubjects, the people called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of their perſuaſion;

WHEN we conſider the queen's royal regard to protect our religious liberty, and the freſh aſſurance from the throne of her chriſtian reſolution to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences, and her tender care that the ſame may be tranſmitted to poſterity in the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; we find ourſelves concerned gratefully to acknowledge her goodneſs therein, and the ready concurrence of her great council therewith. Quakers addreſs thereupon.

Taking this occaſion to aſſure the queen of our duty and affection, and peaceable behaviour under her government, as is our principle, and hath always been our practice.

And we heartily deſire our fellow-ſubjects may lay aſide all animoſities, and in a ſpirit of love and meekneſs, endeavour to outdo each other in virtue and univerſal charity.

That it may graciouſly pleaſe Almighty God to defend and bleſs thee, O queen, and guide thee by his counſel in a long and proſperous reign here, and afterwards receive thee to glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful ſubjects!

To this addreſs the queen was pleaſed to anſwer,

'I thank you for your addreſs, and ye may depend upon my 'protection.' Queen's anſwer.

The animoſities mentioned in this addreſs, did regard the diviſion, which having been a good while among the ſubjects, began to increaſe as many thought by the change of the miniſtry. But this being out of my province, I won't meddle with it.

In the year 1712 died Richard Cromwell, the ſon of Oliver the protector, about the age of ninety years. Great changes this man had ſeen, having himſelf been the ſupreme ruler of England, as hath been mentioned in due place. 1712. Death of R. Cromwell.

Although I do not intend to relate much more of any occurrences, becauſe I haſten towards a concluſion, yet I think it worth the while to add the following caſe:

In the year 1713, in the ſpring, there was a ſuit at law, on the act againſt 'Occaſional conformity.' It happened that one John Penry, a juſtice of peace of Ailborough, in the county of Suffolk, going 1713. Juſtice Penry proſecuted on the act againſt occaſional conformity.

1713. going to the pariſh church, underſtood by the way, that no ſervice was to be done there at that time; but hearing that there was a Quakers meeting there, he went to it. One Wall, the bailiff of the place, being informed thereof, imagined that the ſaid juſtice might not go there, becauſe of the aforeſaid act, and therefore thinking that ſomething might be gained by it, got witneſſes to declare that the ſaid juſtice had been in the meeting; and ſaid afterwards in a boaſting way to him, 'Now I have hooked you.' To which the other replied, 'I'll ſtand to it.' The bailiff then entered his ſuit in the name of one that lived thereabouts by charity. When the caſe was pleaded at the ſeſſions, the judge, who was baron Salathiel Lovel, declared the meaning of the fore-mentioned act to be thus, viz. 'That it did not regard any who accidentally went 'into a meeting of diſſenters; but that it was againſt thoſe who 'conformed with the church, thereby to qualify themſelves for an 'office, without changing their religion'—but this was quite another caſe; for the prieſt of the pariſh himſelf gave a certificate that the ſaid juſtice was a good member of the church. From hence it appeared that this ſuit was mere malice; and the informers, or witneſſes, were brought to that pinch, that they durſt not expect the verdict of the jury, for fear that they ſhould have been condemned to pay the charges; and therefore they let the thing fall.

Being now entered into this year, I cannot omit to ſay, that a peace between England and France being concluded, and the ſubjects from all parts of the nation congratulating the queen with addreſſes, the Quakers did not omit alſo to preſent an addreſs; being as follows:

To ANN queen of Great-Britain, &c.

The humble addreſs of her proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, called Quakers, met at our annual meeting in London, the third day of the fourth month, called June, 1713;

MAY IT PLEASE THE QUEEN,

Addreſs on the peace. WE having been ſorrowfully affected at the calamity which war brought on Europe, cannot omit to expreſs our ſatisfaction and gladneſs for the queen's great care, and chriſtian concern, for eſtabliſhing ſo long deſired a peace.

We are alſo under a dutiful ſenſe of the queen's gracious government and compaſſion manifeſted towards tender conſciences at home, as well as noble and chriſtian interpoſition in favour of perſecuted proteſtants abroad:

And further crave leave to aſſure the queen, that we ſhall, as in duty bound, approve ourſelves, in all humility and faithfulneſs, the queen's obedient ſubjects; and though but a ſmall part of thoſe that enjoy, under thy mild government, protection in religion and civil liberties, we cannot but earneſtly pray for, and deſire the quiet and ſafety of our country; which evidently appears to be the queen's care to eſtabliſh, in having done ſo much for ſecuring the proteſtant intereſt, and maintaining perfect friendſhip with the houſe of Hanover. That it may pleaſe Almighty God in his

mercy

mercy and goodneſs to aſſiſt with his wiſdom the queen, in all her councils, and give her long to enjoy the quiet fruit of laſting peace in this life, and in that which is to come joy and peace everlaſting, is our hearty and fervent prayer. 1713.

This addreſs, which chiefly contained an aſſurance of fidelity to the queen, was accepted favourably.

The next year, being that of 1714, the queen was often ill, and there was much diviſion among the people: for a bill was brought into parliament, called, 'An act to prevent the growth of ſchiſm;' and the party that prevailed then was very active to get this bill paſſed. And ſince it tended to deprive the diſſenters from keeping ſchools, and to allow that liberty to none but members of the Epiſcopal church, or at leaſt to no body but who had licenſe from them, it met with great oppoſition, and many reaſons againſt it were publiſhed; the people called Quakers offered alſo to the legiſlature the following reaſons againſt it. 1714.

Quakers reaſons againſt the bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm.

I. THE church of England hath frequently declared, by ſeveral of her members in a clerical, as well as civil capacity, by thoſe who framed and eſpouſed one or more of the bills againſt 'Occaſional conformity,' that 'She is in principle againſt perſecu-'tion, and for preſerving the toleration.'

II. The promoters of this bill may pleaſe to remember, that the queen hath declared from the throne, that ſhe will 'maintain the 'toleration inviolable.'

III. The proteſtant ſubjects of this kingdom, who are parents of children, are ſuppoſed to have preſerved to them, by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the natural right of the care and direction of the education of their own children; which natural right this bill ſeems calculated to take away and deſtroy.

IV. If the governments, which are now either Heathen or Mahometan, ſhould take into the ſame policy; the ſociety which the queen hath incorporated for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, can have very little if any good effect or ſucceſs.

V. May it not ſeem an objection and contradiction to the many princely and chriſtian ſolicitations, which the queen by her miniſters hath made at foreign courts, on the behalf of proteſtants, againſt the violent intruſions of Papiſts, into their rights and juſt privileges?

VI. It may be a means to oblige the carrying out of large ſums of money for foreign education.

VII. It may probably do much hurt to charitable foundations.

VIII. It ſeems not to be agreeable to that great law of Chriſt, Mat. vii. 12. *Therefore all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the law and the prophets.*

But whatever was objected, the ſaid bill at length paſſed, and

1714.

was confirmed with the royal aſſent; which gave occaſion to the Quakers to add in the concluſion of the printed epiſtle of their annual aſſembly at London, the following caution and exhortation, 'There ſeems at preſent to hang over us a cloud, threatening a ſtorm. Let us all watch and pray, and retire to our munition and ſtrong hold in our ſpiritual rock and foundation, which ſtandeth ſure; that our God may defend, help and bleſs us as his peculiar people, to the end of our days and time here, and the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom and glory hereafter.'

Yet againſt all objections it paſſed the royal aſſent.

Iſa. xxxiii. 16.

The death of the princeſs Sophia; and of queen Ann, on the firſt of the month called Auguſt.

About midſummer this year died Sophia widow and electoral princeſs of Brunſwick Lunenburg, on whom the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain was ſettled. Scarce two months after her demiſe queen Ann deceaſed, who after having languiſhed a long time, at length was taken away by death on the firſt of Auguſt, the ſelf-ſame day that the act againſt the growth of ſchiſm was to have taken effect.

King George proclaimed; declares he will maintain the toleration.

The ſame day George prince elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, was proclaimed king of Great-Britain; who ſometime after repairing to England, made his entry at London on the 20th of September. Not long after his arrival he declared in council, that he would maintain the toleration in favour of the proteſtant diſſenters. Hereupon many addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to him, and on the third of October the people called Quakers alſo offered their addreſs, which was delivered by G. Whitehead and about forty of his friends, introduced by the lord Townſend, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. The prince was not only preſent, but many of the nobles, and others alſo; and G. Whitehead preſenting the addreſs to the king, ſaid, 'We are come in behalf of the people called Quakers, to preſent to king George our addreſs and acknowledgment: may it be favourably accepted!' Being then preſented, G. Whitehead ſaid, 'One of us may read it to the king;' whereupon he receiving it again, delivered it to Joſeph Wyeth, who read it audibly, being as followeth:

TO GEORGE KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

The humble ADDRESS *of the people commonly called* QUAKERS.

GREAT PRINCE,

Addreſs to king George.

IT having pleaſed Almighty God to deprive theſe kingdoms of our late gracious queen, we do in great humility approach thy royal preſence with hearts truly thankful to Divine Providence for thy ſafe arrival with the prince thy ſon; and for thy happy and uninterrupted acceſſion to the crown of theſe realms; which, to the univerſal joy of thy faithful ſubjects, hath ſecured to thy people the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and diſſipated the juſt apprehenſions we were under, of loſing thoſe religious and civil liberties, which were granted to us by law, in the reign of king William III. whoſe memory we mention with great gratitude and affection. We are alſo in duty obliged thankfully to acknowledge thy early and gracious declaration in council, wherein thou haſt, in princely and chriſtian expreſſions, manifeſted thy juſt ſenſe of the ſtate of thy people,

people, and which we hope will make all degrees of thy ſubjects eaſy. 1714.

And as it hath been our known principle to live peaceably under government; ſo we hope it will always be our practice, through God's aſſiſtance, to approve ourſelves with hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful ſubjects.

May the wonderful Counſellor and great Preſerver of men, guide the king by his divine wiſdom, protect him by his power, give him health and length of days here, and eternal felicity hereafter; and ſo bleſs his royal offspring, that they may never fail to adorn the throne, with a ſucceſſor endowed with piety and virtue.

To this addreſs the king was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

His anſwer.

'I am well ſatisfied with the marks of duty you expreſs in your 'addreſs; and you may be aſſured of my protection.'

The addreſs being read, G. Whitehead ſpoke to this effect:

G. Whitehead's ſpeech to the king.

'Thou art welcome to us, king George; we heartily wiſh thee 'health and happineſs, and thy ſon the prince alſo. King William 'IIId. was a happy inſtrument in putting a ſtop to perſecution 'by promoting toleration; which being intended for the uniting 'the king's proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection, it hath ſo 'far that effect, as to make them more kind to one another, even 'among the differing perſuaſions, than they were when perſecution 'was on foot. We deſire the king may have further knowledge of 'us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet 'life in all godlineſs and honeſty, under the king and his govern-'ment, is according to our principle and practice.'

G. Whitehead having thus ſpoken, his name was aſked; whereupon he anſwered, 'George Whitehead.' And having it upon his mind to ſee the prince alſo, and intimating his deſire to a lord who was gentleman to the prince's bed-chamber, he made way to it; and thus G. Whitehead, with ſome of his friends, got acceſs; and they were introduced by one of the prince's gentlemen into a chamber, where the prince met them; and then G. Whitehead ſpoke to him, the ſubſtance of which was as followeth:

His ſpeech to the prince.

'We take it as a favour, that we are thus admitted to ſee the 'prince of Wales, and truly are very glad to ſee thee; having de-'livered our addreſs to the king thy royal father, and being deſirous 'to give thyſelf a viſit in true love, we very heartily wiſh health 'and happineſs to you both; and that if it ſhould pleaſe God 'thou ſhouldſt ſurvive thy father, and come to the throne, thou 'mayſt enjoy tranquility and peace, &c.

'I am perſuaded, that if the king thy father and thyſelf, do 'ſtand for the toleration for liberty of conſcience to be kept invio-'lable, God will ſtand by you.

'May king Solomon's choice of wiſdom be thy choice, with 'holy Job's integrity and compaſſion to the oppreſſed, and the 'ſtate of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz. *He* 2 Sam. xxiii. 'that ruleth over men muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God; and he* 3, 4. 'ſhall be as the light of the morning, when the ſun riſeth, even a

'morning

1714. 'morning without clouds, as the tender graſs ſpringing out of the 'earth by clear ſhining after rain.'

This ſpeech was favourably heard by the prince.

Death of Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury. He had wrote againſt perſecution.

It was not long after the king's coming over, that Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, the renowned author of the hiſtory of the reformation in England, died. He generally had ſhewed himſelf moderate, and had written very plainly againſt perſecution in matters of faith, eſpecially in his Apology for the church of England, firſt printed in Holland in the year 1688, and afterwards alſo in England; wherein, among other things he ſaid, 'I 'will not deny but many of the diſſenters were put to great hard-'ſhips in many parts of England; I cannot deny it, and I am 'ſure I will never juſtify it——And I will boldly ſay this, that if 'the church of England, after ſhe is got out of this ſtorm, will 'return to hearken to the peeviſhneſs of ſome four men, ſhe will 'be abandoned both of God and man, and will ſet both heaven 'and earth againſt her.'

1715. The term of the Quakers affirmation being near expired, the ſame is perpetuated, and extended to Scotland, and the American plantations, for five years,

The year being come to an end, I go on to that of 1715. In the month called May it was moved in parliament, that the term of the act for the Quakers ſolemn affirmation was almoſt expired; and thereupon it was reſolved, that a bill ſhould be brought in to prolong that ſaid term; and on the 7th of the ſaid month a bill was accordingly brought into the houſe of commons, read the firſt time, and five days after the ſecond time, and committed. And whereas the former act was limited to a term of years, this limitation was omitted now, and conſequently the act was to be perpetual. The bill thus far advanced, was at length engroſſed, and on the ſecond of the month called June, after a third reading, paſſed in the houſe of commons, and ſent to the lords; from whence it was ſent back with this addition, that this favour ſhould be extended alſo to the northern part of Great-Britain, known by the name of Scotland, and to the plantations belonging to the crown of Great-Britain for five years (for ſo far the former act had not reached) and to the end of the next ſeſſions of parliament.

This amendment was agreed to by the houſe of commons on the 13th of the ſaid month, and on the laſt of that month was confirmed by the royal aſſent. Thus the Quakers were protected anew againſt the heavy ſhock which otherwiſe they might have expected on the refuſal of an oath. King George on all occaſions having ſhewn himſelf favourable to them, they did not omit thankfully to acknowledge his kindneſs, as appears from the general epiſtle of their annual aſſembly, where they expreſſed their gratitude in theſe words:

K. G. always favourable.

'The Lord our God, who for the ſake of his heritage hath 'often heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the 'ſea, hath, bleſſed be his name! mercifully diſperſed the cloud 'threatening a ſtorm, which lately ſeemed to hang over us; 'which, together with the favour God hath given us in the eyes 'of the king, and the government, for the free enjoyment of our 'religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulneſs to him.

And

1715.

'And humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and thoſe in 'authority, for his and their ſafety and defence, is certainly our 'chriſtian duty, as well as to walk inoffenſively as a grateful people.'

The rebellion at Preſton fomented by ſome hot-headed clergymen, ſuppreſſed by the king's forces.

Thus they ſignified their thankfulneſs for the favour they enjoyed.* And as they did now enjoy liberty and quiet, ſo the other ſubjects were alſo maintained in their rights under a gentle government, ſo that none had cauſe to fear, who behaved themſelves like peaceable ſubjects. And yet in many places in England were great convulſions and tumults, and ſome hot-headed clergymen were not a little inſtrumental therein; whereupon an open rebellion enſued; but the rebels were defeated near Preſton by the king's forces.

The death of the French king Lewis XIV.

Before I conclude this year, I am to ſay that the French king Lewis XIV, did not live to ſee the end of it; but on the firſt of September, N. S. after having long languiſhed by a malignant diſtemper, died in the 77th year of his age, having before appointed his brother's ſon the duke of Orleans regent of the kingdom of France.

1716.

The pretender lands in Scotland, but is routed, and returns to France, which he is alſo fain to leave.

This death ſeemed not a little to have altered the meaſures of the pretender; nevertheleſs in the beginning of the year 1716, he came over from France to Scotland, in hopes to make an inroad from thence into England; but his attempt miſcarried, and his forces were diſcomfitted by thoſe of the king. The common opinion was, that he chiefly relied on aſſiſtance from France; but that was denied him by that court, though he ſeemed to have reckoned upon it. He alſo lingered ſome time in Great-Britain, after his forces were defeated; but ſeeing no way to invade the throne he aimed at, he returned at length to France; which kingdom he hath been fain to depart ſince, to the joy of many inhabitants of England; for it was thought that the rebels being deprived of their chief, the diſturbance would be at an end.

This rebellion being thus happily quenched, induced the inhabitants of Great-Britain to congratulate the king with addreſſes; and theſe congratulations being become ſo general, the people called Quakers were not wanting to prepare alſo an addreſs, to teſtify their loyalty, and to expreſs their joy for the quelling of the rebellion; and therefore in their yearly-meeting they drew up an addreſs, which they preſented to the king on the laſt day of the month called May, being introduced by the earl of Mancheſter, one of the gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, when G. Whitehead ſaid in ſubſtance:

G. Whitehead's ſpeech at the delivery of an addreſs from the yearly-meeting, on the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion.

'That in their annual aſſembly held for the religious concerns 'of their ſociety, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the 'duties of religion profeſſed by them, the ſenſe of the great deli-'verance had ſuch a weight upon their minds, that they were 'willing to expreſs it in an addreſs to king George; whom God

* But ſeeing from the firſt grant of an affirmation inſtead of an oath, the form then obtained was not entirely ſuch as was deſired, and many were not eaſy therewith; they ſeveral times applied to the parliament for a more eaſy form, which at length, through the merciful providence of God, and the favour of king George and the parliament, was obtained in the latter end of the year 1721, the form now being,

'I, A B, do ſolemnly, ſincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' &c.

1716. 'by his providence had brought hither and preſerved, ſo that he 'could well ſay, he was "George by the grace of God king of "Great-Britain, &c." and that as men carried that ſaying ſtamp-'ed on the money in their pockets, ſo it was to be wiſhed it might 'be imprinted in the hearts of the ſubjects.'

Hereupon the addreſs was preſented, and read to the king, being as followeth:

TO GEORGE KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

The humble addreſs of the people called Quakers, from their yearly-meeting in London, the 26th day of the third month, called May, 1716.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING,

The addreſs. WE thy faithful and peaceable ſubjects, being met in this our annual aſſembly, do hold ourſelves obliged, in point of principle and gratitude, rather than by formal and frequent addreſſes, humbly and openly to acknowledge the manifold bleſſings and kind providences of God, which have attended theſe kingdoms ever ſince thy happy acceſſion to the throne.

And as our religion effectually enjoins us obedience to the ſupreme authority; ſo it is with great ſatisfaction that we pay it to a prince, whoſe juſtice, clemency and moderation, cannot but endear, and firmly unite the hearts and affections of all his true proteſtant ſubjects.

We are therefore ſorrowfully affected with the unhappineſs of thoſe our countrymen, who have ſo little gratitude or goodneſs, as to be uneaſy under ſo juſt and mild an adminiſtration: nor can we reflect on the late unjuſt and unnatural rebellion, without concluding the promoters thereof, and actors therein, were men infatuated, and hurried by ſuch an evil ſpirit, as would lay waſte and deſtroy both the civil and religious liberties of theſe proteſtant nations.

And as God, the Lord of Hoſts, hath moſt ſignally appeared to the confounding that BLACK CONSPIRACY, ſo we pray his good providence may always attend the king's councils and undertakings, to the eſtabliſhing his throne in righteouſneſs and peace, and making his houſe a ſure houſe!

Permit us therefore, great prince, to lay hold of this opportunity to approach thy royal preſence, with our hearty thanks to the king and his great council, for all the privileges and liberties we enjoy. To behold a prince upon the throne, ſolicitous for the eaſe and happineſs of his people, beyond any other views, ſo heightens our ſatisfaction and joy, that we want words to expreſs our full ſenſe thereof; and therefore we can do no leſs than aſſure the king, that as it is our duty to demean ourſelves towards the king's perſon and government with all faithful obedience; ſo we are determined, by divine aſſiſtance, devoutly and heartily to pray the God and Father of all our mercies, to vouchſafe unto the king a long, peaceable and proſperous reign; and that when it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to remove from us ſo precious a life, by taking it to himſelf, there may not want a branch of thy royal family,

family, endowed with wiſdom and virtue, to fill the throne, till time ſhall be no more! 1716.

To this addreſs the king was pleaſed to give this gracious anſwer:

'I thank you for the aſſurance of duty and affection to my per- 'ſon and government, contained in this addreſs; and you may 'always depend upon my protection.' The king's anſwer.

Thus we again ſee a prince on the throne, who ſolemnly aſſureth the Quakers ſo called, of his protection; ſo that now they enjoy the due liberty of ſubjects that behave themſelves peaceably and dutifully under the government ſet over them, in like manner as other inhabitants of Great-Britain: and therefore they have not neglected to exhort one another, to ſhew their thankfulneſs to ALMIGHTY GOD, and to pray for the king; as it hath been intimated already, that this was recommended in one of the epiſtles of their yearly-meeting. Now ſince mention hath ſeveral times been made in this hiſtory, of thoſe epiſtles of the annual aſſembly to the particular churches; I have thought fit to inſert here one of them, viz. that of the year 1717, which is as followeth: 1717.

The epiſtle from the yearly-meeting in London, held by adjournment, from the 10th day of the fourth month, to the 14th of the ſame inclusive, 1717; to the quarterly and monthly-meetings of Friends in Great-Britain, and elſewhere. The yearly-meeting epiſtle.

OUR ſalutation, in the love of Chriſt Jeſus our bleſſed Lord, is freely extended unto you, whoſe tender care over, and mercy to this our annual aſſembly, we do humbly and thankfully acknowledge; in the love, amity, tender condeſcenſion and peaceable procedure thereof, with reſpect to the divine power and goodneſs of the Lord our God, and the ſervice of his church and people; ſincerely deſiring the proſperity of his whole heritage, even in all the churches of Chriſt among us, in his dear love, unity and peace, to his eternal glory, and our univerſal comfort and perpetual joy in the kingdom of the dear Son of God. Salutation to Friends.

We are truly comforted, in that we underſtand there is ſuch a general concurrence and union among Friends, with our former earneſt deſires and counſel, for true and univerſal love, unity, peace and good order, to be earneſtly endeavoured and maintained among us, as a peculiar people, choſen of the Lord out of the world, to bear a faithful teſtimony to his holy name and truth, in all reſpects; and that all that is contrary be watched againſt and avoided—as ſtrife, diſcord, contention and diſputes, tending to diviſions, may be utterly ſuppreſſed and laid aſide, as the light and righteous judgment of truth require. A general concurrence among Friends.

Oh! that all the churches and congregations of the faithful, would be excited by the ſpirit of the dear Son of God, fervently to pray for the proſperity of his church and people throughout the world—that Sion may more and more ſhine in the beauty of holineſs, to the glory and praiſe of the king of glory. Excited to pray for the proſperity of the church.

The Friends and Brethren, come up from the ſeveral quarterly-meetings in this nation, have given a good account to this meeting of truth's proſperity, and that Friends are generally in love and unity An account of truth's proſperity.

1717. unity one with another; and by ſeveral epiſtles, from Friends of North-Carolina, Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Barbados, Holland, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, which have been read in this meeting; as alſo by verbal accounts given by ſeveral Friends that have lately travelled in divers parts of America, and elſewhere, we have received comfortable accounts of the ſtate of truth and Friends in thoſe parts: by which we are encouraged to hope truth prevails in many places, and a concern grows upon Friends for the proſperity thereof; and that there is an inclination in people to hear the truth declared.

Friends ſufferings. By the accounts brought up this year, we find that Friends ſufferings in England and Wales, amount to five thouſand two hundred and ninety pounds, and upwards, chiefly for tithes, prieſt's wages, and ſteeple-houſe rates; and that notwithſtanding there have been four Friends diſcharged the laſt year, there yet remain twenty Friends priſoners on theſe accounts.

Advice to be faithful in teſtimony againſt tithes. We adviſe, that a tender care remain upon Friends in all places, to be faithful in keeping up our chriſtian teſtimony againſt tithes, as being fully perſuaded, it is that whereunto God hath called his people in this our day; we ſeeing by daily experience, that ſuch as are not faithful therein, do thereby add to the ſufferings of honeſt Friends, and hinder their own growth and proſperity in the moſt bleſſed truth.

A concern for the education of Friends children. As touching the education of Friends children, for which this meeting hath often found a concern; we think it our duty to recommend unto you, the neceſſity that there is of a care in preſerving of them in plainneſs of ſpeech and habit, ſuitable to our holy profeſſion: and alſo, that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavour wanting, to inſtruct them in the principle of truth which we profeſs; that thereby they, being ſenſible of the operation thereof in themſelves, may find, not only their ſpirits ſoftened and tendered, fit to receive the impreſſions of the divine image, but may alſo from thence find themſelves under a neceſſity to appear clear in the ſeveral branches of our chriſtian teſtimony. And as this will be moſt beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, ſo it is the moſt effectual way of propagating the ſame throughout the churches of Chriſt. And there being times and ſeaſons wherein their ſpirits are, more than at others, diſpoſed to have thoſe things impreſſed upon them; ſo we deſire that all parents, and others concerned in the overſight of youth, might wait in the fear of God, to know themſelves divinely qualified for that ſervice, that in his wiſdom they may make uſe of every ſuch opportunity, which the Lord ſhall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn and adviſe Friends in all places, to flee every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride, and from following the vain faſhions and cuſtoms of this world, as recommended in the epiſtle 1715.

Love and unity recommended. And as we always found it our concern to recommend love, concord and unity, in the churches of Chriſt every where; ſo as a means to effect the ſame, we earneſtly deſire that Friends, but more eſpecially ſuch as are concerned in meetings of buſineſs, do labour to know their own ſpirits ſubjected by the ſpirit of truth, that thereby being *baptized into one body*, they may be truly

one

one in the foundation of their love and unity, and that therein they may all labour to find a nearneſs to each other in ſpirit; this being the true way to a thorough reconciliation, where-ever there is, or may have been any difference of apprehenſion: thereby Friends will be preſerved in that ſweetneſs of ſpirit that is, and will be the bond of true peace, throughout all the churches of Chriſt. 1717.

A general contribution recommended.

And, dear friends, the Friends of this meeting, to whom the inſpection of the accounts was referred, made report, that having peruſed the ſame, they found the ſtock to be near expended; whereupon this meeting thinks it neceſſary to recommend unto you, that a general and free contribution be made in every county, and that what ſhall be thereupon collected, be ſent up to the reſpective correſpondents.

Exhortation to walk unblamably towards all men.

Finally, dear Friends and Brethren, be careful to walk unblameable in love and peace among yourſelves, and towards all men in chriſtian charity; and be humbly thankful to the LORD our moſt gracious GOD, for the favour he hath given us in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our religious and chriſtian liberties under them; and the God of peace, we truſt, will be with you to the end.

The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirits. Amen'

Signed in, and on the behalf,

and by the order of this meeting,

By BENJAMIN BEALING.

From this epiſtle may be judged in ſome degree of the others, which are ſent from the yearly-meeting of the people called Quakers, to the particular meetings of their ſociety every where. We ſee by it, that they give notice of the ſtate of their particular churches, and that they earneſtly recommend love and unity among their brethren, with other chriſtian virtues, and eſpecially a good education of their children, beſides other matters which they judge to be meet and neceſſary. With this epiſtle here inſerted, I'll finiſh this work, as having performed my deſign and intention, viz. the giving of a plain and circumſtantial account and relation of the riſe of this religious ſociety; which, as we have ſeen, ſprung from mean beginnings, to a great increaſe and progreſs, and extended itſelf far, notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition, and moſt grievous ſeverity, for ſuppreſſing and rooting them out, ſo often put in practice, and committed by their enemies, but all in vain. And they now enjoy an undiſturbed liberty to perform the publick exerciſe of their worſhip to God, ſince their religion is permitted by law; which liberty they in nowiſe have obtained by making reſiſtance, but by a long-ſuffering patience, a peaceable deportment, and a dutiful fidelity to the government ſet over them: ſo that now they ſee clearly, that God doth not forſake thoſe that do not forſake him, according to what the prophet Azariah formerly ſaid to king Aſa, and all Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xv. 2.

Concluſion of the hiſtory.

1717. *The Lord is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye ſeek him, he will be found of you: but if ye forſake him, he will forſake you.*

Having thus performed what I intended of this hiſtorical relation, I conclude it, to the praiſe and glory of the MOST HIGH, who hath afforded me life-time and ability, after a long and difficult labour, to bring this Hiſtory to a ſuitable end.

THE END.

9 N060

ADDENDA.

ADDENDA.

The Author toward the concluſion of this HISTORY, *having given ſome account of the principles of the people called* QUAKERS, *thought fit in the Dutch appendix, among other things, to add the following treatiſe in Latin concerning the* LIGHT, *written about the year* 1662: *and ſince in this Engliſh tranſlation, the ſubject matters, contained in the ſaid appendix, are inſerted in the body of the hiſtory, in thoſe places to which they properly belong, and no reference being made to this, but as mentioned in the preface, it is thought fit to ſubjoin it here, with the following words of the author prefixed to the ſame:*

IN the Preface to this hiſtory, mention is made of a certain book, entitled, *The Light upon the Candleſtick*, publiſhed in the name, as many ſuppoſed, of *William Ames*, yet no ways wrote by him, though it contains his doctrine, but by a certain learned man, unwilling to be known publickly, and as it ſeems to me wrote originally in Latin; which, though printed, being but in few hands, I have thought fit to reprint.

And the original in Latin, ſoon after the firſt publication being tranſlated into Engliſh by B. F. was printed in the year 1663; *from which tranſlation take it as follows*, viz.

THE LIGHT UPON THE CANDLESTICK.

THINGS are not for words, but words for things: if therefore we underſtand things aright, and as they ought, by words, it muſt be by ſuch as are fit to imprint the things themſelves in thoſe to whom they ſhould occur, and then it were enough (to make known our thoughts to others as we conceive them) only to make uſe of ſuch words.

But for as much as we find the matter in this caſe far otherwiſe, and that two men ſpeaking or writing the ſame words, may nevertheleſs have different, yea, ſometimes contrary thoughts; the diſability of performing this fitly by words or diſcourſe, is clearly inferred. Nor may we at all wonder at it, ſeeing we know to what a perpetual change languages are ſubject, even ſuch, that the very words may be changed from their priſtine ſignification; and the imperfection is ſo great, that whoſoever ſhould have invented them, ſuch as now they are in uſe, we ſhould certainly believe that he had little or no knowledge of thoſe things that are thereby intended to be ſignified; ſo that if we would better expreſs things unto another by words and ſpeeches, we had need find new words, and conſequently a whole new language—but that would be a toil and labour indeed.

In the mean-while we ſee what a ſea of confuſion flows from hence upon all mankind: for although there ſhould be none, who ſometimes through ignorance, and ſometimes by ſubtilty or wickedneſs, might wreſt or pervert words contrary to the mind of the ſpeaker or writer, in ſuch manner as themſelves that ſo do ſhould think beſt for their own ends, (from whence conſequently all this deceit, ſlandering, contention, and the like proceeds;) yet ſo it is, that how uprightly or prudently ſoever a man goes to work in this matter, he nevertheleſs finds himſelf liable to miſlead, or to be miſled.

But although the caſe be thus with words and diſcourſes at preſent in uſe, yet for all that, they are the moſt ready, and ſo far as I know, the fitteſt means to make known all our thoughts unto others by: and for this reaſon therefore, tho' ſo much confuſion and deceit happen to ariſe from hence, that no man that hath any experience can be ignorant thereof; yet may we not (therefore) be too much afraid of them neither, as many yet do manifeſt themſelves to be, who becauſe they have ſome experience hereof, are apt to believe we are about to deceive them, eſpecially if they be but forewarned thereof.

This

This, as in many things, ſo it hath chiefly taken place in that which is commonly eſteemed for religion: in which it is ſo with moſt men, that they will ſcarce give audience to, much leſs take into conſideration any thing held forth unto them, by any whom they judge not to be of their own opinion; as they imagine, to avoid being thereby deluded.

Yet if they were thus towards their own party, we might think it was an act of prudence, and that they would ſee with their own eyes—but no, in nowiſe, this is too hard a taſk; whatſoever cometh on that ſide, is received with ſuch partiality for good and current coin, as if there was no danger or poſſibility of erring; whereas nevertheleſs, it is all alike with the one as with the other opinion—it all depends but upon a poſſibility of being neareſt to the truth. And for the upholding every one his own opinion, and defending it againſt others, there is ſo much ado, ſo much pains taken, ſo much ſcholaſtick learning, ſtudy and diſputing, that one would rather believe that there was no true religion at all, than that this ſhould needs be it.

Seeing then it is thus at preſent, can we much blame the common people, that they deſpair of ever being able to ſolve this difficulty, and are glad when they can but find any that are greedy of the work, upon whom they may caſt the whole burden? ſurely no! for he that ſees but a little clearly, ſees that there is always contention behind, and no end till a man grows weary of it: nor is the conqueſt juſt his that hath truth, but his that can beſt handle his tongue—A miſerable thing if it were thus to be ſought and found! But it is not ſo with the true religion.

Go to then, O man! whoever thou art, we will not draw thee off from one ſociety of men, to carry thee over unto another, it is ſomewhat elſe we invite thee to. Lend us but a little audience: ſurely thou knoweſt thus much, that as it is an extremity to receive all things without diſtinction that preſent themſelves to us, ſo it is no leſs to reject all things without judgment. We invite thee to ſomething which may be a means whereby to attain to thy own ſalvation and well-being: be as diſtruſtful, or rather prudent or foreſighted, as thou wilt, thou canſt not in reaſon refuſe us thy ear in this thing: all the damage thou canſt poſſibly have by doing that which we exhort thee to, is only to have taken a little pains in vain, if that which is promiſed ſhould not ſucceed: whereas on the contrary, if it ſhould ſucceed, thou mayſt come to the enjoyment of a matter of ſo great worth, that thou wouldſt not exchange it for all that is eſteemed *great* in the earth. Moreover, it is not far to ſeek, but at hand, it is *nigh* thee, yea, and in thyſelf; and there thou *mayſt* experience the trial of that which we declare, which is the moſt certain and ſure that can be deſired.

We direct thee then to *within thyſelf*, that is, that thou oughteſt to turn into, to mind and have regard unto that which is *within thee*, to wit, *The Light of truth, the true Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.* Here it is that thou muſt be, and not *without* thee. Here thou ſhalt find a principle certain and infallible, and whereby increaſing and going on therein, thou mayſt at length arrive unto a happy condition: of this thou mayſt ſafely adventure the trial. But if thou dareſt not do ſo much, it is hard to help thee. And if thou happeneſt to be one of thoſe that wouldſt know all things before thou doſt begin, yea, even thoſe things which are experienced in a condition to which thou art ſo much a ſtranger, that there is nothing in thee hath ſo much agreement therewith, as to comprehend it according to truth—know this, thou doſt (therein) juſt as thoſe that would learn to read, without knowing the letters.

To deſire to know all things that we are capable of, is good and laudable; but to go further, is folly: there will be always ſomething elſe to aſk, and our knowledge will ever be too ſhort. He that will not adventure till he be fully ſatisfied, ſhall never begin, much leſs finiſh it to his own ſalvation.

But we judge it needful, as much as in us lies, to open unto you *that* unto which we do exhort you, that people may underſtand what it properly is.

We

We ſay then, that we exhort every one to turn in to the *Light* that is in him, (we give it rather the appellation of *Light*, than any thing elſe, otherwiſe it is all one to us whether ye call it *Chriſt*, *the Spirit*, *the Word*, &c. ſeeing theſe all denote but one and the ſame thing :) yet the word *Light* being in its natural ſignification ſomewhat elſe than that which *we* intend thereby, we ſhall therefore in brief endeavour clearly to expreſs what we intend under this denomination.

The Light as to man, what it is, defined.

The Light (then we ſay) *is a clear and diſtinct knowledge of truth in the underſtanding of every man, by which he is ſo convinced of the being and quality of things, that he cannot poſſibly doubt thereof.*

From this definition which is here given of the *Light*, it is clear, that it muſt needs comprehend in it the principal effect of ſhewing us, and giving us the knowledge of what is *Truth* and *Falſehood*—what is good and evil : which verily is a matter of ſo great concernment, that without it men muſt needs ſwerve up and down in continual darkneſs, opinion and ſin, neither knowing truth at all, nor doing any good, but gropingly, by hap-hazard, without any certainty.

This Light then, Chriſt the Truth, &c. *is that which makes manifeſt and reproves ſin in man, ſhewing him how he is ſtrayed from God, accuſeth him of the evil which he doth, and hath committed ; yea, this is it which judgeth and condemneth him.* Again,

This is the preaching to every creature under heaven, though they have never read or heard of the ſcripture. This is it which leads man in truth, into the way to God, which excuſeth him in well-doing, giving him peace in his conſcience, yea, brings him to union with God, wherein all happineſs and ſalvation do conſiſt.

* The effect put for the cauſe.

Moreover, ſeeing it is properly the nature of this *Light* * infallibly to diſcover ſin and evil, *to reprove and convince thereof ; it can never poſſibly conſent thereunto.* And although it be true indeed, that the operations of the *Light* are not in all men alike powerful, (in whom it is nevertheleſs) yea though in ſome men IT ſeems to have no operation at all ; yet this is occaſioned only by thoſe impediments that do hinder it : for as the *Natural Light* by the interpoſition of other bodies or covers, may be hindered from having its operation there, where elſe it would were thoſe things which impede removed, (the *Light* itſelf ſtill abiding in itſelf unchanged) even ſo it is alſo with this *Light* whereof we ſpeak. The lets in *this* are manifold : all whatſoever we meet with in this world, ſeems to proclaim war in this caſe. What is there that hath not a powerful operation upon one or other of the ſenſes of man, through which paſſing over into the ſoul, the memory is ſo filled, that nothing elſe can enter ? The eyes and ears ſtand ſo perpetually open to all things, that they never want an object to bring to mind, the experience of that which pleaſed the body ſo well ; and this ſtirs up the deſire to enjoy it, yet all without ſatiety : the objects they are multifarious, the enjoyment can be but ſingle and tranſient, and the cauſes inceſſant.

Now where this operateth in us after this manner, by education and example in manners and cuſtoms, which are regulated by opinion and not by the *true Light*, that men live altogether therein ; is it any wonder that here (in theſe men) there is ſo little, or no operation of the *Light?* Not at all.

We are ſo involved into the deſire of that which is high in the world, ſo overwhelmed in pleaſures, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the *Light* to cauſe one deſire after *Good* to ſpring or bubble up.

Where then theſe ſo contrary operations to the *Light* are, there it can never break through.

According to the nature and kind of every thing, is the operation thereof : where they are oppoſite, the one muſt give way unto the other, and that which is moſt powerful prevails ; from whence alſo the effects thereof become moſt viſible. The LIGHT notwithſtanding, abides always the ſame,

and therefore, although man by ſin, through his love and union to corruptible things, comes to periſh, be damned, and miſs of his everlaſting happineſs; the *Light* nevertheleſs, which is in *every man that comes into the world*, abides for-ever unchangeable.

The Light is alſo the firſt principle of religion. For, ſeeing there can be no true religion without the knowledge of God, and no knowledge of God without this *Light*, religion muſt neceſſarily have this *Light* for its principle.

God being then known by this *Light*, according to the meaſure of knowledge which the finite and circumſcribed creature can have of the infinite and uncircumſcriptible Creator, man hath obtained a *firm foundation*, upon which he may build all firm and laſting things—a principle whereby he may without ever erring, guide the whole courſe of his life—how he is to carry himſelf towards God, his neighbour, and himſelf, and all things elſe; whereby he may happily attain unto his ſoul's ſalvation, which conſiſteth only in *union with God*. And thus this *Light* is therefore the firſt principle of religion.

Without this Light, there is no power or ability at all in man to do any good.

This muſt firſt raiſe him and quicken him out of the death of ſin. 'Tis folly to expect any thing, where nothing is; there's no effect without a cauſe: there muſt be ſomething then which muſt cauſe a man to act, if he does any thing.

And this cauſe muſt have in it whatſoever the effect produced hath in it; as for example: if the effects of *Light* be produced, *Light* muſt do it, and nothing elſe.

And therefore, is it not a ſilly thing, that all men would have people do this or that as good, and leave this or that as evil, becauſe they tell them ſo without any more ado, or at beſt aſſigning only the accuſtomary motives wherefore, and think they have reaſon too, juſt as if this were enough? Who can ſee ſuch effects as are hereby required, included in this cauſe? Not I, for my part.

Experience alſo teacheth us the ſame; elſe how could it all paſs away in a train and cuſtom, without any fruit? *Theſe are therefore not the right means:* but *ſuch* we muſt endeavour to furniſh people with—means from whence power may iſſue forth to do that which they are exhorted to. Such is the nature of man, that he is moved to chooſe that which he judgeth to be beſt before the worſt, and is always willing to change for the beſt.

Now if it ſo happens (as for the moſt part it doth) that a man chooſeth the worſt before the beſt, it is for want of knowledge, and contrary to his aim; and ſo he erreth, not being led by the *true Light*.

Here then it ſhould be begun; it is eaſy leading a man to that which of himſelf he is deſirous of: if thoſe now who make it their work to teach others, *were but led themſelves by the true Light*, knowing better things than thoſe to which the multitude are linked ſo faſt with love, they would be able to hold them forth clearly to others: and ſo making it their continual work, it were impoſſible their labour ſhould be fruitleſs; for people knowing better, would do better. Who remembers not the plays of our youth, how much we were in love therewith, and yet how ridiculous are they now unto us but to think upon? and why? becauſe we now know *that* which we judge better: hence, not by force, but very lightly and of itſelf, they came from time to time to be worn out, and paſs away, that there is now no deſire or motion moving thereunto. How may we think then it would be, if the ſoul came but once to apprehend thoſe things aright which are durable and uncorruptible, and which infinitely tranſcend all bodily toys in worth? So far as thoſe things then ſhould come to be eſteemed more glorious than all bodily things, ſo much the more powerful would be the annihilation of thoſe things in which all men, even to old age, yea, death itſelf, do take ſo much delight; and then we might hope and expect, that thoſe things which are indeed alone worthy to be known would gain entrance; and

being

being brought forth in the *Light*, would be alſo owned and received by every one, according to the meaſure in which they ſhould ſtand in the ſame *Light*.

Hence from within, the amendment and converſion is to be waited for; from within it muſt begin, if with a foundation; the outward then will follow of itſelf; the weakeſt muſt give way to the ſtrongeſt; all depends but upon the knowledge of ſomething better, to make a true and laſting change. Therefore to hold this forth to men, is the beſt thing we can give them: *this Light is the inward ear, by which alone, and by no other, the voice of God*, viz. *the truth, can be heard.*

By this alone muſt the ſenſe and mind of him that would ſignify any thing by words, or any outward ſign, be comprehended and underſtood. *So that if the truth of God* be preſented to a man who ſtands not in the *Light of truth*, it is impoſſible he ſhould underſtand it; although he hears and comprehends the words after this manner, yet he is ſtill fenced off from the true ſenſe and meaning thereof.

Hence therefore it is, that among ſo many hearers there are ſo few that have ears to hear.

He that hears *truth* aright, that is, underſtands it well, muſt not ſtand out of, but in the *truth* itſelf.

Therefore neither is it any wonder that all men do not underſtand and conceive thoſe things that are brought forth by the *Light;* thoſe only that ſtand in it are alone (and no other) capable thereof.

The caſe being thus, we ſee of how great concernment it is, continually to exhort and excite men to turn in to the *Light* that is in them, that ſo they may go on to ſuch a condition and meaſure therein, as to be fit to underſtand aright *the word*, that is, *the truth of God;* becauſe out of *this* there can be nothing underſtood and concluded from the words and writings given forth from the *Light*, but mere opinions, and conſequently errors. *This Light, Chriſt*, &c. is the *truth and word of God*, as hath been already ſaid, and every where appears by what we have hitherto laid down: *for this is a living word, and tranſlateth man from death to life, is powerful, and enableth a man to bear witneſs of it every where.*

This is alſo the true rule according unto which all our actions are to be ſquared.

This hath the pre-eminence before any writing, ſcripture, doctrine, or any thing elſe that we meet with from without. *We are born into the world*, and brought up, as every body knows: from the very firſt we hear differences—every one pretends that he knows the matter, and hath truth: one holds forth this, another that, to us: *if now the Light which is in every man that comes into the world*, ſhall not be judge, whither ſhall we roll? To believe all, is impoſſible; to reject all, no leſs: who ſhall be judge here? Who elſe can be but the *Light* within us? for whatſoever comes from without, is the thing to be judged of: who then fitter, ſeeing *this* is infallible.

Again, is not this (the *Light*) that by which we muſt ſee and know God, and ſo conſequently that by which we muſt judge all things divine? certainly it is: then it follows alſo, that we can judge of no doctrine, of no book that is divine, but by this *Light;* and judging it thereby to be divine, it cannot but be truly ſo. As for example—if we experience that the book called the BIBLE, in regard of the divine doctrine therein compriſed, hath ſuch an harmony with *that* in which *God* is known, that he muſt needs have been the author of it; there cannot rationally any more powerful demonſtration be demanded. With them that are thus, *the ſcripture may become living and powerful, and not a dead letter*, as it muſt needs be to thoſe men who have no feeling of this thing. And from hence then it is apparent, ſeeing this *Light* muſt be preferred to all things whatſoever that we meet with from without, that *man muſt firſt of all be directed to this:* for without it what profit is there (I pray) to be reaped any where by any external ſign but by it? Lay the book of the ſcripture freely before any man; let him alſo have all the fitneſs the univerſities can give him,

him, to look into it, in its proper language in which it may have been firſt written, what will all be without the *Light?* nothing! for the meaning of the ſcriptures can never be truly and juſtly hit, but by thoſe alone that ſtand in the ſame *Light*, from which they proceeded.

Theſe are they then to whom the ſcripture is a *co-witneſs*, and as a ſeal of their being ſons of God; while by experience they find themſelves, every one according to his meaſure, in the *ſame condition in which the ſaints formerly were*, who ſpake and wrote all thoſe things comprehended in the book of the ſcripture. *Theſe then have the true underſtanding and meaning of the ſcriptures*, not thoſe that *imagine unto themſelves a meaning* by opinion and gueſs, through a thouſand imaginations, without the leaſt aſſurance of not erring; which becomes the very ground of all jangling and contention.

In fine, *this Light in every man is the means to come to the knowledge of God:* and ſeeing all external ſigns muſt needs preſuppoſe *this knowledge*, therefore *itſelf* muſt need be immediate, without any external ſign: that ſigns muſt preſuppoſe ſuch a knowledge, is undeniable; for theſe ſigns muſt either be *words or effects*, *works or miracles*.

If *words*, we ſee at firſt an impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for *words are created and finite*, and God who ſhall make known himſelf by them, *uncreated and infinite;* and therefore here is ſo infinite a difference, that there is no *manner* of agreement, nor any *thing* in the words by which *they* might be capable to *do it*. But again, if you fly to the *meaning* of the words, as being fit for ſuch a thing, then *that* which we ſay will more manifeſtly appear: as put a caſe for example-ſake, that GOD about to make known himſelf by words, ſhould ſay, I AM GOD, and that this ſhould be the ſign by which he would make himſelf known; we ſee clearly, that it would be impoſſible for a man at firſt to know God by this: for if he ſhould comprehend any thing out of the ſenſe of the words, he muſt needs formerly have had the ſignification of the word GOD, and what he is to underſtand by it. In like manner, if God maketh his will known to man, *the knowledge of God* (which hath its original from the *true Light*) *muſt precede and convince him*, that that manifeſtation can be from none but God alone; whereupon he is then ſufficiently aſſured.

If by *effects*, (or *outward miraculous works*) it is the ſame thing; for theſe are no leſs *created*, no leſs *finite:* and though we might obſerve ſomething in the nature of *a thing*, which might be too difficult for the power of any creature, which we know, to effect; yet this at the utmoſt would be but a demonſtration taken from *our* impotency, and not from the nature and all the operations of it: and this kind of demonſtration cannot be certain and ſtable, till we were able clearly and diſtinctly to ſee that there was not a concurrency of many cauſes to produce ſuch *an effect*, but that it muſt needs have been cauſed by an *infinite and unlimited cauſe*, whom we call God? But who knoweth this? or who can declare it?

Add to this, *that the knowledge of God in all things muſt firſt be, before the knowledge of any creature* or particular thing; ſo that no particular thing without this can be well known; and conſequently is altogether uncapable to come to know God by, or certainly to make known himſelf to man by.

Go to then, *without* thyſelf, O man, thou haſt no means to look for, by which thou mayſt know God. *Thou muſt abide within thyſelf; to the Light that is in thee* thou muſt turn thee; there thou wilt find it, and no where elſe.

God is, *conſidered* in himſelf, *neareſt unto thee and every man.* He that goes forth of himſelf to any creature, thereby to know God, departs from God, and ſo much the further, as he comes more to admire the creature, and ſtand in contemplation thereof, to miſtake himſelf by it. This thou muſt then *ſhun*, and the contrary *mind*, viz. *Mind the Light that is in thee*, by it to work, unmoveably and faithfully to perſevere.

9 NOV 60

FINIS.

I N D E X

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